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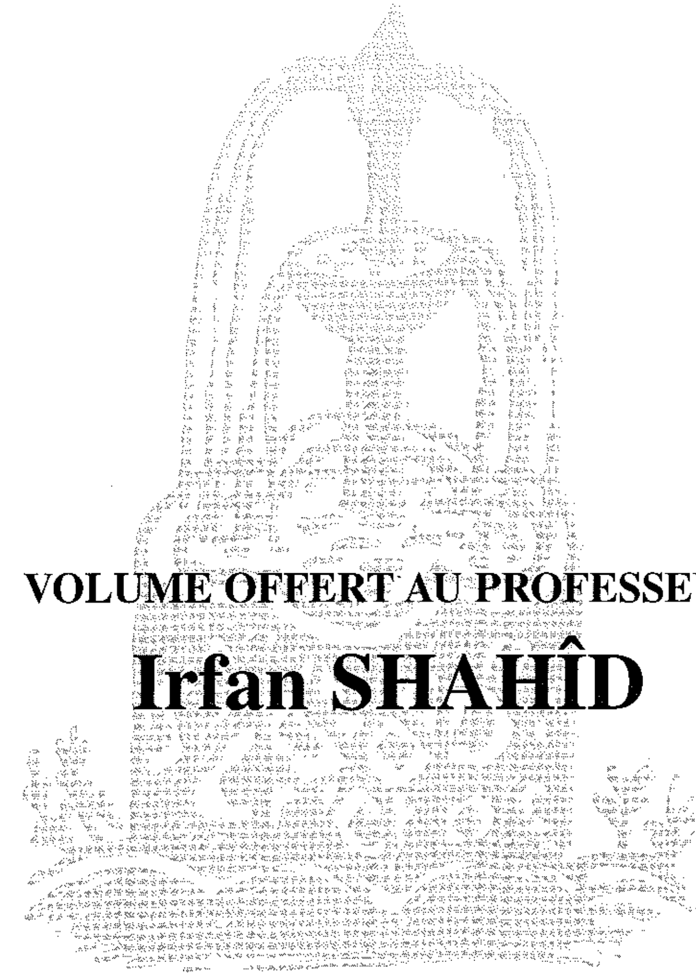

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4° Utiliser seulement les abréviations autorisées ci-dessous.

ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACO	E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*

BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
B-NJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Bsl	*Byzantinoslavica*
Byz.	*Byzantion*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CPG	M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vol., Turnhout, 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980 et 1987 ; M. GEERARD - J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum (Corpus Christianorum)*, Turnhout, 1998 ; J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumen IIIA : A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum. Addenda volumini III (Corpus Christianorum)*, Turnhout, 2003[2]
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
FHG	C. MULLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
GOThR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JG	I. et P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I-VIII, Athènes, 1931
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖs	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinistischen Gesellschaft*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LChI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
Mansi	J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MM	F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi*,

	Vindobonae, 1860-1890
NE	*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, I), fascic. 1-12, Addenda und Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister, Wien, 1976-1994, 1995 et 1996 ; CD-Version (avec addenda), Wien, 2001
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, I-III, 1971, 1980 et 1992
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RH	*Revue Historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
ROC	*Revue d'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
Syntagma	G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
Zbor.	*Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta*

La Rédaction ne retourne pas les articles refusés.

A METHODOLOGICAL EXERCISE : AN APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *TESTAMENTUM AD CIVES* (*CPG* 3751), ATTRIBUTED TO EPIPHANIOS OF SALAMIS (*)

By way of introduction, I wish to state that the present short paper is an exercise based exclusively on a few of the possibilities provided to the scholarly community by the *TLG* (1). In the technical part of this investigation, I have ignored all the scholarly arguments pro and against the authenticity of the Iconophobic text called *Testamentum ad cives* and attributed to Epiphanios of Salamis († 402/403 A.D.). Instead, I have examined this very short fragment using the lexicographical and indexing facilities provided by the *TLG* in order to suggest an answer to the problem of whether Epiphanios did write this text or not (2). My hope is to provide a more technical, but still elementary-level methodological approach to the issue of attribution of texts to authors.

For the present experiment, if I am allowed to use the term, I have worked based on the following assumptions : Both the genuine and the spurious works of Epiphanios included in the *TLG* constitute a more

(*) I wish to thank my daughter Maria-Irene and my son George for their editorial help. All mistakes are my own responsibility.

(1) *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD ROM E, University of California, Irvine, 1999. It is also available in a continuously updated online version at http://www.tlg.uci.edu/. In this paper the two versions are used indiscriminately, since the same works of Epiphanios are included in both of them.

(2) Mention should be made of the very brief study of some words and phrases of another Iconophobic work attributed to Epiphanios, the *Tractatus contra eos qui imagines faciunt* (*CPG* 3749). In this study Speck argues against the authenticity of that work, based on the historical discrepancy between the meaning of a few phrases in it and the historical reality of the fourth century A.D., see P. Speck, *Apsismosaik der Hagia Sophia. Die Bilderschriften angeblich des Epiphanios von Salamis*, in A. Berger, P. Speck, *et al.* (ed.), *Varia*, II (*ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, 6), Bonn, 1987, pp. 312-315. Still, the present study applies a methodology much simpler than that of Speck.

than significant segment of what is considered a "representative" sample of what the writing method and style of Epiphanios might have produced (3). In fact, the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (= *CPG*) (4) lists some 18 genuine and 31 spurious works under the name Epiphanius Constantiensis (5). To these are also added 5 homilies in various Oriental languages (6). Of all these works the *TLG* includes practically all that is assigned to Epiphanios and is preserved in Greek (7). If I were to make a rough estimation, I would suggest that less than 3% of what is ascribed to Epiphanios there may be missing from the *TLG*.

As a first step, I take all works indiscriminately as, at least, representing or fitting the writing style of Epiphanios. However, since the other basic assumption is that if the *Testamentum* were written by Epiphanios, then it should share common key words and expressions with some if not most of his works, as a second step, priority is given to the works of his that are considered genuine (8). This assumption

(3) I make this assumption, despite the fact that a number of Epiphanios' works have been lost, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Byzantinisches Handbuch*, 2, 1), Munich, 1959, p. 297, and also S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (ed.), *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg im Breisgau - Basel - Vienna, 2002[3], pp. 226-228.

(4) *CPG* 3744-3807.

(5) Genuine works = *CPG* 3744-3761 ; spurious = *CPG* 3765-3798.

(6) *CPG* 3800 and 3801, *Homiliae georgicae* ; *CPG* 3803, *Homilia coptica* ; *CPG* 3805 and 3807, *Homiliae arabicae*.

(7) The *TLG* has omitted the following *CPG* titles, which mostly correspond to snippets of text from other (included in the *TLG*) works of Epiphanios. More specifically, from the genuine works : *CPG* 3747 is an *epitome* of *CPG* 3746 ; *CPG* 3752 is a two-line text included in the edition of *CPG* 3751 used by the *TLG* (but not by the present study) ; *CPG* 3753 is part of *CPG* 3745 ; *CPG* 3755 is only preserved in Latin ; *CPG* 3757, 3758, 3759 are preserved only in Syriac ; *CPG* 3760 is part of *CPG* 3744 ; many of the fragments of *CPG* 3761 (*Fragmenta in catenis*) are taken from other works of Epiphanios (e.g. *CPG* 3761.1 belongs to *CPG* 3744 and *CPG* 3745, *CPG* 3761.2 belongs to *CPG* 3746, and *CPG* 3761.8 belongs to *CPG* 3745, and besides most of these *fragments* are small quotations) ; from the spurious works, *CPG* 3766 is a 2nd cent. text ; *CPG* 3774 and 3775 are inedited, and *CPG* 3783, 3784, and 3785 are preserved in Arabic, Armenian or Georgian.

(8) Irrespective of this last step, most of my *TLG* searches have mainly brought up citations from two of Epiphanios' works, that is, the *Ancoratus* and the *Panarion* (*adversus haereses*), ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius*, Bände 1-3, *Ancoratus und Panarion* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, 25, 31 and 37), Leipzig, 1915, 1922 and 1933.

implies that the present investigation explores only the possibility of an Epiphanian authorship of the *Testamentum* ; it will not try to identify other possible authors in the event Epiphanios is rejected as such. I will simply speculate briefly on the possible milieu that might have produced this fragment.

Finally, I have chosen this particular piece to conduct this experiment on account of its very short length. The same process can be applied to other disputed works, but the amount of labour involved (if one wishes to be as thorough as possible) is prohibiting for a short article.

With these considerations in mind I might proceed with a brief historical introduction of the issue.

In the course of the deliberations of the Iconoclastic Synod of Hiereia (754) the Iconoclasts produced among the few patristic citations (9) that supported Iconoclasm a fragment attributed to Epiphanios of Salamis on Cyprus. It was presented as an extract from his *Testament* and its tenor was openly hostile to the use and (implicitly) the veneration of icons. The fragment was also incorporated in the *Horos of Hiereia* that was later read and refuted into the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (10). The same piece was also resumed by the Iconoclastic committee that convened the Iconoclastic Synod of St. Sophia in 815 (11). The Iconophiles right from the start doubted its authenticity (and that of all other Epiphanian iconoclastic citations as well). The Patriarch Nikephoros I presented in both his *Adversus Epiphanidem* (12) and his *Refutatio et eversio* (13) numerous arguments in favour of the thesis that this text is a fabrication.

(9) For this *florilegium* see A. Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* (*DOS*, 34), Washington, D.C., 1996, pp. 31-37.

(10) Mansi XIII, 292D-E ; for a German translation of this passage and the original text from Mansi, see now T. Krannich, Ch. Schubert and C. Sode, *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754, Mit einem Beitrag zur Epistula ad Constantiam des Eusebius von Cäsarea* (*Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum*, 15), Tübingen, 2002, pp. 82-83.

(11) See Alexakis, pp. 34-35 and n. 159. For an edition of the text see below the numerous citations on the next page.

(12) See Nicephorus, *Adversus Epiphanidem*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense complectens Sanctorum Patrum Scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera*, IV, Paris, 1858 (= Graz, 1963), pp. 301-305.

(13) See J. M. Featherstone, *Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Refutatio et eversio Definitionis Synodalis anni 815* (*CCSG*, 33), Turnhout - Leuven, 1997, pp. 252-256.

In the recent years controversy continues to surround this, as well as another three iconophobic texts of Epiphanios and the issue is still in the balance (14). At any rate, the authenticity of the *Testament* was originally proposed by Karl Holl (15) and, especially, by Georg Ostrogorsky (16). Following them, other scholars (17) also accepted the authenticity of this and the other Epiphanian texts, in spite of the iconophile arguments against it.

In the following examination I will revisit the topic beginning with the text itself, which has already been published by the following scholars :

Pitra, p. 301 (= E).
Mansi XIII, 292D-E (= M).
Ostrogorsky, p. 67.
P. J. Alexander, *The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia and Its Definition (Horos)*, in *DOP*, 7 (1953), p. 63.
H. Hennephof (ed.), *Textus byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes* (*Byzantina Neerlandica*, series A : Textus, 1), Leiden, 1969, nos. 137-138.
Thümmel (1986), p. 187 and p. 188 (German translation).
Idem (1992), p. 392 and p. 69 (German translation).
Featherstone, p. 252.

(14) For a review of the bibliography on the other three iconophobic excerpts of Epiphanios see Featherstone, p. xxiv, n. 37.

(15) K. Holl, *Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung* (*Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, XXXV), Berlin, 1916, pp. 828-834.

(16) Who, in fact, considered all Epiphanian writings spurious apart from the *Testament* ; see G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, Breslau, 1929 (= Amsterdam, 1964), p. 75. He later reconsidered and accepted the authenticity of one more fragment (see Featherstone, p. xxiv, n. 37).

(17) The list includes : B. Hemmerdinger, *Saint Épiphane, iconoclaste*, in *Studia Patristica*, X (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 107), Berlin, 1970, pp. 118-120 ; P. Maraval, *Épiphane 'docteur des Iconoclastes'*, in F. Boespflug and N. Lossky (ed.) *Nicée II, 787-1987 : douze siècles d'images religieuses*, Paris, 1987, pp. 51-62 ; S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 384; *Subsidia*, 52), Louvain, 1977, p. 50 and n. 68 ; H. G. Thümmel, *Die bilderfeindlichen Schriften des Epiphanios von Salamis*, in *Bsl*, 47 (1986), pp. 169-188, and Idem, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit von dem Bilderstreit* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 139), Berlin, 1992, pp. 65-69.

It is generally accepted that the best text is provided by the *Refutatio et eversio* of Nikephoros, the edition of which has been based on the manuscripts *Parisinus Coislinianus gr.* 93 of the X-XIth century (= C) and *Parisinus gr.* 1250 of the XVth century (= P). For this reason I copy here the passage from that work. Note, however, that the last sentence is preserved only by the *Adversus Epiphanidem* (E p. 303) :

Featherstone, p. 252, § 158, 1-12.
Sigla :
C *Parisinus Coislinianus gr.* 93 (f. 123r-v)
P *Parisinus gr.* 1250 (f. 296)
M Mansi XIII, 292D-E
E *Adversus Epiphanidem*, ed. Pitra, p. 301 and n. 1

προχειρίζονται οὖν ὡς δῆθεν Ἐπιφανίου Διαθήκην **πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας**[1] **αὐτοῦ τετυπωμένην, ὧδέ πως ἔχουσαν**[2]. *Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς* καὶ *κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις, ἃς παρελάβετε· μὴ ἐκκλίνητε δεξιὰ ἢ*[3] *ἀριστερά*. **Οἷς ἐπιφέρει·** Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μνήμην ἔχετε, τέκνα ἀγαπητά, τοῦ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰκόνας ἐπ᾽ ἐκκλησίας μήτε ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις τῶν ἁγίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ[4] διὰ μνήμης ἔχετε τὸν θεὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε κατ᾽ οἶκον κοινόν· οὐκ ἔξεστιν γὰρ Χριστιανῷ δι᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν μετεωρίζεσθαι καὶ ῥεμβασμῷ τοῦ νοός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ ἐντετυπωμένα ἔστω πᾶσι *τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*.

[1] ἐκκλησίας] *add.* τῆς **P** [2] προχειρίζονται ... ἔχουσαν] προτείνουσι δ᾽ οὖν ὅμως διαθήκην πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας διατεταγμένην, καθ᾽ ἣν μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰκόνας ἐπ᾽ ἐκκλησίας ἢ ἐν κοιμητηρίοις παρεγγυᾷ **E** [3] ἢ] μηδὲ **M** [4] ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ] ἀλλὰ **P**

Next, I will simply try with the help of the *TLG* to trace in other works of Epiphanios all the words and expressions of the passage above. I have excluded from this investigation all particles. Note also that the *TLG* searches are formulated in such a way as to allow multiple combinations of multiple cases of inflected words or conjugated verbs (18).

1) Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς. This biblical expression (*Act.* 20, 28) occurs once in the works of Epiphanios (*Ancoratus* 69, 10, 2. The same passage is repeated verbatim in the *Panarion*, III, p. 323, 2).

(18) For example, I searched for τεκν and αγαπητ. Omission of breathings and accents does not affect the search, either word can be first and the possibilities are open for τεκνον αγαπητον, τεκνου αγαπητου, τεκνω αγαπητω, τεκνοις αγαπητοις etc. Any search program also provides the possibility of allowing any number of words between τεκν and αγαπητ. I usually allow for 4 to 7 words in the searches.

1a) κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις, ἃς παρελάβετε. It is another biblical reference (*II Thess.* 2, 15) not to be found in any of Epiphanios' works. Even its combination with the previous sentence (1) does not come up in Epiphanios or any other author in the *TLG*.

2) μὴ ἐκκλίνητε δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερά. This third biblical expression (*Prov.* 4, 27 and *Deut.* 2, 27) occurs slightly altered in the *Panarion*, II, p. 378, 2-4 : οὐκ **ἐκκλινοῦμεν δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερά**, ὕδωρ ἐν ἀργύρῳ πιόμεθα καὶ βρώματα ἀργυρίου φαγόμεθα· οὐκ ἐκκλινοῦμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἢ ἐντεῦθεν. As is evident the context and the concept in the *Panarion* are different.

3) Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ. Occurs 22 times only in the *Panarion* (I, p. 197, 5 ; p. 264, 16 ; p. 340, 20, etc.).

4) μνήμην ἔχετε. There is only one similar expression in the *Panarion*, II, p. 46, 15-16 : ... φησίν, ἐὰν ἔλθῃς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας, **ἔχε ἐν μνήμῃ** τάδε εἰπεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν τελευτήν, which, however, seems to be part of a citation from another work.

5) τέκνα ἀγαπητά. In its singular form, this line occurs only once in the *Panarion*, III, p. 25, 14 - p. 26, 1 : Μανιχαῖος ... Μαρκέλλῳ τέκνῳ ἀγαπητῷ, as part of the *prosphonesis* of a letter of Mani.

6) τοῦ μὴ ἀναφέρειν. The verb in its various forms occurs 41 times in the works of Epiphanios. Here the verb means "to bring" (19). This particular verb does appear with the same meaning a few times in the works of Epiphanios (e.g. *Panarion*, II, p. 285, 16-17 : κατέρχονται λαμπαδηφόροι εἰς σηκόν τινα ὑπόγαιον καὶ **ἀναφέρουσι** ξόανόν τι ...).

6a) ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ. cf. *Ancoratus* 18, 2, 4 : **ἀναφέρειν** τὴν τιμὴν **ἐπὶ** τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ πατέρα, and *Panarion*, II, p. 262, 18-19 : **ἀναφέρειν** τὴν γέννησιν **ἐπὶ** τὸν Ἀβραάμ.

6b) ἀναφέρειν εἰκόνας ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας. No occurrence.

6c) ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας. No occurrence.

7) κοιμητηρίοις (κοιμητήριον) : 1 occurrence (*Appendices ad indices apostolorum discipulorumque*, p. 127, 9-10 : καί ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ **κοιμητήριον** ὅπλον ἀκαταμάχητον) (20).

7a) κοιμητηρίοις τῶν ἁγίων. No occurrence.

8) διὰ μνήμης. No occurrence.

8a) διὰ μνήμης ἔχετε. Cf. no 4 above.

9) ἔχετε τὸν θεὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν. No occurrence.

9a) ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν. The expression is found once in the *Homilia in Christi resurrectionem* (*PG* 43, 468, 30) and once with ἡμῶν instead ὑμῶν in the

(19) So also ("bringen") translates Thümmel.

(20) T. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae, Indices apostolorum discipulorumque* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1907, p. 127, 9-10.

Panarion, II, p. 174, 24. Still, this is a very common phrase occurring ten times in the New Testament.

10) κατ' οἶκον. No occurrence.

10a) κατ' οἶκον κοινόν. No occurrence.

11) οὐκ ἔξεστιν. Occurs once in the *Panarion*, III, p. 522, 11 : δευτερόγαμον δὲ **οὐκ ἔξεστι** δέχεσθαι . . . εἰς ἱερωσύνην.

11a) οὐκ ἔξεστι Χριστιανῷ. No occurrence.

12) δι' ὀφθαλμῶν. No occurrence.

13) μετεωρίζεσθαι. No occurrence, even other forms of the root μετεωρίζ- are absent from all works of Epiphanios.

14) ῥεμβασμῷ. The nominative case occurs twice in the *Panarion* (III, p. 2, 19, and p. 137, 14) as part of a Biblical citation (*Sap.* 4, 12 βασκανία γὰρ φαυλότητος ἀμαυροῖ τὰ καλά, καὶ **ῥεμβασμὸς** ἐπιθυμίας μεταλλεύει νοῦν ἄκακον).

14a) ῥεμβασμῷ τοῦ νοός. No occurrence.

15) ἐγγεγραμμένα. No occurrence.

15a) ἐντετυπωμένα. Only the form ἐντετυπωμένη is found once in the *Panarion* (III, p. 113, 23) as part of a Biblical citation (*II Cor.* 3, 7 ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν **ἐντετυπωμένη** λίθοις ἐγεννήθη ἐν δόξῃς ...).

16) ἔστω. No occurrence.

17) τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. A biblical citation (*Exod.* 4, 16 ; *Deut.* 31, 27, etc.) that is not to be found in any of Epiphanios' works and despite the fact that it is used in abundance by other contemporary authors, such as, for example, John Chrysostom (9 occurrences).

As the above collation of the *Testament* with the remaining works that have been preserved under the name of Epiphanios of Cyprus shows, the author of the *Testament* had used numerous words and expressions that are not included in the remainder of the corpus written by Epiphanios. In other words, the most obvious conclusion one may draw, is that the author of the *Testamentum ad cives* was someone who did not write like Epiphanios. Therefore, the *Testamentum* should be considered a spurious work.

However, this conclusion is not foolproof and here are the reasons why. First of all, we do not know how many works of Epiphanios have been lost. He was considered, in general, a very prolific author, but even among the works of his listed in the *CPG* there are a number of still unpublished ones (21). Consequently, one cannot be sure that the word ῥεμβάζω or other words of the *Testament* were definitely not included in any of these lost writings. Moreover, the issue of image veneration is a

(21) See, for example, *CPG* 3774 and 3775 and above n. 8.

really marginal one in the times of Epiphanios (4th century A.D.), and only Eusebios and Epiphanios, along with very few others are purported to have expressed in a few words their opposition to the creation and veneration of icons (22). Iconophobic writings of that period amount to a fraction of what many of their authors wrote on other theological topics. So, one may claim that for such a marginal topic words that rarely appear in other theological writings by the same author, might have been more appropriate for a text dealing with the making of icons. Even so, in the existing works of Epiphanios one may notice not only the absence of rare words such as ῥεμβασμῷ but even of a number of common expressions found exclusively in the *Testament*, such as the τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, or διὰ μνήμης, or κατ᾽ οἶκον. In terms of statistics, it is quite impressive how many of the words or expressions that make up this short text are missing entirely from the other extant writings of Epiphanios (14 out of 28). It is also interesting that much of the vocabulary shared by the *Testament* and the other works of Epiphanios is part of biblical citations, which, in my opinion, should be discounted from the final count of the citations shared by the *Testament* and the other Epiphanian writings.

Although this study is confined to plain words, I find it tempting to move a step further and investigate whether one concept, at least, found in the *Testament* is also present in other Epiphanian works. The concept I picked has nothing to do with icons and can be part of any theological admonition. It is contained in the words ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχετε τὸν θεὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν (23) and, taken out of the context of the *Testament*, it may become a simple injunction appropriate for Christian homiletics. Two of the key words (μνήμη and καρδία) included in this sentence, are also found in another work by Epiphanios, but the concept that emerges is very different (24). On the other hand, a similar concept can be found in two other authors, that is, in Justin Martyr :

(22) For this period's authors and texts see Thümmel (1992), pp. 47-102 and pp. 65-73 for Epiphanios.

(23) My translation : "... but through memory you should keep God in your hearts".

(24) See Epiphanius, *Homilia in laudes Mariae deiparae*, *PG* 43, 488, 1-5 : εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν ἔννοιαν ὁ τῆς **καρδίας** μου ἔνδον σκιρτήσας **λογισμὸς** βαθείας **μνήμης** καὶ ὑψηλοτάτης θεωρίας πειρώμενος φέρειν τὸ θαῦμα, τρόμος καὶ φόβος πολὺς καὶ δεινὸς συνέσχε με ...

> *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 46, 5, 9-10 : καὶ διὰ τούτων δυσωπῶν ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ **μνήμην** ἔχειν **τοῦ θεοῦ**, ἅμα τε καὶ ἔλεγχον **ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις** ὑμῶν (25).

and also in St. Basil :

> *Homiliae in hexaemeron, hom.* 3, 10, 37-39 : οὔτε τῷ ἐχθρῷ τόπον **ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις** ἡμῶν καταλείψομεν, διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς **μνήμης** ἔνοικον ἔχοντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν **Θεόν** ... (26).

With these last two examples I do not mean to suggest that any of the above two writers can be considered the author of the *Testament*. I have simply tried to demonstrate that, apart from words and phrases, even a concept (at least) found in the *Testament* and shared by other authors, is missing from other works of Epiphanios.

If all these are also taken into account, one might conclude that, besides the arguments of the Patriarch Nikephoros I (27) against the authenticity of the *Testamentum*, a simple comparison of its vocabulary to that of the other works of Epiphanios points to the same direction.

Consequently, the final question emerges. Who can possibly have written this little fragment ? Here one can only speculate and all I can offer is a few observations. The first relates to the citation κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις, ἃς παρελάβετε, which seemingly bears the most significant meaning of the opening lines. This is an expression not used very often by the ecclesiastical authors, and although John Chrysostom has given a rather succinct interpretation of it (28), it occurs in just three authors

(25) See E. J. Goodspeed (ed.), *Die ältesten Apologeten*, Göttingen, 1915, chapter 46, section 5, 9-10

(26) See S. Giet (ed.), *Basile de Césarée. Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron* (*SC*, 26bis), Paris, 1968², *Homily* 3, section 10, 37-39.

(27) The outline of Nikephoros' arguments is the following : a) In the *Life of Epiphanios* is written that Epiphanios died on board a ship on his way to Cyprus and that, having sensed his imminent death, he gave some admonitions to his disciples. There is nothing in these admonitions about icons. b) A work such as the *Panarion*, which deals exclusively with heresies, should have included something about icon veneration if Epiphanios had considered this practice uncanonical or heretic. c) No such text as a *Testament* of Epiphanios was known to the congregation of his bishopric up to Nikephoros' days (9th c.), and d) contrary to what is suggested in the *Testament*, the churches under the jurisdiction of Epiphanios' see are decorated with numerous icons.

(28) See Iohannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam II ad Thessalonicenses*, *PG* 62, 488, 35-42 : *Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε, καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις, ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε εἴτε*

after John Chrysostom (29). The interesting detail is that in five out of these seven post-Chrysostomic occurrences, the passage in question is brought up in support of iconophile arguments. In fact, these five instances, are practically reduced to two, because John of Damaskos repeats the same passage in two of his sermons in defence of the holy icons, while in George the Monk and his continuation the citation is used by the Iconophile Euthymios, bishop of Sardeis (30) and the same passage is repeated in both the *Chronicon* and the *Chronicon breve* and in the *Chronicon* of the continuation of George the Monk. I tend to take this statistical fact as an indication that the whole biblical quotation gains some currency in the course of the iconoclastic debate.

In relation to this citation one is tempted to make the connection between the passage in which John of Damaskos uses it and another passage from the same two sermons which follows the previous one and in which John of Damaskos, as if referring to the content of the *Testamentum ad cives*, declares it to be a forgery by someone else (31).

While the above observations cannot be conclusive, I would suggest that the possible forger of the *Testamentum ad cives* attributed to Epiphanios could have been an early Iconoclast who worked in the period between 726 and 750 and was possibly known to John of Damaskos.

διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν. Ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πάντα δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς παρεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγράφως, ὁμοίως δὲ κἀκεῖνα καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀξιόπιστα. Ὥστε καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀξιόπιστον ἡγώμεθα. Παράδοσίς ἐστι, μηδὲν πλέον ζήτει. Δείκνυσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς ὄντας τοὺς παρασαλευομένους.

(29) Four times in John of Damaskos and in one passage that is repeated twice by George the Monk and once in the *Chronicon* of Georgius Monachus Continuatus.

(30) For the citation in John of Damaskos see B. Kotter, *Orationes de imaginibus tres (Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos,* 3 ; *Patristische Texte und Studien,* 17), Berlin, 1975, 1, 23, 51-62 and 2, 16, 49-66 and for George the Monk see his *Chronicon breve*, *PG* 110, 984, 18-22.

(31) See Iohannes Damascenus, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* 1, 25, 1-8 : Εἰ δὲ φῂς τὸν θεῖον καὶ θαυμαστὸν Ἐπιφάνιον διαρρήδην ταύτας ἀπαγορεῦσαι, πρῶτον μὲν τυχὸν παρεγγεγραμμένος καὶ ἐπίπλαστος ὁ λόγος, ἄλλου μὲν ὢν πόνος, ἑτέρου δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων. Similar formulation in *ibidem*, 2, 18, 1-10 : Εἰ δὲ λέγεις τὸν μακάριον Ἐπιφάνιον τρανῶς τὰς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀπαγορεῦσαι εἰκόνας, γνῶθι, ὡς ἐπίπλαστος ὁ λόγος ἄλλου τινὸς τῷ τοῦ θείου Ἐπιφανίου χρησαμένου ὀνόματι, οἷα πολλὰ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι.

The forgery might have been carried out in view of the preparations for the Iconoclastic synod of Hiereia (754).

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Summary

The present paper investigates, using the indexing facilities of the *TLG*, the genuineness of the little fragment titled *testamentum ad cives* attributed to Epiphanios of Salamis. With the help of the *TLG*, words and expressions occurring in the *testamentum* are compared to the contents of other works written by or attributed to Epiphanios. The conclusion is that this particular text does not seem be a product of the pen of Epiphanios. On the basis of the testimony of John of Damaskos, it is tentatively suggested that the *testamentum* is a forgery of the early Iconoclasm (726 - c. 750).

UN PERDUTO EPITAFIO PER LO STORICO SOZOMENO ?

Tra i frammenti di tradizione indiretta, tramandati a nome di Procopio di Gaza nel cosiddetto *Lexicon Seguerianum* Περὶ συντάξεως, vi compaiono anche i seguenti due, tirati da un perduto epitafio per Salaminio :

1.

Λάφυρα δὲ τῷ κειμένῳ προσέφερον, τοῖς ἀριστείοις καὶ τεθνηκότα δωρούμενοι.

Lex. Seguer. p. 133, 12 Bekker (Δωροῦμαι ... Προκοπίου Γαζαίου ἐπιταφίῳ Σαλαμινίου· κτλ.)

2.

Χρηστὸς ὁ Φωκίων, τοὺς ζυγομαχοῦντας ἀλλήλοις διαλλάττειν.

Lex. Seguer. p. 135, 13 Bekker (Διαλλάττω· ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβιβάζω, δοτικῇ. Προκοπίου ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιταφίου Σαλαμινίου· κτλ.)

Nessuno finora mi pare abbia sollevato il problema dell'identificazione del destinatario dello scritto in questione, eludendo una questione, a mio modo di vedere, di grande interesse scientifico. Su di essa vorrei, dunque, soffermarmi, in vista della mia imminente nuova edizione critica nella «Bibliotheca Teubneriana» degli opuscoli retorico-sofistici di Procopio, compresi i frammenti tutti di tradizione indiretta (1).

Ad un'attenta e capillare ricerca, il nome Salaminio, così come tramandato dal *Lexicon*, non risulta essere attestato prima del 533 d.C. : risale, infatti, al 16 dicembre di tale anno la promulgazione da parte dell'imperatore Giustiniano della *Constitutio Omnem*, indirizzata, tra gli altri, *Salaminio viro disertissimo antecessori*. Di tale personaggio nulla è dato sapere, se non forse che dovette trattarsi di un personaggio di

(1) Cf. Procopius Gazaeus. *Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria*, ed. E. Amato, adiuvante G. Ventrella, cum testimoniis et fragmentis, Berlin-New York, 2009 (novembre). I frammenti, di cui ci occupiamo, appariranno nella citata edizione come frr. IV.1-2.

umili origini, proveniente dall'Oriente (2). Comunque sia, la cronologia di Procopio, morto intorno al 530 d.C. (3), non permette in alcun modo di identificare il dedicatario del suo perduto epitafio con l'omonimo *antecessor* di età giustinianea.

Data l'estrema rarità del nome Salaminio, sorge, allora, legittimo il sospetto che dietro l'intestatario della *laudatio funebris* procopiana possa, in realtà, nascondersi lo storico cristiano Sozomeno, nato tra il 403 ed il 427 (4) e morto senz'altro dopo il 450 (5), che di Procopio fu illustre conterraneo: egli nacque, infatti, nel villaggio di Bethelea (6) (attuale Beit Lahia), a nord-est della città di Gaza (7), appartenente di fatto al vescovo di Maiuma, porto di Gaza (8). Da questo punto di vista, non sorprenderebbe affatto l'attribuzione a Procopio – che, a sentire il suo allievo Coricio, fu autore di numerosissimi epitafi in onore tanto di cittadini illustri, quanto di esponenti della classe media e finanche del volgo (9) – di un eventuale discorso funebre in onore del famoso storico

(2) Ciò spiegherebbe la collocazione di Salaminio, nell'intestazione della stessa *constitutio*, all'ultimo posto, dopo bene sette colleghi, designati tutti *viri illustres*. Si veda, al riguardo, C. G. Mor, *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale*, Pisa, 1977, pp. 87, 93 e J. H. A. Lokin, *Anatolius Antecessor*, in H. Hokwerda, E. R. Smits, M. M. Woesthuis (edd.), *Polyphonia Byzantina. Studies in Honour of Willem J. Aerts*, Groningen, 1993, pp. 97-103 : 98 ; cf. altresì J. R. Martindale, Salaminius, in *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, IIIB, Cambridge, 1995, p. 1107.

(3) Su Procopio ed i dati relativi alla sua cronologia, mi permetto di rinviare da ultimo ad E. Amato, *Procopios de Gaza*, in R. Goulet, ed., *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, V, Paris, 2009 (in corso di pubblicazione).

(4) Come ha persuasivamente dimostrato P. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix et de piété. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène*, Leuven, 2004, pp. 51-53.

(5) Cf. B. Grillet, in *Sozomène. Histoire ecclésiastique. Livres I-II*, introduction par B. G. et G. Sabbah, traduction par A.-J. Festugière, annotation par G. Sabbah, Paris 1983, pp. 24-25, il quale giustamente nota come non costituisce un ostacolo a tale ipotesi il fatto che l'opera storica di Sozomeno si arresti incompleta al libro IX : «on peut tout aussi bien imaginer – scrive lo studioso – que la maladie ou toute autre circonstance ont empêché Sozomène de terminer son ouvrage et que sa mort n'est intervenue que plus tard».

(6) Cf. Soz., *Hist. eccl.* V, 15, 16 ; XVI, 32, 5.

(7) Vedi C. A. Glucker, *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Period*, Oxford, 1987, p. 26 e C. Dauphine, *La Palestine byzantine : peuplement et populations*, Oxford, 1998, I, p. 195 ; III, p. 881 n° 306.

(8) È in fondo lo stesso Sozomeno a riconoscerlo in *Hist. eccl.* VII, 28, 4. Si veda in proposito P. Van Nuffelen, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

(9) Cf. Chor., *Op.* VIII, 25, p. 119, 4-9 Foerster-Richtsteig.

ecclesiastico, il cui nonno, per giunta, aveva attirato nel proprio villaggio, interessati ad ascoltarne le lezioni sulla *Sacra Scrittura*, non pochi cittadini gazei (10).

Ma, per ritornare al nome Salaminio, va detto, a riprova del vero, che esso ricorre, in quanto tale, proprio per designare lo storico Sozomeno, nell'*Historia ecclesiastica* (I, 1) del tardo Niceforo Callisto Xantopulo, dove si legge : Ἑρμείας μέν τοι Σωζόμενος, ὁ καὶ Σαλαμίνιος (*PG* CXLV, col. 605d). Che Σαλαμίνιος non stia qui ad indicare un improbabile etnico, come pure da taluni è stato erroneamente avanzato (11), risulta chiaro non solo dall'uso della iunctura ὁ καὶ, tipica in formule del genere (12), ma soprattutto dall'attestazione del medesimo nome in taluni manoscritti dell'opera storica dello stesso Sozomeno in alternativa alla forma, ugualmente attestata nei manoscritti (ma non altrove !), Σαλαμήνιος (13).

Senza entrare nel merito della preferenza da accordare ad una di esse (il parallelo fornito da Niceforo Callisto, cui si aggiungerebbe ora, di diritto, quello procopiano, fa senz'altro propendere, a mio avviso, per la variante con ι piuttosto che quella con η), è, comunque, certo che entrambe le forme (*Salaminio* e *Salamlanio*) sono ugualmente plausibili, se intese come varianti di Σαλαμάνιος, corrispettivo greco di *Slmn* (dalla radice arabo-semitica *slm*), reso frettolosamente da Cassiodoro con *Salam* (14), da Fozio con Σαλαμάνος (15) : come chiarito, infatti, da R. W. Daniel, «[s]cribal miscopying is a sufficient explanation of α > η, although one might consider the possibility of the influence of an Arabic pronunciation of name. The phonetic phenomenon known as *'imāla*, i.e. long and short a pronounced as long and short *e* and *i*, was and is widespread in many Arabic dialects» (16).

(10) Cf. Soz., *Hist. eccl.* V, 15, 16.

(11) Cf. B. Grillet, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 2 (continuazione di p. 9).

(12) Cf. R. Calderini, *Ricerche sul doppio nome personale nell'Egitto greco-romano*, in *Aegyptus*, 21 (1941), pp. 221-260 : 221-250.

(13) Per i dati completi della tradizione manoscritta (che attesta, sebbene sporadicamente, anche le forme, senz'altro errate, Σαλάμιος e Σαλμάνος), vedi J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore Lecteur*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 23 e J. Bidez - G. C. Hansen, *Sozomenos. Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, 1960, pp. xi et 1.

(14) Cf. Cassiod., *Hist. Trip.* I, 1, 19.

(15) Cf. Phot., *Bibl.* cod. 30 (I, p. 17, 35-36 Henry), su cui vedi J. Schamp, *Photios historien des Lettres. La* Bibliothèque *et ses notices biographiques*, Paris, 1987, p. 201.

(16) Così R. W. Daniel, *From Work on the Petra Papyri. Arabic on a Greek Ostracon from Roman Egypt and the Name of the Church Father Sozomen*, in *ZPE*, 131 (2000), pp. 173-176 : 174, n. 7, con richiamo a C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin, 1908, pp. 141-142 ; W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, I, Cambridge, 1933³, pp. 7, 9 e 10 ; J. Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe*, Paris, 1960, pp. 96-99. In particolare, per il fenomeno dell' *'imāla* nei papiri copti, copto-arabi e greco-arabi, vedi J. Karabacek (ed.), *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, V, Wien, 1892, pp. 59-62.

Stante la mia interpretazione, ne risulterebbe non solo un non trascurabile precedente della forma Σαλαμίνιος tanto per Niceforo Callisto quanto per i manoscritti dell'*Historia ecclesiastica* di Sozomeno che tramandano tale variante, ma anche un'importante ed utile testimonianza indiretta, che aiuterebbe in parte a dirimere la dibattuta questione della data di morte dell'illustre corregionale procopiano : essa andrebbe collocata non già intorno al 450, bensì al più presto verso il 480/490, presupponendo, cioè, per Procopio, nato tra il 460/470, un'età non inferiore ai 20 anni. Il che non deve stupire affatto, se, come attesta a chiare lettere il suo allievo Coricio, la precocità di Procopio tanto negli studi, quanto nell'insegnamento della retorica e nella pratica dell'arte sofistica ed oratoria fu tale da rappresentare quasi un *unicum*, rispettato ed ammirato da tutti (17).

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(17) Scrive, infatti, Coricio (*Op.* VIII, 5, p. 111, 4-13 Foerster-Richtsteig) : Τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ μὲν θύρας ἧκε (sc. Προκόπιος) ποιητικὰς ἡλικίαν ἔχων ἣν οἱ τὰ πρῶτα παιδευόμενοι γράμματα, εἰς Ἑρμοῦ δὲ παλαίστραν ἐφοίτησε χρόνον ἄγων τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἱ τὰ Μουσῶν ἔτι μανθάνοντες, βῆμα δὲ καὶ νέων χορὸς αὐτὸν διεδέξατο τοῖς τὰ ῥητόρων τελουμένοις ὁμήλικα, καὶ ἦν παράδοξον θέαμα καὶ τερπνὸν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἡλικιώτης διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν τὸ βραχὺ τῆς ἡλικίας εὐκαταφρόνητον ὑπῆρχε τοῖς φοιτηταῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸν νέον ὡς πρεσβύτην ᾐσχύνοντο τὴν ἐπιστήμην αἰδούμενοι («Procopio si accostò, così, alla soglia della poesia ad un'età in cui si apprendono i primi rudimenti, frequentò la palestra di Hermes ad un'epoca in cui si imparano ancora le produzioni delle Muse, la tribuna e un coro di giovani studenti lo accolse quando aveva la stessa età di quanti sono iniziati alla retorica ; ed era uno spettacolo raro e piacevole un maestro così giovane come i suoi allievi. La giovane età non fu certo occasione di scherno per i suoi discepoli, bensì questi lo rispettarono come si rispetta un anziano e ne venerarono la scienza»).

RÉSUMÉ

Le *Lexicon Seguerianum* attribue à Procope de Gaza un ἐπιτάφιος λόγος d'un certain Σαλαμίνιος ; il est possible qu'il s'agisse ici de l'historien Sozomène.

COMMENTING ON A HOMILY : A POEM BY MANUEL PHILES

The well-known court poet Manuel Philes, who was born around 1270 or shortly afterwards in Asia Minor and died after 1332 in Constantinople (1), is regarded today as "einer der bedeutendsten byzantinischen Dichter" (2), but his work still awaits both a critical edition and a

(1) On Philes' life, see G. STICKLER, *Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase* (*Dissertationen der Universität Wien*, 229), Vienna, 1992, pp. 10-36. Only one other modern monograph on his work exists : N. PAPADOGIANNAKIS, *Studien zu den Epitaphien des Manuel Philes*, Heraklion, 1984. Literature on Philes is conveniently gathered in the *PLP*, no. 29817 (1994) ; see also R. HISS, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Supplementum Bibliographicum*, II, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998, for the years 1991/1992 to 1996, *s.v.* "Philes, Manuel" ; and the CD-version of the *BZ* bibliography in the volumes of 1990-2004. Thereafter, see Theodora ANTONOPOULOU, *A Kanon on Saint Nicholas by Manuel Philes*, in *REB*, 62 (2004), pp. 197-213 ; Anna CARAMICO, *Manuele File. Le proprietà degli animali*, II, *Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (*Quaderni dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, 40), Napoli, 2006 ; Sarah T. BROOKS, *Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration : Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes*, in *DOP*, 60 (2006), pp. 223-248 ; P. A. AGAPITOS, *Blemmydes, Laskaris and Philes*, in M. HINTERBERGER - Elisabeth SCHIFFER (ed.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 20), Berlin-New York, 2007, pp. 1-19 ; A. RHOBY - W. HÖRANDNER, *Beobachtungen zu zwei inschriftlich erhaltenen Epigrammen*, in *BZ*, 100 (2007), pp. 157-167, esp. 157-162 ; Efthymia PIETSCH-BRAOUNOU, *"Die Stummheit des Bildes": Ein Motiv in Epigrammen des Manuel Philes*, in *JÖB*, 57 (2007), pp. 135-148 ; EAD., *Manuel Philes und die übernatürliche Macht der Epigrammdichtung*, in W. HÖRANDNER - A. RHOBY (ed.), *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme. Akten des internationalen Workshops (Wien, 1.-2. Dezember 2006)* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse*, 371 / *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, 14), Vienna, 2008, pp. 85-92.

The present article was originally destined to be included in the forthcoming second volume of *Mocxovia*, a Festschrift for Boris Fonkitch, and as such I announced it in my afore-mentioned article, p. 197, n. 1. The dedicatee of that volume will hopefully find the publication here equally pleasing.

(2) W. HÖRANDNER in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VI, Munich, 1993, col. 2055, *s.v.* "Philes, Manuel".

comprehensive study. Among his immense poetical corpus of ca. 30,000 verses, several pieces remain unpublished, their extent being estimated at around 5,000 verses (3). Such is a poem of 33 lines (*BHG* 1362z) which is contained in six manuscripts dating from soon after composition up to the seventeenth century (4) :

B = *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.* 583 (14th cent. third quarter, paper, 377 × 278, ff. II, pp. 1026 [+ pp. 619a, 1003a, 1018a ; – pp. 626, 708, 741, 762, 862, 865], ff. III′, 39-43 or 33 ll.), p. 782. The codex is a late panegyricon independent of Metaphrastes, type A, vol. 1 of 2, and contains 88 texts (5).

D = *Athous, Dionysiou* 228 [Lambros 3762] (*a.* 1420/1421, paper, 210 × 125, ff. 452 [-63, 422], I′, 23 ll.), ff. 123v-124r. It is a post-Metaphrastic non-menologic mixed collection, contains 52 texts and was written by Michael Katrarios of Chios (6).

P = *Parisinus gr.* 137 (16th cent. second half, paper, 328 × 222, ff. II, 265, I′, 28/29 ll.), f. 198r-v. Ff. 154r-264r (28 ll.) constitute a late panegyricon independent of Metaphrastes, type A, vol. 1 of 2, and contain 20 texts (7).

O = *Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr.* 264 (16th cent. second half, paper, 325 × 225, ff. III, 284 [–21], I′, 29 ll.), f. 95r. It is a late panegyricon independent of Metaphrastes, type A, vol. 1 of 2, and contains 36 texts, some copied out of liturgical order (8).

V = *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.* 437 (17th cent., paper, 230 × 167, ff. 189, ll. 20-32), f. 14r-v. It is the second volume of a collection of homilies and contains 25 texts ; the first volume is *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr.* 436. The codex was copied primarily by L. Holstenius from various manuscripts (9).

(3) Stickler, *Philes*, p. 88.

(4) Only B, D, and R are identified in Stickler's list of manuscripts containing works of Philes ; see ibid., pp. 213, 238, 233 respectively. I would like to thank the Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, and the National Library of France for permission to consult the manuscripts concerned *in situ* as well as the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessalonica for providing me with copies of cod. D.

(5) See Theodora Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Sapientis imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae* (*CCSG*, 63), Turnhout, 2008, p. cxlii (with literature).

(6) *Ibid.*, p. cxxv (with literature).

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. cxiii-cxiv (with literature).

(8) *Ibid.*, p. cxliii (with literature).

(9) *Ibid.*, p. cxli (with literature).

R = *Vallicellanus Allatianus* 132 (17th cent., paper, 280 × 200, ff. I, 324 [+207a], I′), f. 256r-v. The manuscript consists of various parts bound together, mostly containing Byzantine poems (10).

In BPOV the poem is preceded by the title and followed by the text of the homily on St. Nicholas by Emperor Leo VI the Wise (*BHG* 1363), to which it functions as a poetic preface (11). In POV it is anonymous, while in B the attribution to Philes runs along the spine of the book and vertically to the title of the homily : στίχοι τοῦ Φιλῆ. On the other hand, in D and R the poem is found alone. The attribution to Philes is clear in D, since the poem bears the title : εἰς τὸν ἐν θαύμασι περιβόητον μυροβλύτην καὶ θαυματουργὸν Νικόλαον στίχοι τοῦ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Φιλῆ. The title in R is εἰς τὸν λόγον τὸν εἰς τὸν θαυματουργὸν Νικόλαον πονηθέντα ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως. It is noteworthy that BDR also contain a similar work of the same poet, Philes' metrical preface (*BHG* 1361z) (12) to the homily of Andrew of Crete on St. Nicholas (*BHG* 1362 ; *CPG* 8187), which in BD precedes the actual homily. In fact, the poem on Andrew's homily is placed immediately after the poem on Leo's homily and the homily itself in B, and after the poem edited here in D and R (13). This proximity is an argument in favour of the poem's attribution to Philes.

The relationship among the manuscripts is as follows. The best, really faultless text is provided by B. D contains a few mistakes in the first half of the poem that are not found in the other manuscripts (6 θορυβοῖ D ‖ 7 τῆς om. D ‖ 8 τοῖς : τὸν D), while its occasional agreement with one or more of the later codices is most probably coincidental (3 λόγχμην DR ‖ 9 τιθασσὸς DVRa.corr. ‖ 31 ἐκρότει σε : ἐκρότησε DPOV). Consequently, D could have been derived from B, whereas it cannot have served as the exemplar of any of the more recent codices.

(10) E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, II, Milan, 1902, p. 224, no. 208.

(11) The poem is found in no other codex of Leo VI's homily on Nicholas, while in *Lugdunensis* 625 (12th cent.) the homily is mutilated at the beginning ; see Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Homiliae*, p. cxii.

(12) Published in E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae carmina*, I-II, Paris, 1855-1857 (= Amsterdam, 1967) as App(endix) 4. The poem is a genuine work of Philes ; see Stickler, *Philes*, p. 75. In the following, references to E F P V (= *codices Escur., Flor., Paris.*, and *Vat.* respectively) and to App. with regard to Philes' poems are to Miller's edition.

(13) The poem on Andrew's homily on Nicholas and the homily itself are contained on pp. 791-797 in B (Leo's homily on the saint is on pp. 782-791), and on ff. 124r-130v in D ; in R the poem is found on ff. 256v-257v.

P and O, both written by the same scribe, Constantine Rhesinos ([14]), are closely connected to each other through a significant binding error at v. 10 (αὐθάδους : αἰθάλους PO), which should be attributed to a common exemplar rather than to a repeated mistake by their common scribe. This lost exemplar had not retained the attribution of the poem to Philes, contained Leo VI's homily on Nicholas as well, which is not in DR, and was derived from B ([15]). V is closely related to PO, as is proven by the repetition of the false reading of v. 10, while it contains an additional error at v. 33 (θύτας). More specifically, according to a note in the upper right-hand margin of f. 14^r the text that follows was copied "Ex MS Rev^{mi} Arch. Tholosani", that is P ([16]).

R bears no relationship to POV, since they share no significant errors (see above on D). Moreover, it has an error of its own at v. 25 (βρέμουσα). Unlike in the case of other texts contained in it, R bears no indication regarding the exemplar used for the two poems by Philes, unless one agrees with the catalogue of Martini in applying to them the reference found on f. 248^r : "Cod. gr. B. 430". The indication in question is placed at the head of a list of Philes' poems, which is contained on ff. 248^r-252^v of R, while ff. 253^r-255^v, which precede the poem presented here, are blank. The poems listed include the ones on the two homilies (mentioned on f. 252^r), which were thus contained in *Barberinianus gr.* 430. However, this manuscript cannot be identified with any of the surviving Barberini codices ([17]), including B, which is a homiletic, not a poetic collection. Nevertheless, it appears that B was the exemplar of R too. The latter codex has kept the correct reading of B at v. 31, which is preferable to that of the rest of the codices for reasons of contents as well as of metre, as will be made clear later on in the metrical analysis of the poem. In addition, such dependence easily explains away the title of the poem in R, which connects it to Leo's homily, a reference which, incidentally, is absent from D.

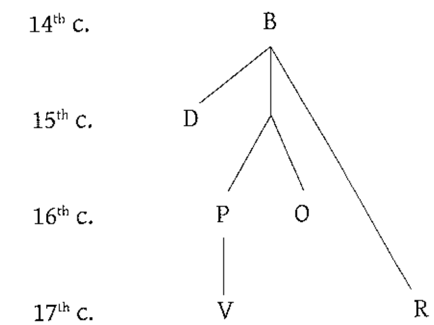
(14) On Rhesinos, see E. Gamillscheg - H. Hunger with D. Harlfinger - P. Eleuteri, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, III A-C. *Rom mit dem Vatikan*, Vienna, 1997, no. 365.

(15) This is clearly borne out by the establishment of the stemmatic relations of the three manuscripts BPO in the case of Leo's homily on Nicholas ; see Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Homiliae*, pp. clxxxix-cxci (codices Vc Pc Vd respectively).

(16) See *ibid.*, p. cxci with n. 210 (cod. Va).

(17) See *Barberini-Concordanze Segnature Manzi-Perialisi-Attuali*, Sala Consultazione Manoscritti 378 of the Vatican Library.

Consequently, B, a manuscript close to the poet's time, is the surviving archetype of all the other manuscripts examined above, which are, therefore, of no use for the edition. Here is the resulting stemma of the codices, followed by the *editio princeps* of the poem :



Στίχοι τοῦ Φιλῆ

Τῷ Νικολάῳ τὸν προκείμενον λόγον
ἐρεύγεται μὲν ὁ στεφηφόρος Λέων·
λόχμην γὰρ ἂν εὕροι τις αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον
κομῶσαν ἀβρῶς ἐν χλιδῇ τεραστίων.
Τέρπει δὲ πᾶν ἔμμουσον ἀνθρώπων γένος,
ἀλλ' οὐ θορυβεῖ τοῖς βρυχηθμοῖς τῶν κρότων·
βακχεύεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐερμίας,
τοῖς ἐντόνοις ἅλμασι τῆς τέχνης τρέχων,
καὶ σκύμνος ἐστὶ καὶ τιθασὸς τὴν φύσιν,
οὐδὲν φέρων γνώρισμα θηρὸς αὐθάδους.
Ἔστι μὲν οὖν κράτιστον ἰδεῖν τὸν λόγον
εἰς ῥυθμόν, εἰς κίνησιν, εἰς νοῦν, εἰς φράσιν,
καὶ σχηματισμὸν ἀττικοῦ πλήρη κτύπου.
Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πίθηκον αὐτόν που κρίνειν
ἢ πτῶκα δειλὸν πρὸς τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῦ βίου·
ἐπείγεται γάρ, ἀλλ' ὑποστρέφει τρέχων,
καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον ὄγκον οὐκ ἔχει στέγειν.
Θάρσος γε μὴν ἄρρητον εὐνοίας φέρων,
καὶ δορκάδος πρόεισιν διψώσης πλέον
εἰς τοὺς ἀγωγοὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν μύρων.
Πλὴν ἀγγέλους ἔδει σε θαυμάζειν, μάκαρ,
οἷς αὐτὸς ἀνθάμιλλος ἐκ γῆς εὑρέθης,
ἀλλ' οὐ ταπεινοὺς καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων κρότους.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸν σὸν δεσπότην

εἰς καρδίαν βρέμουσαν ἐκ πόθου βλέπεις,
πρὸ τῶν λόγων ἥδιστα τὴν σχέσιν δέχου,
ἀνθ᾿ ὧν ἐφ᾿ ἡμᾶς θαυματουργεῖς ἀφθόνως,
χαρισμάτων ἄβυσσον ἐξ ὕψους χέων.
Εἰ μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντας ἡμᾶς εἱστίας,
τεραστίων τράπεζαν ἁβρὰν ἀρτύων,
τίς ἄν ποτε ζῶν ἐκρότει σε, δέσποτα,
κάλλιστε ποιμήν, ἄφθονε πτωχοτρόφε,
παγκόσμιον φῶς; Ἀλλ᾿ ἐπευλόγει θύτα.

B

The poem is divided into two distinct parts. In the first twenty verses, Philes refers to the author of the homily in the third person singular and comments on his ability as a writer. He begins with a word-play on the emperor's name, whereby Leo is compared to a lion, while his life is described as full of marvellous things like a lair of thick yet graceful green. Philes' evaluation of the speech is positive : Leo pleases all people of letters, while the roaring of his words is not disturbing. He is a divinely inspired author, a fact that makes him spring forward with great leaps of art. At the same time, Philes says, Leo is rather a lion's cub than an audacious beast, disposing of a tractable nature. His discourse is excellent with regard to rhythm, internal motion, content, and diction, while his language sounds properly atticistic. This praise is followed, however, by the comparison of the imperial author to a monkey or a cowardly hare (vv. 14-15), which looks odd at first. The justification that Philes gives for it at vv. 16-17 centres on the argument that the author hesitates before the magnitude of the subject, which causes him to retreat despite his eagerness. The image is then reversed (vv. 18-20), when Leo is revealed as superior to a thirsty roe who, thanks to the immense courage granted him by the saint's favour, runs towards the repository of supernatural perfume, i.e. the saint himself. What these comparisons refer to is the actual contents of the homily, almost one seventh of which (ll. 4-71) forms a very extended preface dealing with the preacher's effort to secure the saint's favour before embarking on the encomiastic account of his life (18).

(18) See the edition in Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI Homiliae*, pp. 279-281. The contrast between the lion and the monkey is proverbial and is applied to those people who can adjust well to changing circumstances ; see Macarius IV 18 and

In the second part of the poem (v. 21 to the end), Philes addresses Nicholas declaring his love for the saint, who is the source of inspiration for those who praise him. The beginning of this section is marked by yet another comparison between the laudation of Nicholas by the angels, which would be the only one really appropriate for him (19), and the modest one coming from humans. The saint, like the Lord, is interested in the human heart that rages with divine passion. He is, therefore, asked to accept not only the speech but first of all the expression of gratitude for the benefits he grants humankind. If it were not for him, no one would be able to praise him.

The metre of the poem is the Byzantine dodecasyllable, in which Philes, who was an unsurpassed master in the composition of "iambics", composed most of his poems (20). All of the 33 verses have twelve syllables, while in accordance with the norm of the metre, all are paroxytone with the single exception of v. 31 : its proparoxytone ending is due to the use of δέσποτα, a word which occurs in the same position in other poems of Philes as well (21). The poet is faithful to the prosodic norms aside from the fact that the doubtful vowels (*dichrona*) are treated freely, except when they are long by position. Keeping this in mind, syllables 3, 7 and 11 are always short, whereas syllables 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 are always long. The first syllable of every "metre" and the last one of each verse are indifferent. Caesuras (P) are almost equally divided between P5 and P7 (17 and 16 verses respectively), as in other poems by Philes (22). As for the stress before the caesura, all P5s are oxytone apart from v. 1, where the paroxytone stress is the result of the difficulty caused by the pres-

Michael Apostolius VII 98a in E. L. a Leutsch - F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, II, Göttingen, 1851 (= Hildesheim, 1965).

(19) Vv. 21-22 imply the story of Nicholas' miraculous appearance in Constantinople, while he was still alive, in order to intervene in favour of three wrongly accused generals ; see *Praxis de stratelatis*, Version I, esp. 17-26 ; ed. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen*, I, Leipzig-Berlin, 1913, pp. 73,17 - 77,12.

(20) See P. Maas, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber*, in *BZ*, 12 (1903), pp. 278-323, *passim* ; Papadogiannakis, *Studien*, pp. 52-57 specifically on the metre of the epitaphs.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 55.

(22) As already noted by Maas, *Zwölfsilber*, p. 292, n. 1. In the poem, vv. 7, 15, 23, 24 and 29 have been considered to have P5 and v. 17 P7 for syntactical reasons.

ence of a proper name. All P7s are proparoxytone with the exception of v. 17 where the P7 is paroxytone (a P5 in this verse, which is equally possible, though not as preferable due to the syntax, would also be paroxytone). The rest of the stresses are also regulated in conformity with the picture that Maas established for Philes [23]. In the case of P5, stresses occur on the first or, in most cases, second syllable in the first hemistich, and on the eighth or, usually, ninth syllable in the second. However, v. 13 has stresses on both the eighth and ninth syllables, and v. 32 has one on the sixth, whereas the proparoxytone v. 31 has a stress on the seventh syllable with word-end after the eighth syllable, which fact is in accordance with the poet's usage [24]. With regard to P7, there are stresses also on the first or, usually, third syllable in the first hemistich, and on the ninth syllable in the second. In the case of v. 17, which has a paroxytone P7, a stress falls on the fourth syllable. In conclusion, all the afore-mentioned features accord well with the kind of dodecasyllables that Philes composed, and constitute an important argument in favour of the authenticity of the poem.

Furthermore, the occurrence of similar vocabulary and expressions in other genuine poems of Philes points in the same direction [25]. The most impressive parallels concern :

a) vv. 1-2 and 6 : cf. E 38, 1-2 Λέων ὁ Μάρκος εὑρεθεὶς ἐκ τῶν λόγων, / φρικτῶν βρυχηθμῶν ἐξερεύγεται κτύπους, and P 219, 54 καὶ Μάρκος ἄλλος ὡς λέων ἐρεύγεται, where the word-plays concern Mark the Evangelist and his symbol, the lion.

b) v. 6 : the word κρότων in a positive sense is a favourite term used by Philes when referring to literary works or learned friends of his ; see esp. Martini [26] 43, 4 ἐγκωμίων εὔρυθμον ὑφαίνω κρότον and 75, 3 σοφῶν ἕρμα κρότων respectively.

c) vv. 6, 8 and 9 (lion), 14, 15 and 19 : the reference to various animals and their behaviour is a favourite theme in the poetry of Philes, who

(23) *Ibid.*, pp. 295-299.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 289, n. 3, p. 290.

(25) There are no words in the poem that are not found in the lexica of Liddell - Scott - Jones (with *Revised Supplement*) and Lampe, and in the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*.

(26) Ae. Martini, *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita* (*Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, 20 [1898-1899], *Supplemento*), Naples, 1900.

wrote several poems on zoological subjects [27]. The features of the animals referred to here are, however, traditional commonplaces, which also occur in other poems of his ; see, for example, in addition to a) above, Martini 14, 2 (lion's cub ; cf. also Martini 76, 23) ; App. 13, 83 (monkey) ; F 211.4, 16 (hare) ; P 203, 33 (roe).

d) v. 12, which contains categories of literary criticism also to be found in the epigram on a book *Contra Iudaeos* composed by a member of the Palaeologan imperial family and exceedingly praised by Philes : Martini 65, 40-41 τίς ἄρα τὸν *νοῦν* τῆς γραφῆς μὴ θαυμάσει; / *ῥυθμὸς* γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ σαφὴς πλάττει *φράσις* .... It is noteworthy that Philes saw fit to apply similar appraisal to the works of a deceased emperor as well.

e) v. 13, where the praise of the author's atticism corresponds to Philes' positive attitude towards atticism, which is expressed in similar language in varying contexts : F 1, 216-217 τίς οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κοσμήσει λόγος, / κἂν ἐκ παλαιᾶς Ἀττικῆς ὑπερβλύσῃ; Cf. also the phrase εὐγλωττία ἠττικισμένη, mentioned as a feature of advanced age in contrast to muttering infants ; see Martini 80, 63.

f) v. 20 : cf. V 18, 4, where the saint is called πηγὴ μύρων ; on Nicholas as μυροβλύτης, see his *Vita per Michaelem* 41, ed. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, p. 134, 9-13.

g) vv. 21-22, which are similar to those applied to Apostle Paul in F 22, 93-94 : Παῦλος τὸ κοινὸν θαῦμα τῆς οἰκουμένης, / ὃς ἀνθάμιλλός ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις.

h) v. 33 : the final sentence Ἀλλ' ἐπευλόγει θύτα also occurs in the similar form σὺ δ' ἐπευλόγει θύτα in P 224, 12 (final v.), App. 4, 46 (final v.), and App. 7.43, 9 (in essence a final v.) [28]. Such a repetition is not surprising. It is known that Philes reused verses and half-verses, or certain phrases and words at specific places in a verse that could serve his metrical needs [29]. Other such cases include the phrases ἀνθ' ὧν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς at the beginning of v. 27, which occurs in the same position in E 169, 4 in the form ἀνθ' ὧν περ ἡμᾶς, and θαυματουργεῖς ἀφθόνως at the end of v. 27, which is used in the same position in F 105, 4, as well as the word μάκαρ at the end of v. 21, which is applied to Nicholas in the same posi-

(27) See F. S. Lehrs - F. Dübner, *Manuelis Philae versus iambici de proprietate animalium*, pp. 1-56, in *Poetae bucolici et didactici*, Paris, 1862.

(28) On the latter poem and v. 9 as the final verse of a metrical preface, see my fothcoming article referred to below, n. 36.

(29) Papadogiannakis, *Studien*, pp. 60-69.

tion in P 181, 5 and V 18, 4. A few more examples will suffice to demonstrate the affinity of the present poem to the rest of Philes' poetry: 1) v. 1: cf. e.g. P 203, 38 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ τοῦ προκειμένου λόγου and P 224, 1 κόσμος γυναιξὶν ὁ προκείμενος λόγος, 2) v. 16: cf. App. 7.2, 2 εἰς πόντον ἐκπλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑποστρέφεις πάλιν, and 3) v. 20: cf. P 117, 6 πρὸς τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν πόνων.

Philes exhibits a special veneration for St. Nicholas. This is testified not by the existing several epigrams in his honour, probably commissioned by others on various occasions, but by the composition of still other, more personal pieces, apart from the one edited here. The first is the metrical preface to the homily on St. Nicholas by Andrew of Crete mentioned above, while the second is a liturgical kanon on the saint, a unique piece in Philes' literary production (30). A third poem could also be connected to him. It is P 181, where the poet addresses Nicholas as the saint who rescued him from prison, when he fell out of the emperor's favour. Although Philes wrote prayers to saints supposedly uttered by his commissioners (31), the epigram in question, written on a πυκτίον (v. 9), bears no indications that would connect it to anyone other than Philes. It constitutes a proof for the poet's incarceration, which was recently thrown into doubt (32).

In a way comparable to the poem edited here, the poem on the homily on Nicholas by Andrew of Crete is also divided into two parts, of which the first and shorter part (vv. 1-8) praises the author, while the second (vv. 9-46) addresses the saint, to whom the same description is applied: ἄφθονε πτωχοτρόφε (end of v. 11; see here, end of v. 32; cf. F 65, 56 and F 82, 18 ὁ Μυρέων πρόεδρος ὁ πτωχοτρόφος). Likewise, Nicholas was ἰσάγγελος ... καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκδημίας ... ἐν γῇ (vv. 45-46; cf. here, vv. 21-22) and follows Jesus in his estimation of human goodwill (vv. 38-42; cf. here, vv. 24-26). Moreover, several particular words also occur in this poem in the same or similar context: τεράστιος (v. 6; cf. here, vv. 4, 30; P 181, 2 and V 18, 2 also with reference to St. Nicholas), κρότος (vv. 12, 24; cf. here, v. 6), ἀνθάμιλλος (v. 30; cf. here, v. 22). The two poems on the homilies on Nicholas by Leo VI and Andrew of Crete testify not only to Manuel's readings in general, but also to the circulation of these homilies; the latter could have been accessible either as part of a homiletic / hagiographical collection or, in the case of Leo VI, as part of a special collection (panegyricon) of his homilies.

(30) See Antonopoulou, *A Kanon on Saint Nicholas*, esp. pp. 199-201; cf. Stickler, *Philes*, pp. 86-87.

(31) See *ibid.*, p. 31 and n. 9 for some examples.

(32) By Stickler, *ibid.*, pp. 33-34, contrary to previous scholarship; cf. the word αἰχμαλωσία of App. 34, 1, which Stickler dismisses as proof for the poet's imprisonment, since he takes it too literally as meaning "captivity in war".

The poem published here was not an epigram inscribed on an object and composed on commission for someone else, as many of Philes' poems were (33). Nor was it a dedicatory or a usual laudatory book epigram, which would have been destined to accompany the manuscripts of certain works (34), even though Philes had a predilection for writing epigrams that comment on various literary works, including ecclesiastical discourses (35). It belongs to the related group of metrical prefaces, which would be written in the first place in order to be recited in front of an audience and to introduce the sermon of the day (36). This is clearly testified by the concluding sentence, which is a request to the officiating priest to offer his blessing (v. 33; see above for some parallels). Moreover, the present poem stemmed from the poet's veneration for the saint, whom he appears to have considered his patron. Shortly after Philes' death, as proved by the date of the earliest manuscript (B), it was deemed worthy by compilers to be incorporated into the homiletic and

(33) See Alice-Mary Talbot, *Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its Art*, in *DOP*, 48 (1994), pp. 135-165.

(34) On these categories of book epigrams, though focusing on an earlier period, see M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, I (*Wiener byzantinistische Studien*, 24, 1), Vienna, 2003, pp. 197-198.

(35) The poems on the latter form part of a group already set apart by Karl Krumbacher as the poet's "Gedichte auf kirchliche Stoffe"; see his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Munich, 1897², p. 777.

(36) See briefly A. D. Kominis, *Τὸ βυζαντινὸν ἱερὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ οἱ ἐπιγραμματοποιοί* (*Ἀθηνᾶ. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων*, 3), Athens, 1966, pp. 42-44; and for a study of the group, Theodora Antonopoulou, *On the Reception of Homilies and Hagiography in Byzantium: The Recited Metrical Prefaces*, in A. Rhoby - Elisabeth Schiffer (ed.), *Imitatio - aemulatio - variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.-25. Oktober 2008)* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*), Vienna, 2010 (forthcoming).

hagiographical collections as a preface to the particular homily to which it is devoted.

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SUMMARY

The article offers the first edition and study of a poem of 33 verses by the well-known poet of the Palaeologan era Manuel Philes. The poem, which is contained in six codices, is a metrical preface to the homily on St. Nicholas by Emperor Leo VI. Its first part focuses on a (positive) literary evaluation of the homily, while in the second part the poet addresses his favourite saint. The poem is placed within Philes' poetical production and its authenticity is upheld on the basis of metrics and a significant number of parallels from his oeuvre. The poet's special veneration for St. Nicholas and the genre of the poem are also commented upon.

ÜBERLEGUNG ZUR DATIERUNG UND LOKALISIERUNG DER INNSBRUCKER ARTUKIDEN-SCHALE

Für Rüçhan und Oluş Arık (*)

Die sog. Artukiden-Schale im Tiroler Landesmuseum Innsbruck gilt zu Recht als ein Unikum innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Emailkunst (1). Die aus Kupfer hergestellte, auf der Innen- und Unterseite mit Darstellungen und Ornamenten in opakem Zellenemail verzierte Schale erregte seit langem die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher. Sie wurde kürzlich von zwei Autorinnen im selben Band erneut und ausführlich behandelt : Ulrike Koenen untersuchte die Schale im Zusammenhang mit weiteren Kupferemailwerken und gelangt angesichts der zahlreichen divergierenden Lokalisierungsversuche zu wichtigen methodischen Ergebnissen (2). Eine ihrer Schlußfolgerungen lautet, daß die Schale „von einem Transfer der Techniken und der Motive zeugt und mit ihrer Bildsprache ein im gesamten östlichen Mittelmeergebiet verständliches Programm vermittelt" (3). Martina Müller-Wiener behandelte die

(*) Den vorliegenden Beitrag wollte ich auf einer Tagung, die in der Selçuk Universität Konya zu Ehren von Rüçhan und Oluş Arık veranstaltet wurde (April 2007), vortragen, woran ich leider nicht teilnehmen konnte.

(1) Siehe dazu die Beiträge, in *Die Artuqiden-Schale im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum Innsbruck. Mittelalterliche Emailkunst zwischen Orient und Okzident. Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Innsbruck. Ausstellungskatalog*, Nr. 6, München, 1995 (im Folgenden als *Innsbruck* zitiert).

(2) Ulrike KOENEN, *Die Artukiden-Schale im Innsbrucker Ferdinandeum als Zeugnis der „Grenzgänge" im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet. Bemerkungen zur Methodik der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, in Ulrike KOENEN und Martina MÜLLER-WIENER (ed.), *Grenzgänge im östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Byzanz und die Islamische Welt vom 9. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2008, S. 121-147 (im Folgenden als KOENEN, *Grenzgänge*, zitiert).

(3) KOENEN, *Grenzgänge*, S. 141.

Abb. 1. — Artukiden-Schale, Innenseite. © Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck.

Schale im Kontext der islamischen Kunst in Nordsyrien und der *Ǧazīra*, also hauptsächlich im Herrschaftsbereich der Artukiden (4).

In meinen folgenden Ausführungen möchte ich zeigen, daß sich der Entstehungsort der Artukiden-Schale und der geschichtliche Hintergrund ihrer Entstehung vielleicht näher erhellen lassen, wodurch zugleich das Funktionieren des Kulturaustauschs an einem konkreten Beispiel verdeutlicht werden kann. Da Martina Müller-Wiener auf die

(4) Martina Müller-Wiener, *Im Kontext gesehen - Die Artukidenschale und das „classical revival" in Nordsyrien und der Ǧazīra*, in Koenen, *Grenzgänge*, S. 147-169 (im Folgenden als Müller-Wiener, *Classical revival*, zitiert).

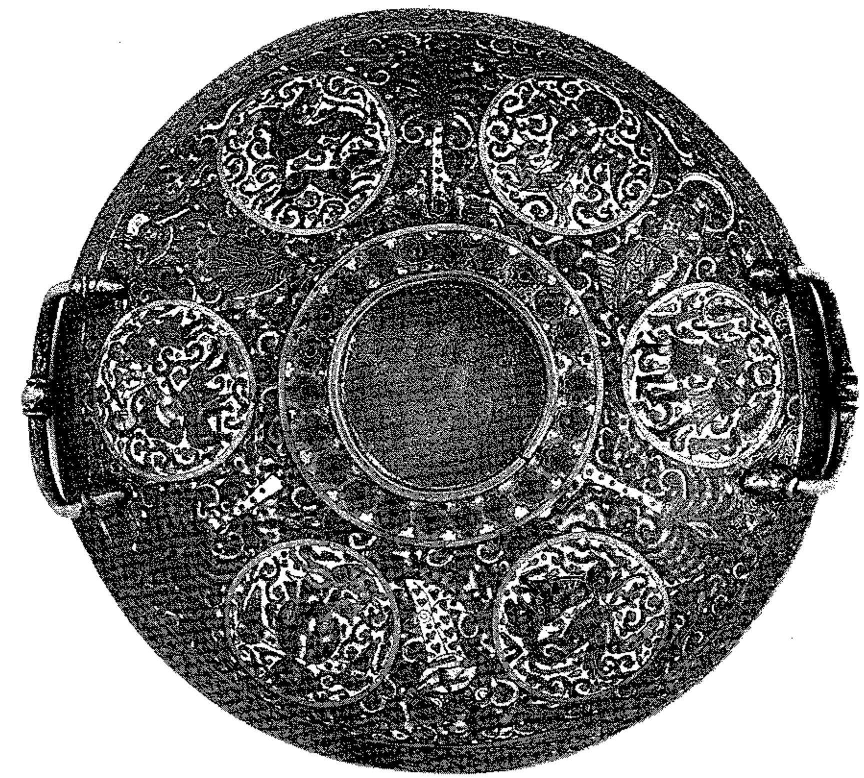

Abb. 2. — Artukiden-Schale, Unterseite. © Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck.

an der Schale angebrachten Darstellungen noch einmal ausführlich eingegangen ist, sollen die an der Innen- und Unterseite angebrachten Themen hier nur kurz in Erinnerung gerufen werden : im Zentrum der Schaleinnenseite (Abb. 1) ist die Himmelfahrt Alexanders des Großen dargestellt (5). Im Schalenrund sind sechs Medaillons verteilt, die von-

(5) Sie zeigt große Übereinstimmungen mit dem Alexanderkopf eines Medaillons an der Pala d'Oro in Venedig, siehe Th. Steppan, *Die Artuqiden-Schale. Emailkunst im Spannungsfeld byzantinischer und Islamischer Kultur*, in *Innsbruck*, S. 18, Anm. 13 (im Folgenden als Steppan, *Artuqiden-Schale*, zitiert) ; über Assoziationen mit Alexander dem Großen in der islamischen Kultur siehe zuletzt Müller-Wiener, *Classical revival*, S. 155-160.

einander durch stilisierte Palmen, jeweils bewacht von paarweise angeordneten Löwen, die Figuren zweier Tänzerinnen und eine Akrobatengruppe getrennt werden (6). Die Medaillons sind mit Pfauen, Tierkampfszenen, einem Adler sowie mit Ranken gefüllt. Auf der Unterseite (Abb. 2) befinden sich wiederum sechs Medaillons mit Adler, Tierkampfgruppen sowie – unter den Henkeln – einem Lautenspieler mit Weinschenk in einem und zwei sich umarmenden Figuren in einem weiteren. Zwischen den Medaillons sind auch hier stilisierte Palmen bzw. weitere Tanzfiguren angebracht, darunter auch ein Tänzer mit Turban (7). Zusammengefaßt wurden auf der Schale Zitate von dargestellt und alle freien Flächen dicht mit Ranken ausgefüllt. Die Schale weist darüber hinaus zwei umlaufende Inschriften auf – eine persische am äußeren Rand und eine arabische am inneren Rand (Abb. 1). Aus der arabischen Inschrift (s. u.) erfahren wir, daß die Schale dem Artukidenherrscher Nasır ed din Rükn ed Devle Davut gehörte, der zwischen 1114 und 1144 in Hısn-ı Keyfa (Hasankeyf) regierte (8). Das Problem der

(6) Die Tänzerinnen werden gewöhnlich mit denen auf der Monomachos-Krone aus dem 11. Jahrhundert verglichen ; siehe z. B. S. Redford, *How Islamic is it ? The Innsbruck Plate and its Setting*, in *Muqarnas*, 7 (1990), S. 119-135, hier S. 126 (im Folgenden als Redford, *Innsbruck Plate,* zitiert). Zur Monomachos-Krone siehe M. von Bárány-Oberschall, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos*, Budapest, 1937.

(7) Es soll hier nur darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die tanzende Figur mit Turban, ohne auf die physiognomischen Unterschiede zu den eindeutig als Frauen identifizierbaren Figuren der Schale zu achten, immer wieder als „Tänzerin" bezeichnet wird. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, daß es sich in diesem Fall nicht um eine weibliche Tänzerin, sondern um einen männlichen Tänzer handelt, die bei den seldschukischen Feierlichkeiten durchaus üblich waren. Zu den Musikern und Tänzern bei den Seldschuken siehe Ö. Süslü, *Tasvirlere göre Anadolu Selçuklu Kıyafetleri*, Ankara, 1989, S. 185-188.

(8) Die Artukidenherrscher, die aus dem Zweig von Sökmen (Sohn von Artuk Bey) stammten, regierten in Hasankeyf, die aus dem Zweig von İlgazi (Sohn von Artuk Bey) stammenden von Mardin aus. Zu Hasankeyf siehe zuletzt M. Oluş Arık, *Hasankeyf. Üç Dünyanın Buluştuğu Şehir*, İstanbul, 2003. Nach İbn-i Ezrak, *Târih-i Meyyâfarikin ve Amid*, British Museum, Or 5803-P. 23694, 177a (im Folgenden als İbn-i Ezrak) [zitiert nach R. Ataoğlu, *Hısn-ı Keyfa Artuklu Hükümdarı Davud'un Siyasi Faaliyetleri*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1992-1993, 27/4, S. 33-43, bes. S. 33 (im Folgenden als Ataoğlu, *Davud,* zitiert)] soll Davut zwischen 1108-1114 zunächst zusammen mit der Witwe seines Bruders İbrahim regiert haben.

Lokalisierung der Werkstatt sowie eine genauere Datierung der Schale blieben jedoch bislang offen. Nach den bisher vertretenen Meinungen entstand sie entweder in Byzanz und war ein kaiserliches Geschenk für den in der Inschrift erwähnten Artukidenfürsten (9) oder wurde in Georgien (10) bzw. in Mesopotamien gefertigt (11).

Die Schale weist große Ähnlichkeiten mit byzantinischen Emailarbeiten auf (12), obwohl die darauf angebrachten Szenen auch der islamischen Kunst nicht fremd sind (13). Thomas Steppan wies darauf hin, daß die Schale aufgrund ihrer komplizierten Technik eigentlich nur in einer etablierten Werkstatt hergestellt worden sein kann und hielt Konstantinopel als Herstellungsort für möglich (14). Die Inschriften (besonders die arabische) sind zwar in paläographischer Hinsicht untersucht worden, doch ihren Aussagen hat man nicht die gebührende Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, obgleich sie Wesentliches zur Lokalisierung der Schale beitragen können (15). Daher sollen die Inschriften hier noch einmal in Augenschein genommen werden, um zu prüfen, ob sich daraus Hinweise auf den Herstellungsort der Schale gewinnen lassen. Die arabische Inschrift, die einen genealogischen Fehler aufweist, lautet übersetzt (16) :

(9) Siehe Steppan, *Artuqiden-Schale*, S. 13-35.

(10) Redford, *Innsbruck Plate*, S. 127–132 ; vgl. O. Grabar, *The Crusaders from Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), S. 243 : "I can easily imagine a successful prince in the upper Euphrates valley being persuaded by a Georgian goldsmith, travelling, as many artisans did at that time one court to the other...".

(11) M. van Berchem und J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg, 1910 ; nach van Berchem, ebd. S. 128, entstand die Schale weiter östlich von Diyarbakır, nach Strzygowski, ebd. S. 358, in Amida.

(12) Für weitere Kupferemailarbeiten siehe Koenen, *Grenzgänge*, S. 126-136.

(13) Vgl. besonders Müller-Wiener, *Classical revival*, S. 154-164.

(14) Steppan, *Artuqiden-Schale*, S. 33-34.

(15) Siehe dazu zuletzt L. Richter-Bernburg, *Zu den Inschriften der Alexanderschale des Artuqidenemirs Rukn ad Daula Dū´ūd b. Sökmen*, in *Innsbruck*, S. 39-44 (im Folgenden als Richter-Bernburg, *Alexanderschale*, zitiert)

(16) Al- amīr al- isfahsalār al-kabīr al- mu´ayyad al- mansūr nāsır ad- dīn rukn ad- daula wa samsām al- milla wa-bahā´ al- umma za´īm al-ğuyūš tāğ al mulūk wa- s- salātīn qātil al kafara wa- l- müšrikin alb sawinğ sungur bag abā Sulaimān Dāwud ibn Artuq saif amīr al- mu´minīn. – Der hier erwähnte Davut ist nicht der Sohn von Artuk Bey, sondern von Sökmen, der Sohn des Artuk Bey war, vgl. zuletzt Koenen, *Grenzgänge*, S. 136, Anm. 73 und 74 ; siehe auch oben Anm. 8.

„Der große, gestärkte und mit Sieg beschenkte Fürst und Feldmarschall, Beschenker des Glaubens mit Sieg (*Nāsır ed dīn*), Pfeiler des Reiches (*Rukn ad Daula*), Schwert der Glaubensgemeinschaft, Glanz der Gemeinde, Führer der Heere, Krone der Könige und der Sultane, Töter der Ungläubigen und Polytheisten (*qātil al kafara wa-l-müšrikin*), Alp Sevinç Sungur Bey Abu Sulaiman Davud, Sohn des Artuk. Schwert des Fürsten der Gläubigen" ([17]).

Über die Person des Rükn ed Devle Davut berichten die Quellen ziemlich wenig. Da aus seiner Zeit keine Münzen bzw. Bauinschriften überliefert sind, erfahren wir erst durch die Inschrift auf der Schale seine vollen Beinamen (*Lākap*) und wissen dadurch, daß er außer *Rukn al Daula* (Pfeiler des Reiches) auch den Ehrentitel *Nasır ad Din* (Helfer des Glaubens) geführt hatte. Beinamen wie „Helfer des Glaubens", „Schwert der Glaubensgemeinschaft" oder „Töter der Ungläubigen" legen es nahe, daß sie dem Artukidenfürsten nach einem erfolgreichen Kriegszug gegen nichtislamische Gegner vom Sultan bzw. vom Kalif verliehen worden waren. Der einzige durch die Quellen gesicherte Feldzug des Davut gegen Christen führte nach Georgien (1126), soll aber nach Matthäus von Urfa keinen Erfolg gehabt haben ([18]). Daher wissen wir nicht, wann und aufgrund welcher Taten er die in der Inschrift einzeln aufgeführten Beinamen erhalten hatte, was für eine nähere Datierung der Schale hilfreich sein könnte. Doch stellt sich die Frage, ob die Aufzählung aller dieser Beinamen auf einem Geschenk möglich wäre, daß aus dem christlichen Byzanz stammte (das Gleiche gälte auch für eine Herkunft aus Georgien). Wir kennen nämlich von Byzanz an islamische Herrscher gesandte und in der Sprache der Empfänger verfaßte

(17) Die Übersetzung wurde von Richter-Bernburg, *Alexanderschale*, S. 39, übernommen ; vgl. Müller-Wiener, *Classical revival*, S. 149, Anm. 14 : „Richter-Bernburg, *Alexanderschale*, S. 41, folgt der bereits von Redford, *Innsbruck Plate*, S. 121, vorgeschlagenen Lesung des von van Berchem 1910 als *sawghan* gelesenen Wortes als *sevinç*. Wenig überzeugend scheinen die Bemerkungen von Redford, *Innsbruck Plate*, S. 124, zu *bak* und *atā*." Auf die philologischen Probleme werde ich hier nicht eingehen, da für mich die richtige Lesung der Beinamen ausschlaggebend ist.

(18) H. Der Andreasyan, *Urfalı Mateos Vekayi-Nâmesi (952-1136) ve Papaz Grigor'un Zeyli (1136-1162), (Türkçeye çeviren)*, Ankara, 1987, S. 285 ; vgl. Ataoğlu, *Davud*, S. 34 (Ataoğlu bezeichnet Davut statt Nasıreddin oder Rükneddevle irrtümlich als Rükneddin). Ein möglicher Angriff gegen den gerade von einem Feldzug zurückgekehrten Joscelin 1129 findet in einigen Quelle nur knappe Erwähnung, siehe Ataoğlu, *Davud*, S. 37, Anm. 20.

Briefe, wo in keinem Falle derartige Beinamen verwendet werden ([19]). Die erwähnten Beinamen in der arabischen Inschrift der Artukiden-Schale schließen m. E. eine Herkunft aus Byzanz bzw. Konstantinopel völlig aus, da kein byzantinischer Kaiser (auch kein anderer christlicher Herrscher wie ein georgischer) Formulierung bzw. Beinamen wie „Schwert der Glaubensgemeinschaft" oder „Töter der Ungläubigen" benutzt haben würde. Die Schale muß also entweder im Artukidenreich selbst entstanden sein oder wurde in einem anderen islamischen Herrschaftsgebiet als Geschenk für den Artukidenherrscher angefertigt.

Die Schale weist aber auch eine persische Inschrift an der Unterseite auf, die bisher noch nicht aufgelöst werden konnte. Sie wurde als Gedicht bzw. als moralische Maxime gedeutet ([20]). Man muß sich also fragen, weshalb hier neben der arabischen auch eine persische Inschrift angebracht wurde. Die Artukiden hatten zwar – zumindest in ihren Anfängen – enge Verbindungen zum Iran, doch waren sie später – bereits zur Zeit von Rükn ed Devle Davut – in Südost-Anatolien vielmehr von arabischer Kultur und Sprache beeinflußt, und es ist nicht bekannt, inwieweit sie auch die persische Sprache gepflegt haben. Es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, daß der Absender in enger Beziehung zur persischen Kultur stand und mit der zweiten Inschrift darauf hindeuten wollte. Bisher hat man vergeblich nach einem historischen Anlaß ge-

(19) Es soll hier auf einen Briefwechsel zwischen Kaiser Isaakios II. Angelos und Sultan Salahaddin Eyyubi hingewiesen werden. Der Brief wurde in Konstantinopel in arabischer Sprache verfaßt, siehe dazu und zur Rückübersetzung ins Griechische A. Beihammer, *„Der byzantinische Kaiser hat doch nie was zustande gebracht." Diplomatische Bemerkungen zum Briefverkehr zwischen Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos und Sultan Saladin von Ägypten*, in *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2007, S. 13-28, bes. S. 26. Die Anrede lautet : ... αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἄγγελος τῷ εὐγενεστάτῳ σουλτάνῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τῷ Σαλαχατίνῳ τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλικὴν διάθεσιν. Yusuf bin Eyub hatte ebenfalls zahlreiche Beinamen, u. a. Salahaddin („der Fromme"). Die mit allen protokollarischen Finessen vertraute Palastkanzlei verfügte über mehrere Mitarbeiter, die kompetent in den Fremdsprachen waren und ganz gewiß wußten, was die einzelnen Beinamen bedeuteten.

(20) Müller-Wiener, *Classical revival*, S. 154 : „Die arabische Widmungsinschrift auf dem inneren Schalenrand nennt die offizielle Titulatur der Herrschers, die persische Inschrift poetischen Inhalts verweist auf das höfische Leben".

sucht, der ein solches Geschenk von Byzanz bzw. von Georgien aus erklären würde. Man hatte natürlich nicht nach einem Ereignis gefragt, daß zwischen den Artukiden und ihren Nachbarn wie den Rum-Seldschuken stattgefunden haben könnte. Die Rum-Seldschuken waren noch immer stark von persischer Kultur geprägt und pflegten das Persische als offizielle Hofsprache ([21]). Daher stellt sich die Frage, ob ein Herrscher der Rum-Seldschuken als Absender der Schale in Frage kommen könnte und welches Ereignis diesen veranlaßt haben mag, dem Artukidenfürsten ein Schale zu schenken, auf der außer den erwähnten Titeln und Motiven wie den Tierkampfgruppen und Vögeln auch höfische Vergnügungsszenen dargestellt sind.

Ein späterer seldschukischer Autor wie Ibn-i Bibi gibt uns an verschiedenen Stellen seines Buches Informationen über die Palastfeierlichkeiten der Rum-Seldschuken, die nach einem erfolgreichen Feldzug, nach einer Thronbesteigung oder während einer Hochzeit stattfanden, wobei letztere in vielen Details an die auf der Schale angebrachten Darstellungen erinnern. So lesen wir z. B. in den sicherlich eher rhetorischen Passagen über die Hochzeit des Sultans İzzettin Keykavus I. (1210-1219) mit der Tochter des Herrschers von Erzincan ([22]):

> „Nachdem sie mit dem Essen fertig waren, ließen sie die männlichen sowie weiblichen Musiker aus unterschiedlichen Klassen hinein ... Auch die Ohren derer, die im Himmel saßen, profitierten davon. Die Gäste schluckten ihre Weine bis zum höchsten Grad der Trunkenheit ... ‚Zum Wohl'-Rufe der silberhäutigen Weinschenken hallten bis zum Himmel empor. Sogar der Stern Venus genierte sich wegen der schönen Stimmen der Sänger".

Ein militärischer Erfolg der Rum-Seldschuken, an dem Rükn ed Devle Davut mitgewirkt hat, ist mir nicht bekannt, doch es gab für den Besitzer unserer Schale einen gewichtigen Anlaß zum gemeinsamen Feiern. Aus İbn-i Ezrak geht nämlich hervor, daß der Herrscher von Hısn-ı Keyfa die Tochter des Seldschukensultans Kılıç Arslan I. (1092-1107), Sācide Hatun, geheiratet hatte, obwohl das genaue Datum der

(21) Zur persischen Sprache bei den Seldschuken siehe M. Özürk, *Selçuklu araştırmalarında Farsçanın önemi*, in *I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi*, II, Konya, 2001, S. 181-189.

(22) İbn-i Bibi (El-Hüseyin B. Muhammed B. Ali El-Ca'fer-Rugadi), *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye, Fi'l-Umuri'l-Ala'iye (Selçuk-Name), çeviren* M. Öztürk, Ankara, 1996, S. 198 (im Folgenden als İbn-i Bibi zitiert).

Hochzeit unbekannt ist ([23]). Weiterhin erfahren wir von İbn-i Ezrak, daß Sācide Hatun bereits im Jahr 1130 verstorben war und neben ihrem Vater Kılıç Arslan I. beigesetzt wurde ([24]). Die dargestellten Vergnügungsszenen auf der Schale sprechen also dafür, daß diese ein Hochzeitsgeschenk war. Außerdem erfahren wir aus den Quellen, daß u. a. Schalen zur Mitgift der Bräute gehören konnten ([25]).

Ich halte es für sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Schale vor 1130 in Anatolien unter den Seldschuken hergestellt wurde. Aufgrund der technischen Besonderheiten sowie des genealogischen Fehlers in der arabischen Inschrift ist anzunehmen, daß die Schale in einer christlichen bzw. byzantinischen Werkstatt in Anatolien entstand. Sie erweist somit die Existenz einer griechischen Emailwerkstatt im Seldschukenreich, und zwar bereits in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Daher sollten einige weitere nach Anatolien lokalisierte Emailarbeiten, die nach Technik und Material große Ähnlichkeit mit der Artukiden-Schale aufweisen, aber nur griechische Inschriften besitzen, in diesem Zusammenhang noch einmal in Augenschein genommen werden ([26]). Denn

(23) İbn-i Ezrak, 164a [zitiert nach Ataoğlu, *Davud*, S. 37, Anm. 23]; siehe auch Ders., *Hısn-ı Keyfa Artuklu Devleti*, Diss., Ankara, 1985, S. 60; auch E. Uyumaz, *Türkiye Selçuklu sultanları, melikleri ve melikelerinin evlilikleri*, in *I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi*, II, Konya, 2001, S. 397-421, bes. S. 399-400. Ob diese Hochzeit zur Regierungszeit des Sultans Kılıç Arslan I. stattfand oder eher zur Zeit eines seiner späteren Nachfolger (Şahinşah, 1107-1115 oder Mesut I., 1116-1156), ist nicht auszumachen; O. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul, 1993³, S. 109, gibt den Namen der Braut mit Sā'ide Hatun an.

(24) Der im Jahre 1107 gefallene Sultan Kılıç Arslan I. wurde in Meyyāfarikin (Silvan) beigesetzt, wo später für ihn das Kubbet üs Sultan genannte Grab errichtet wurde, siehe dazu A. Sevim und E. Merçil, *Selçuklu Devletleri Tarihi. Siyaset, Teşkilat ve Kültür*, Ankara, 1995, S. 432-433.

(25) Es liegt keine Quelle vor, die über die Mitgift der Sācide Hatun informiert. Doch scheinen Schalen ein beliebtes Mitgiftstück gewesen zu sein, wie aus İbn-i Bibi, 194, in Bezug auf Sultan İzzettin Keykavus I. hervorgeht: „Er berief erfahrene und fähige Meister aus allen Teilen seines Reiches. Diese wurden drei Monate lang mit der Vorbereitung der Mitgift beschäftigt. Sie stellten für die Braut die Mitgift zusammen, die aus mit wertvollen Steinen besetzten Kopfbedeckungen, mit Juwelen besetzten Fußbändern, entzückenden Ringen, hervorragenden Ohrringen, bestickten Kleidern, goldenen und silbernen Schalen, wertvollen Büchern ... bestand".

(26) Besonders ein Medallion mit Gorgonenkopf, das 1997 auf der New Yorker Ausstellung zu sehen war und dessen Herkunft im Katalog mit „Anato-

falls meine Überlegungen über die Herkunft der Artukiden-Schale zutreffend sind, könnte man mit einer gewissen Sicherheit annéhmen, daß es im seldschukischen Anatolien byzantinische Emailwerkstätten gab, die sowohl von Griechen als auch von Türken – sogar vom Hof – Aufträge erhielten. Dies würde auf einige bislang ungeklärte kulturhistorische Fragen ein völlig neues Licht werfen.

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Zusammenfassung

Die sogenannte Artukiden-Schale im Innsbrucker Museum Ferdinandeum/Österreich ist das einzige Emailobjekt, das sowohl eine persische als auch eine arabische Inschrift aufweist. Der arabischen Inschrift zufolge soll der Artukiden-Herrscher Rükn ed Devle Davud (1114-1144) ihr Besitzer gewesen sein. Obwohl die Herkunft der Schale noch nicht geklärt ist, weisen die technischen Besonderheiten sowie das Material (Kupfer) Ähnlichkeiten mit einigen byzantinischen Objekten auf, weshalb die Schale als kaiserliches Geschenk aus Konstantinopel für den Artukiden-Herrscher angesehen wurde. Auch Georgien und Mesopotamien hatte man als mögliche Herkunftsgebiete nicht ausgeschlossen. Die arabische Inschrift enthält eine lange Titulaturliste von Rükn ed Devle Davut, unter anderem „Katl al Kafara" (Töter der Ungläubigen) oder „Samsam al Milla" (Schwert der Glaubensgemeinschaft). Man kann sich jedoch nicht vorstellen, daß ein christlicher Kaiser bzw. ein König einen islamischen Herrscher mit solchen Titeln anreden würde. Darüber hinaus läßt die persische Inschrift annehmen, daß der Absender der Schale eine enge Beziehung zur persischen Sprache und Hofkultur hatte. Höchstwahrscheinlich war er ein Mitglied der seldschukischen Herrscherfamilie. Was könnte der Grund für die Zusendung dieser Schale an einen lokalen Herrscher gewesen sein ? Schriftliche Quellen zufolge war das Tochter des Seldschukensultans Kılıç Arslan I. (1092-1107), Sācide Hatun (gest. 1130), die Ehefrau des Rükn ed Devle Davut, des Besitzers der Schale. Weiterhin erfahren wir aus den Quellen, daß Schalen hin und wieder zur Mitgift der Bräute gehörten. Alle diese Fakten lassen annehmen, daß die sogenannte Artukiden-Schale in einer griechischen Werkstatt im seldschukischen Anatolien als Teil einer Mitgift hergestellt worden (vor 1130).

lien" angegeben wird ; siehe P. Soucek, *Medallion with Gorgon's Head,* in Helen C. Evans und W. D. Wixom (ed.), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, New York, 1997, S. 166, Nr. 114 ; siehe auch Koenen, *Grenzgänge*, S. 127-128.

Summary

The so-called Artukid bowl (Innsbrucker Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum/Austria) is the only enameled object which includes both an Arabic and a Persian inscription. According to the Arabic inscription the Artukid ruler Rukn ed Devle Davud (1114-1144) was the owner of this object. Although its provenance is still unclear, the technique and material (copper) show similarities to several Byzantine examples. For this reason the bowl has been interpreted as a royal gift from Constantinople to the Artukid ruler. It has also been attributed to Georgia or to Mesopotamia. The Arabic inscription includes a long list of titles of Rukn ed Devle Davud, like "Katl al Kafara" (slayer of infidels) or "Samsam al Milla" (sword of the community of believers). I, however, cannot imagine that a Christian emperor (or king) would address an Islamic ruler with such terms. The sender of the bowl was most likely another Islamic monarch. In addition, the Persian inscription leads to suspect that the sender had a close relationship with the Persian language and culture. Most probably he was a member of the royal Seljuk family in Anatolia. What was the reason for sending such a gift to a minor local ruler ? The written sources inform us that the daughter of the Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Aslan I. (1092-1107), Sācide Hatun (died in 1130), was married with Rukn ed Devle Davud, owner of our bowl. Furthermore the sources tell us that bowls were sometimes a part of the dowries. All these factors lead me to suggest that the so-called Artukid bowl was produced as a wedding gift in a Greek atelier of Seljuk Anatolia (before 1130).

falls meine Überlegungen über die Herkunft der Artukiden-Schale zutreffend sind, könnte man mit einer gewissen Sicherheit annehmen, daß es im seldschukischen Anatolien byzantinische Emailwerkstätten gab, die sowohl von Griechen als auch von Türken – sogar vom Hof – Aufträge erhielten. Dies würde auf einige bislang ungeklärte kulturhistorische Fragen ein völlig neues Licht werfen.

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Die sogenannte Artukiden-Schale im Innsbrucker Museum Ferdinandeum/ Österreich ist das einzige Emailobjekt, das sowohl eine persische als auch eine arabische Inschrift aufweist. Der arabischen Inschrift zufolge soll der Artukiden-Herrscher Rükn ed Devle Davud (1114-1144) ihr Besitzer gewesen sein. Obwohl die Herkunft der Schale noch nicht geklärt ist, weisen die technischen Besonderheiten sowie das Material (Kupfer) Ähnlichkeiten mit einigen byzantinischen Objekten auf, weshalb die Schale als kaiserliches Geschenk aus Konstantinopel für den Artukiden-Herrscher angesehen wurde. Auch Georgien und Mesopotamien hatte man als mögliche Herkunftsgebiete nicht ausgeschlossen. Die arabische Inschrift enthält eine lange Titulaturliste von Rükn ed Devle Davut, unter anderem „Katl al Kafara" (Töter der Ungläubigen) oder „Samsam al Milla" (Schwert der Glaubensgemeinschaft). Man kann sich jedoch nicht vorstellen, daß ein christlicher Kaiser bzw. ein König einen islamischen Herrscher mit solchen Titeln anreden würde. Darüber hinaus läßt die persische Inschrift annehmen, daß der Absender der Schale eine enge Beziehung zur persischen Sprache und Hofkultur hatte. Höchstwahrscheinlich war er ein Mitglied der seldschukischen Herrscherfamilie. Was könnte der Grund für die Zusendung dieser Schale an einen lokalen Herrscher gewesen sein ? Schriftliche Quellen zufolge war das Tochter des Seldschukensultans Kılıç Arslan I. (1092-1107), Sācide Hatun (gest. 1130), die Ehefrau des Rükn ed Devle Davut, des Besitzers der Schale. Weiterhin erfahren wir aus den Quellen, daß Schalen hin und wieder zur Mitgift der Bräute gehörten. Alle diese Fakten lassen annehmen, daß die sogenannte Artukiden-Schale in einer griechischen Werkstatt im seldschukischen Anatolien als Teil einer Mitgift hergestellt worden (vor 1130).

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FEINDBILDER UND KONFLIKTWAHRNEHMUNG IN DEN QUELLEN ZUM AUFTRETEN DER SELDSCHUKEN IN KLEINASIEN (ca. 1050-1118) (*)

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass das Auftreten der seldschukischen Kriegerverbände im Vorderen Orient und in Kleinasien einen ausgesprochen konfliktreichen Prozess in Gang setzte, der zahlreiche Gegensätze schuf und oftmals zur Entladung eines unheimlichen Gewaltpotentials führte. Die auffälligste Besonderheit dieser Ereignisse im Vergleich zu anderen Kriegsschauplätzen der byzantinischen Geschichte liegt wohl in der außerordentlichen Vielschichtigkeit der Konfliktsituationen. Handelte es sich anfangs noch um eine dem üblichen Schema folgende Konfrontation zwischen byzantinischen Verteidigern und fremden Invasoren, so führten die innerbyzantinischen Machtkämpfe, die auf die Niederlage Romanos' IV. im August 1071 bei Mantzikert folgten, und die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Angehörigen der seldschukischen Führungsschicht zu einer sprunghaften Multiplikation der Krieg führenden Gruppierungen. Die politische Szenerie von Bithynien bis zum Euphrat wurde viele Jahre von Bürgerkriegsparteien, autonomen Söldnerführern, Lokalmachthabern, Truppenver-

(*) Ich bedanke mich bei Prof. Martin Hinterberger (Universität Zypern) für seine konstruktive Kritik an einer frühen Fassung des vorliegenden Beitrags, die mich zu einer weiteren Vertiefung meiner Ausführungen anregte. Mein besonderer Dank gilt weiter Prof. Panagiotis Agapitos, Prof. Martin Strohmeier (beide Universität Zypern), Prof. John Haldon (Universität Princeton), Prof. Judith Herrin (Universität London) und Prof. Taxiarchis Kolias (Universität Athen), die mir im Rahmen eines Evaluationsverfahrens die Möglichkeit zu einem ertragreichen Gedankenaustausch über meine Ideen zu Byzanz und den Seldschuken gewährten. Noch rechtzeitig vor der Drucklegung des vorliegenden Beitrags erreichte mich die jüngste Studie von J. Schotz, *Deli kedi : Les chats et l'imaginaire animal à la cour seldjoukide d'Asie Mineure* (*Gazimağusa Oriental Studies Collection*, 12), Gazimağusa - Mazotos, 2008.

bänden des Sultans, Nomadenstämmen und türkischen Aufständischen bestimmt, die durch ihre Instabilität und die Unbeständigkeit ihrer Zielsetzungen und Bündnisse eine Art *bellum omnium contra omnes* in Gang setzten. Erst mit dem Durchmarsch des Kreuzfahrerheeres durch Kleinasien in den Jahren 1097-1098 fruchteten die Bemühungen Kaiser Alexios' I., die Türken aus Westkleinasien zurückzudrängen, so dass die militärischen Zusammenstöße mit dem Sultanat der Rūm-Seldschuken, das sich in der Folgezeit im lykaonischen Ikonion (Konya) etablierte, in den letzten Regierungsjahren dieses Kaisers (1112–1113 und 1116) wiederum den Charakter regionaler Grenzkriege annahmen.

Die moderne Forschung zu diesen Geschehnissen (1), in denen man wohl mit Fug und Recht eine der schwersten Krisen der byzantinischen Geschichte sehen kann, hat denn auch in erster Linie Kriegsgeschichte betrieben. Im Mittelpunkt standen dabei ereignis- und strukturgeschichtliche Fragestellungen wie die chronologische Abfolge der seldschukischen Einfälle in Kleinasien und Syrien, die Stoßrichtungen und strategischen Leitlinien der militärischen Unternehmungen, das Ausmaß der Verheerungen in den einzelnen Städten und Landschaften, die Verfallserscheinungen in der byzantinischen Militär- und Verwaltungsordnung und die Herausbildung seldschukischer Territorialherrschaften. Von zentralem Interesse war immer wieder auch die Frage nach den Ursachen für die seldschukischen Erfolge, die teils in den inneren Strukturen des byzantinischen Staates und teils in den Organisationsformen und militärischen Vorteilen der türkischen Invasoren gesehen wurden.

In den folgenden Ausführungen soll der Versuch unternommen werden, die angesprochene Thematik nicht unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Rekonstruktion historischer Fakten, sondern aus umgekehrter Perspektive als historiographisches Problem zu betrachten. Im Mittelpunkt unseres Interesses steht die Fragestellung, wie zeitnahe Geschichtsschreiber des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts die seldschukischen Einfälle in Kleinasien und die daraus erwachsenen kriegerischen Konflikte darstellten und beurteilten, in einen übergeordneten historischen und ideologischen Sinnzusammenhang einordneten und in das kollektive Gedächtnis des Personenkreises, aus dessen Perspektive und für den sie schrieben, einbetteten. Es geht also vor allem um zwei grundlegende Faktoren in „der menschlichen Aneignung und Verarbeitung histori-

(1) Vgl. hierzu die detaillierten Angaben unten, A. 4-11.

schen Geschehens" (2), einerseits die durch eine bestimmte Vorstellungswelt geprägten Formen bewusster Wahrnehmung und andererseits die daraus erwachsenden Deutungsmuster. In methodischer Hinsicht kommen dabei neuere Forschungsschwerpunkte der Mediävistik zum Tragen, die sich seit dem so genannten *linguistic turn* der achtziger Jahre und dem *anthropological turn* der neunziger Jahre (3) vom Ereignis und der historischen Realität auf das Erleben und das Sprechen (bzw. Schreiben) über die gelebte Wirklichkeit sowie auf die zugrunde liegenden mentalen Dispositionen verlagert haben. Diese Neuansätze, die je nach Denkrichtung mehr einer linguistisch-literaturwissenschaftlichen oder mehr einer kulturanthropologischen Betrachtungsweise verpflichtet sind, sensibilisieren uns zunehmend für die Probleme, die mit der Interpretation narrativer Quellen verbunden sind, und stellen uns ein Instrumentarium zur Verfügung, mit dessen Hilfe wir die mit dem Geschehen korrelierenden Ebenen der Perzeption und des Diskurses dechiffrieren und beschreiben können.

(2) Das Zitat und die theoretische Grundlegung basieren auf H.-W. Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung von ‚Staat' und ‚Herrschaft' im frühen Mittelalter*, in S. Airlie - W. Pohl - H. Reimitz (Hrsg.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 11 = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, *Denkschriften*, 334), Wien, 2006, S. 39-58, bes. S. 42-43 ; vgl. hierzu außerdem H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (*Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters*, 1), Berlin, 1999, bes. den methodisch ausgesprochen anregenden Einleitungsteil, S. 13-39.

(3) Zu den genannten methodischen Neuansätzen vgl. *pars pro toto* für eine ständig wachsende Fülle an Literatur : H. White, *Auch Klio dichtet oder die Fiktion des Faktischen. Studien zur Tropologie des historischen Diskurses*, Stuttgart, 1986 ; J. Fried, Gens *und* regnum. *Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungskategorien politischen Wandels im früheren Mittelalter. Bemerkungen zur doppelten Theoriebindung des Historikers*, in J. Miethke - K. Schreiner (Hrsg.), *Sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter. Wahrnehmungsformen, Erklärungsmuster, Regelungsmechanismen*, Sigmaringen, 1994, S. 73-104 ; Ph. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual : Between Social Scientific Models and Early Medieval Documents*, Princeton, 2001 ; Ders., *Rituel politique et imaginaire politique au haut Moyen Âge*, in *Revue Historique*, 305 (2001), S. 843-883 ; K. van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt. Die englisch-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter* (*Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 10), Stuttgart, 2002 ; Th. Scharff, *Die Kämpfe der Herrscher und der Heiligen. Krieg und historische Erinnerung in der Karolingerzeit*, Darmstadt, 2002 ; W. Pohl, *Staat und Herrschaft im Frühmittelalter : Überlegungen zum Forschungsstand*, in Airlie - Pohl - Reimitz (Hrsg.), *Staat*, S. 9-38, bes. S. 16-27.

Nun sind die Konstruktion von Feindbildern und die Wahrnehmung von Konflikten ausgesprochen vielschichtige mentale Prozesse, die sich unter sehr unterschiedlichen Gesichtspunkten betrachten lassen und nur sehr schwer auf wenige Analysekategorien reduzierbar sind (4). Jede Auswahl bringt es notgedrungen mit sich, dass nur ein kleiner Teilbereich der Thematik erfasst wird. Hier soll es zunächst um die Wirkung traditions- und genrebedingter Vorstellungsmuster gehen, die bei der Darstellung der seldschukischen Überfälle mit einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit auftreten. Kontrastierend dazu werden in weiterer Folge Aussagen herausgearbeitet, in denen sich aktuelle Erfahrungen und Haltungen zum kriegerischern Alltag jener Zeit widerspiegeln. Als dritten Aspekt widmen wir uns schließlich der Rolle von Emotionen in der Schilderung von Konfliktverläufen. Diese Vorgehensweise sollte nicht nur zu einem tieferen Verständnis der Primärquellen und der ihrer Darstellung zugrunde liegenden Konzepte beitragen, sondern auch eine bessere Beurteilung der vielfach stark divergierenden modernen Interpretationen zur türkischen Landnahme in Kleinasien ermöglichen. Den methodischen Prinzipien ihres Entstehungszeitraums von den vierziger bis in die frühen siebziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts entsprechend reflektierten diese noch kaum über das Verhältnis zwischen Text und Realität und betrachteten die jeweiligen Quellenangaben ganz unter dem Gesichtspunkt von Ideen und Sichtweisen, die einem modernen Erfahrungshorizont entsprangen.

(4) Aus der neueren Literatur zu Krieg und Konflikt mit theoretischen Ansätzen zu den hier in Betracht gezogenen Fragestellungen vgl. etwa W. Pohl, *Konfliktverlauf und Konfliktbewältigung : Römer und Barbaren im frühen Mittelalter*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 26 (1992), S. 165-207 ; K. Görich, *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas. Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt, 2001 ; van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt* ; Scharff, *Die Kämpfe der Herrscher und Heiligen* ; M. Prietzel, *Kriegführung im Mittelalter. Handlungen, Erinnerungen, Bedeutungen* (*Krieg in der Geschichte*, 32), Paderborn, 2006. In der byzantinistischen Fachliteratur zum Krieg dominieren nach wie vor traditionelle Fragestellungen zu den militärtheoretischen Grundlagen, den Organisationsformen und den diversen sozialen Implikationen von Armee und Kriegführung im byzantinischen Reich, während der Komplex der Vorstellungen und Wahrnehmungen in diesem Bereich bestenfalls am Rande bedacht wird ; vgl. etwa J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565-1204*, London, 1999 ; P. M. Strässle, *Krieg und Kriegführung in Byzanz. Die Kriege Kaiser Basileios' II. gegen die Bulgaren (976-1019)*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2006.

Von besonders nachhaltigem Einfluss auf den heutigen Forschungsstand ist nach wie vor Claude Cahens klassischer Aufsatz zu den ersten Einfällen der Seldschuken in Kleinasien, dessen Ergebnisse auch in die Monographie desselben Autors zur vorosmanischen Türkei eingearbeitet worden sind (5). Cahen war so gut wie ausschließlich an harten Fakten interessiert, so dass er die Quellentexte in erster Linie als Datenspeicher für den zu rekonstruierenden Ereignisverlauf verwendete. Seine Quellenkritik bestand vorwiegend in der Überkreuzung von Einzelangaben, während der konzeptuelle Kontext, in den diese eingebettet sind, unberücksichtigt blieb. Dadurch wurden die Sichtweisen der mittelalterlichen Quellentexte vielfach von modernen Deutungsmodellen verdrängt. Ein Beispiel ist etwa sein Bild eines wirtschaftlich schwach entwickelten, ethnisch inhomogenen und ungenügend verteidigten Kleinasiens, das den türkischen Kriegerverbänden, die von einem „esprit de ghazwa" beseelt waren und das byzantinische Reichsgebiet als „terre de refuge" betrachteten, eine leichte Beute wurde; ebenso seine Theorie „d'une complicité turco-byzantine" als Erklärung für die Entstehung des kleinasiatischen Sultanats (6).

Spyros Vryonis (7), die zweite große Autorität auf dem Gebiet der byzantinisch-seldschukischen Studien, betrachtete die Quellen unter

(5) C. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure*, in Byz., 18 (1946-1948), S. 5-67 (Nachdruck in : Ders., *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus [Variorum Reprints]*, London, 1974, Nr. I) und Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330*, New York, 1968, S. 66-84 ; vgl. hierzu auch die neue englische Übersetzung der französischen Ausgabe von 1988 : Ders., *The Formation of Turkey. The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum, Eleventh to Fourteenth century*, transl. by P. Holt, Harlow, 2001.

(6) Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 44-45 und 64-65 ; Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 64-67.

(7) S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1971, hier zitiert nach der neugriechischen Übersetzung von K. Galatariotou, Athen, 2000², S. 61-106 (innere Verhältnisse in Byzanz, ereignisgeschichtliche Darstellung), 130-199 (Merkmale der türkischen Eroberung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, Zerstörungen in den einzelnen Regionen Kleinasiens, Bevölkerungsverschiebungen, Ausbreitung der Nomaden, Auswirkungen auf die Kirchenorganisation) ; eine neuerliche Darlegung seiner Thesen im Spiegel des jüngsten Forschungsstandes : S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century. The book in the light of subsequent scholarship, 1971-1998*, in A. Eastmond (Hrsg.), *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, Aldershot, 2001, S. 1-15.

denselben methodischen Prämissen, gelangte aber zu einer völlig verschiedenen Deutung des Geschehens. Er unterstreicht vor allem den grundlegend zerstörerischen Charakter der türkischen Einfälle. Ein allenthalben blühendes Kleinasien sei zum Schauplatz des Heiligen Krieges (*ǧihād*) geworden, wo türkische Horden, die von einer *ġāzī*-Mentalität beseelt waren und nach dem Tod ihrer Glaubensfeinde lechzten, ihr Unwesen trieben. Das Ergebnis waren schrankenlose Metzeleien, großräumige Verwüstungen und Plünderungen, ein zwangsläufiger Verfall der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und des Wirtschaftslebens in vielen Städten und Landstrichen, Hungersnöte, allgemeine Verelendung und Bevölkerungsverschiebungen, in weiterer Folge auch eine teilweise Islamisierung der autochthonen Einwohner, die Festsetzung nomadisierender turkmenischer Stammesverbände in den Randzonen des Hochlands und ein Verfall der weltlichen und kirchlichen Organisationsformen.

Eine allenthalben festzustellende Tendenz, im Staat der Rūm-Seldschuken das Fundament des modernen türkischen Nationalstaats zu sehen (8), verleiht Arbeiten türkischer Wissenschaftler zu den seldschukischen Einfällen in Kleinasien einen besonders ideologiebehafteten Charakter. Für sie steht die Idee der Landnahme und Staatenbildung oder, um die Begrifflichkeit des türkischen Gelehrten Osman Turan zu verwenden, „die große türkische Wanderung und die Turkifizierung Anatoliens" (*büyük Türk muhacereti ve Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesi*) im Vordergrund. Die Einfälle in Kleinasien sind demnach Teil eines systematisch betriebenen Bemühens, heimatlosen turkmenischen Stämmen eine neue Heimat zu schaffen. Die türkische Landnahme in Anatolien ist die zwangsläufige historische Folge türkischer Reichsbildungen in Zentralasien und im Mittleren Osten (9). Stereotype, wie sie uns aus der nationalistischen europäischen Geschichtsschreibung über die Zeit der Völkerwanderung vertraut sind, stellen ein charakteristisches Merkmal dieser Betrachtungsweise dar. Die seldschukischen Einfälle werden

(8) Zu der Problematik allgemein vgl. M. Strohmeier, *Seldschukische Geschichte und türkische Geschichtswissenschaft. Die Seldschuken im Urteil moderner türkischer Historiker (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, 97), Berlin, 1984, bes. S. 134-137.

(9) O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye. Siyâsi tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye (1071-1318)*, İstanbul, 1971 (= 1993), S. 1-45.

demnach als heroischer Kampf um Lebensraum betrachtet, der mit einer vollständigen Inbesitznahme Anatoliens durch türkische Staatsgebilde erfolgreich endete (10).

Wir haben somit drei unterschiedliche Konzepte vor uns, die auf der Grundlage ein- und derselben Ereignisabfolge ein jeweils stark abweichendes Gesamtbild von der historischen Bedeutung des beschriebenen Geschehens vermitteln. Haben wir es nach Cahen mit einer sukzessiven Einbettung türkisch-islamischer Herrschaftsverbände in ein geschwächtes byzantinisches Umfeld zu tun, steht bei Vryonis die Vorstellung von der Vernichtung eines bestehenden Kulturraums und in der türkischen Geschichtsforschung die der Gewinnung einer neuen Heimat im Vordergrund. Rezentere Untersuchungen modifizieren zwar bestimmte Teilaspekte dieser Synthesen, ermöglichen aber keine Harmonisierung der Widersprüche (11).

(10) Turan, *Türkiye*, S. 38-41, vgl. etwa das folgende Zitat, ebd. S. 40-41 : „Auf diese Weise zog der mächtige und große Stamm der Oghuzen, der in der türkischen Geschichte herrliche Reiche wie das der Kun, der Gök-Türken, der Seldschuken und das der Osmanen schuf, vom Syr-Darya-Becken und den Ufern des Aralsees und des Kaspischen Meeres nach Westen und kam in das tausende Kilometer entfernt gelegene Anatolien und schuf sich dort nach einem ca. fünfzigjährigen Kampf eine Heimat (*vatan*)." Dieselbe Sichtweise wird auch in neueren populärwissenschaftlichen Darstellungen propagiert : A. Sevim, *Anadolu'nun fethi Selçuklular dönemi (başlangıçtan 1086'ya kadar) (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları XXIV. Dizi - sa. 2)*, Ankara, 1988, vgl. etwa die Einleitung, S. VII : „Zweifelsohne ist die türkische Eroberung Anatoliens, wo wir heute leben, eines der ruhmvollsten Ereignisse unserer Nationalgeschichte. Die muslimischen Türken (Seldschuken) standen während einer beinahe ein halbes Jahrhundert dauernden Zeitspanne, die vom Beginn ihrer Unterwerfungs- und Eroberungszüge in Anatolien (1038) bis zum weitgehenden Abschluss ihrer Eroberungen (1086) verging, in mit großer Macht und Entschlossenheit geführten Kämpfen mit den Byzantinern, in deren Händen sich dieses Land befand. Dieser Kampf war, obgleich er im allgemeinen als Aufeinanderprallen von Truppen beider Seiten vonstatten ging, vornehmlich ein Kampf der sich wie ein Sturzbach nach Anatolien ergießenden türkischen Nation, die das Ziel verfolgte, sich eine neue Heimat (*yeni bir yurt*), ein neues Vaterland (*yeni bir vatan*) zu schaffen."

(11) J.-C. Cheynet, *La résistance aux Turcs en Asie Mineure entre Mantzikert et la première croisade*, in *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler (Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 16), Paris, 1998, S. 129-147 (argumentiert für das Fortbestehen eines byzantinischen Verwaltungssystems auch in der Zeit, als die Seldschuken bereits im westlichen Bithynien standen). J. Haldon, *Approaches to an Alternative Military History of the Period ca. 1025-1071*, in V. N. Vlyssidou (Hrsg.), *Η αυτοκρατορ-*

Traditionsbedingte Denkweisen und Vorstellungsmuster

Richten wir nun unser Augenmerk auf die vorhandenen Primärquellen, so haben wir an erster Stelle die grundlegenden Unterschiede zwischen der aus der Perspektive der seldschukischen Angreifer berichtenden muslimischen Tradition und der die Sichtweise der Verteidiger und Opfer adaptierenden christlichen Geschichtsschreibung hervorzuheben. Im Allgemeinen hinterließen die seldschukischen Einfälle in Kleinasien in den Chroniken christlicher Autoren einen viel tieferen Eindruck als in der muslimischen Historiographie jener Zeit. Für die dem Genre der Universal-, Landes- oder Stadtgeschichte verhafteten Werke der islamischen Welt, aber auch für die erst seit dem späten 12. Jahrhundert durch erhaltene Texte greifbare Hofgeschichtsschreibung der seldschukischen Dynastie ist der Krieg gegen die christlichen Nachbarn lediglich eine Randerscheinung bzw. ein Nebeneffekt der sich in Iran, im Zweistromland und in Syrien abspielenden Ereignisse und wird von einigen zentralen Ereignissen wie etwa der Schlacht von Mantzikert (1071) abgesehen meist auch nur *en passant* bedacht (12). Was die allgemeine Beurteilung dieser Kriegszüge anbelangt, so ist die Begründung, die für den ersten groß angelegten Feldzug auf byzantinisches Gebiet unter dem Kommando des Ibrāhīm Inal (1048) vorgebracht wird, besonders aufschlussreich :

> Eine große Zahl von Oghuzen in Transoxanien (*al-Ġuzz bi-Mā warā'an-nahr*) schloss sich ihm (*sc.* Ibrāhīm) an. Da sagte er zu ihnen : „Meine Länder sind

ία σε κρίση(;). Το Βυζάντιο τον 11° αιώνα (1025-1081) (*Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Διεθνή Συμπόσια*, 11), Athen, 2003, S. 45–74, bes. S. 72–73 (Neudiskussion des angeblichen militärischen Versagens der byzantinischen Armee im 11. Jahrhundert : in Hinblick auf Führungskompetenz, Ausbildungsniveau und Kampfmoral sieht der Autor keine wesentlichen Unterschiede zum 10. Jahrhundert. Die Ursachen für die Unterlegenheit der Byzantiner lagen vielmehr in den Fehlhaltungen der politischen Entscheidungsträger, insbesondere in "short-sighted fiscal policies", "unrecognised shifts in the strategic geography", "arrogance of many members of the elite", "failure adequately to invest in appropriate defensive arrangements").

(12) Zur islamischen Geschichtsschreibung jener Zeit vgl. den nach wie vor maßgeblichen Überblick von C. Cahen, *The Historiography of the Seljuqid Period*, in B. Lewis - P. M. Holt (Hrsg.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London, 1962, S. 59-78 (Nachdruck mit einigen bibliographischen Ergänzungen in Ders., *Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale*, Damaskus, 1977, S. 37-63).

zu eng, als dass sie euch eine Bleibe bieten und euch verschaffen, was ihr braucht. Meine Meinung ist, dass ihr euch zur Plünderung der Rhomäer aufmachen, auf dem Pfad Gottes kämpfen und Beute machen sollt. Ich werde euch nachfolgen und euch bei eurem Unternehmen helfen.“ So taten sie (13).

Diese Stelle aus der Chronik des Ibn al-Aṯīr veranschaulicht drei wesentliche Grundsätze der Politik der seldschukischen Heerführer gegenüber ihren turkmenischen Kriegerverbänden: Nach dem Abschluss der Eroberungen in den iranischen Kerngebieten sollten sie von diesen möglichst ferngehalten werden. Zu diesem Zweck soll ihre militärische Schlagkraft auf byzantinisches Gebiet abgelenkt werden, wo sie sich weiterhin dem Kriegshandwerk widmen und ihren Lebensunterhalt aus Plünderungen sicherstellen können. Zur ideologischen Rechtfertigung wird die Idee des *ǧihād*, die seit dem Niedergang der Ḥamdāniden im späten 10. Jahrhundert zum Erliegen gekommen war, wiederbelebt (14).

Raub und Verwüstung erscheinen hier nicht nur als unabdingbarer Bestandteil, sondern als das eigentliche Ziel der Kriegsführung, dem aus der Sicht der Invasoren auch nicht der Makel moralischer Verwerflichkeit anhaftete. Die seldschukischen Krieger bewegten sich diesbezüglich ganz im Rahmen des allgemeinen mittelalterlichen Verständnisses vom Kriegswesen in Ost und West. Die Tätigkeit des Plünderns und Raubens diente ja nicht nur dem Vorteil der materiellen Bereicherung, sondern erfüllte auch eine wichtige symbolische Funktion, indem man dem Gegner dessen Unfähigkeit zur Herrschaftsausübung und zum Schutz des eigenen Machtbereichs vor Augen führte (15). Darüber hinaus hatten Beutezüge im byzantinisch-arabischen Grenzraum eine bis ins 7. Jahrhundert zurückreichende Tradition, die nicht zuletzt auch für das militärische Ethos der auf beiden Seiten stehenden Grenzkämpfer von zentraler Bedeutung war (16) und daher ungebrochen in die Zeit der seldschukischen Einfälle weiterwirken konnte. Wo immer

(13) Ibn al-Aṯīr, *al-Kāmil fī t-tārīḫ*, Bd. VI, Beirut, 1994, S. 138, 22 - S. 139, 1.

(14) Vgl. zur Deutung der zitierten Stelle auch Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 14-15 und Turan, *Türkiye*, S. 17-18 ; zur Idee des *ǧihād* im 11. Jahrhundert vgl. C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999, S. 89-112.

(15) Vgl. Scharff, *Kämpfe*, S. 138–146.

(16) Vgl. etwa M. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War : Studies in the Jihād and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (*American Oriental Series*, 81), New Haven, Connecticut, 1996.

muslimische Quellen auf Überfälle der Seldschuken auf byzantinisches Gebiet (*ġazw ar-Rūm*) Bezug nehmen, gehören Begriffe wie „plündern“ (*ġanima*), „rauben“ (*nahaba*), „Gefangene machen“ (*asara*, *sabā*) und „töten“ (*qatala*) zum fixen Vokabular der Berichterstattung (17). Im selben Maß gilt dies freilich auch für seldschukische Kriegszüge innerhalb der muslimischen Welt, wenn auch in diesem Fall religiöse Bedenken mitunter als moralischer Hemmfaktor angeführt werden (18).

Im Gegensatz zu den islamischen Quellen nahmen die byzantinischen Autoren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts und deren armenische und syrische Zeitgenossen, die in oder im Umkreis bedeutender Zentren der orientalischen Christenheit wie Edessa, Melitene und Theodosiupolis lebten und schrieben, die seldschukische Heimsuchung als epochales Ereignis mit geradezu endzeitlichen Dimensionen wahr. Einige von ihnen hatten diese als Augenzeugen von Massakern und Plünderungen aus der Perspektive der Leid tragenden Bevölkerung (Aristakes von Lastivert, Matthäus von Edessa) (19) oder als Teilnehmer auf Feldzügen aus dem Blickwinkel der kaiserlichen Zentralmacht (Michael Attaleiates) (20) selbst aus unmittelbarer Nähe miterlebt. Andere wiederum erhielten einschlägige Nachrichten aus zeitgenössischen Aufzeichnungen und mündlichen Berichten aus erster Hand vermittelt (Ioannes Skylitzes, Nikephoros Bryennios, Anna Komnene, Michael Syrus) (21).

(17) Vgl. etwa Ibn al-Aṯīr, VI, S. 139, 5-10 (Expedition des Ibrāhīm Inal zu a. h. 440/1048-1049) und *Sibt İbnü'l-Cevzî Şemsüddin Ebû'l-Muzaffer Yusuf b. Kızoğlu, Mir'âtü'z-zeman fî Tarihi'l-Âyan*, ed. A. Sevim, Ankara, 1968, S. 139, 16-20 (Expedition des al-Afšīn zu a. h. 461/1068-1069).

(18) Vgl. etwa Ibn al-Aṯīr, VI, S. 181, 22 - S. 182, 2 (Raubzug der seldschukischen Türken im Ackerland von Bagdad) ; ebd. S. 87, 11-17 (Tuğrıl Beg verbietet die Plünderung von Nīšāpūr wegen des Fastenmonats Ramaḍān) ; vgl. dieselbe Episode auch in : *The History of the Seljuq Turks From the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh. An Ilkhanid Adaption of the Saljūq-nāma of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī*, trad. K. A. Luther, ed. by C. E. Bosworth, Richmond, 2001, S. 39.

(19) *Aristakès de Lastivert, Récit des malheurs de la nation Arménienne*, trad. M. Canard - H. Berbérian (*Bibliothèque de Byzantion*, 5), Brüssel, 1973 ; *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trad. A. E. Dostourian, Lanham - New York - London, 1993.

(20) *Miguel Ataliates Historia*, ed. I. Pérez Martín (*Nueva Roma, Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina Aevi Posterioris*, 15), Madrid, 2002.

(21) *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (*CFHB*, 5), Berlin - New York, 1973 ; *Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση* (*Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus*), ed. E. Th. Tsolakis, Thessalonike, 1968 ; *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire*,

Eine Sonderstellung nehmen die in den folgenden Ausführungen nicht berücksichtigen Berichterstatter des Ersten Kreuzzugs ein, die selbst als Fremde nach Byzanz und in den islamischen Orient gekommen waren und als Sprachrohre einer von religiösem Eifer getragenen Eroberermentalität fungierten. Folgerichtig erscheinen die Türken, mit denen die Kreuzfahrer auf ihrem gesamten Marsch ins Heilige Land heftigste Kämpfe auszufechten hatten, als Inbegriff der *inimici Dei et sanctae Christianitatis* (22). Erst der im 13. Jahrhundert schreibende Bar Hebraeus (23), der für seine Chronik sowohl aus christlichen als auch aus muslimischen Quellen schöpfte, bietet eine harmonisierte Kombination der beiden Traditionen, in welcher die Invasionen in die byzantinischen Gebiete einerseits als tödliche Bedrohung für die einheimische Bevölkerung und andererseits als Teilaspekt des Aufstiegs der seldschukischen Dynastie dargelegt werden.

In der Darstellung und Deutung der einzelnen mit den türkischen Überfällen in Zusammenhang stehenden Ereignisse lassen sich quer durch die jeweiligen Überlieferungsstränge der christlichen Tradition (byzantinisch, syrisch, armenisch) stereotyp wiederkehrende Grund-

ed. P. Gautier (*CFHB*, 9), Brüssel, 1975 ; *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch - A. Kambylis (*CFHB*, 40/1-2), Berlin - New York, 2001 ; deutsche Übersetzung : *Anna Komnene, Alexias*, übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von D. R. Reinsch, 2. Auflage, Berlin - New York ; 2001 ; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed.-trad. J.-B. Chabot, 4 Bde, Paris, 1899-1910.

(22) *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, London, 1962, S. 22, 1. Die Literatur zum westlichen Türkenbild im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit ist umfangreich ; vgl. etwa M. Meserve, *Medieval Sources for Renaissance Theories on the Origins of the Ottoman Turks*, in B. Guthmüller - W. Kühlmann (Hrsg.), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen, 2000, S. 409-436 (mit zahlreichen Literaturangaben). Dennoch gibt es bislang keine systematische Untersuchung zum Bild der Seldschuken in den Kreuzfahrerquellen, obgleich diese diesbezüglich sehr ergiebig wären ; vgl. etwa die geradezu programmatische Feststellung des Wilhelm von Tyrus (*Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens [*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis*, 63], Turnhout, 1986, I 7 : S. 114, 1-8) : *Et quoniam de gente Turcorum frequenter nobis in opera presenti erunt dicenda quamplura, que ipsi contra nostros nostrique adversus eos viriliter magnificeque sepius gesserunt ... non videtur alienum a nostro proposito de ortu et prima origine gentis huius ... aliquid presenti interserere narrationi.*

(23) *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan, Paris, 1890 ; *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l-Faraj 1225-1286, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus*, trad. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1932.

konzepte erkennen, die teils auf biblisch begründete Ideen und teils auf römisch-spätantike Auffassungen zu den Invasionen feindlicher Fremdvölker zurückgehen. Ein vorherrschendes Motiv ist die alttestamentliche Vorstellung vom Zorn Gottes, der durch die Sündhaftigkeit der Menschen hervorgerufen wird und sich in der Entsendung einer als göttliches Werkzeug dienenden Feindesmacht manifestiert. Daneben dominieren die in letzter Instanz auf der antiken Ethnographie fußenden Vorstellungen von den Barbarenvölkern (*gentes* bzw. ἔθνη), die durch ihre Lebensweise und den ihnen anhaftenden charakterlichen und moralischen Mängeln eine Antipode zu dem einen von Gott erwählten *populus Romanus* bilden (24). Auf diese Weise konnten Nachrichten und aktuelle Erfahrungen in ein Deutungsschema gestellt werden, durch das sich militärische Erfolge einfallender Feinde einleuchtend begründen ließen und dem eigenen Abwehrkampf ein höherer Sinn verliehen wurde. Ähnlich wie die muslimischen Chronisten legen auch viele christliche Geschichtsschreiber bei ihren Beschreibungen der seldschukischen Einfälle besonderes Schwergewicht auf die Schilderung von Verwüstungen, Plünderungen und Massakern. Während die muslimische Seite auf diese Weise ihre militärischen Erfolge betont, geht es freilich den christlichen Autoren um die Darlegung der katastrophalen Auswirkungen, welche die Überfälle für die in den betroffenen Gebieten lebende Bevölkerung hatten. Dabei handelt es sich jedoch keineswegs um eine gedankenlose Reproduktion unveränderlicher Denkmuster. Vielmehr kombinieren die einzelnen Autoren ihre Schilderungen mit konkreten Botschaften, die ihrerseits mit spezifischen Sinnzusammenhängen und Darstellungsabsichten korrelieren.

(24) Zu den angesprochenen Konzepten vgl. etwa K. E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung*, 2 Bde, Wiesbaden, 1972-1980 ; F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, London, 1988 (englische Übersetzung der französischen Originalfassung Paris, 1980) ; Y. A. Dauge, *Le Barbare : recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation*, Brüssel, 1981 ; W. Pohl, *Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung : eine Zwischenbilanz*, in : K. Brunner - B. Merta (Hrsg.), *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, Wien - München, 1994, S. 9-26 ; W. Pohl, *Telling the Difference : Signs of Ethnic Identity*, in : W. Pohl - H. Reimitz (Hrsg.), *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (*The Transformation of the Roman World*, 2), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 1998, S. 18-69.

Am eindrucksvollsten wird die Thematik von den armenischen Chronisten Aristakes von Lastivert und Matthäus von Edessa behandelt, deren geographischer Betrachtungshorizont die von den Invasionen besonders stark in Mitleidenschaft gezogenen Grenzgebiete des Reichs, insbesondere die Gebiete am oberen Euphrat und am Araxes, Vaspurakan und den Großraum um Antiocheia und Edessa, umfasst. Die besondere Intensität ihrer Schilderungen basiert auf einer sehr wirkungsvollen Rhetorik des Schreckens, die vor allem auf eine detailreiche Ausmalung von Gräuelszenen abzielt : zerstörte Dörfer, niedergebrannte Häuser und Paläste, blutüberströmte Straßen, Plätze und Ebenen, geschändete Frauen, niedergemetzelte Edelleute, Mönche und Greise, zerschmetterte Säuglinge, Landstriche, die vom Gestank der Toten erfüllt waren, unbestattete Leichen, die von Vögeln und wilden Tieren verzehrt wurden, usw. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt liegt auf der von den Invasoren gemachten Beute an Sachgütern und Gefangenen, deren Art und Menge detailliert ausgemalt werden (25). Matthäus von Edessa verwendet außerdem eine Reihe von Attributen für die türkischen Invasoren, durch die der unheilvolle Charakter ihres Treibens noch stärker betont wird. Unter anderem sind sie „ungläubig“, „bösartig“, „blutdürstig“, „wild“, „wahnsinnig“, „unbarmherzig“, „wütende Bestien“ und „Giftschlangen“ (26).

(25) Aristakes von Lastivert XI : S. 61 trad. Canard-Berbérian (Überfall des Ibrāhīm Inal auf die Provinz Basean bei Theodosiupolis, 1048) : „Villes détruites, maisons incendiées, palais princiers livrés aux flammes, palais royaux réduits en cendres, hommes massacrés sur les places publiques, femmes quittant leurs demeures en esclaves, enfants à la mamelle fracassés contre les murs, beaux visages d'adolescents flétris, vierges déshonorées sur les places publiques, jeunes hommes tués par le sabre sous les yeux des vieillards. Les nobles cheveux blancs des vieillards, couverts de sang, traînaient à terre, et leurs corps gisaient sur le sol“ ; Matth. Edess. II 12 : S. 95 trad. Dostourian (Überfall auf das kappadokische Sebasteia, 1059) : „Countless persons were cut down and received severe wounds ; moreover, streaming blood covered the ground, a sight which appeared frightful to onlookers. The bodies of illustrious personages were heaped up on the ground like piles of forest wood, and the surface of the ground was covered with blood because of the great numbers of corpses ... Together with countless booty and men and women captives, they led boys and girls into slavery and seized and carried off from Sebasteia treasures of gold and silver without measure, precious stones and pearls, and also brocades ; for this city was the residence of the Armenian kings“. Zum ereignisgeschichtlichen Hintergrund vgl. Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 14-15 und 23 ; Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 68 ; Turan, *Türkiye*, S. 17-18 ; Matth. Edess. II 16 : S. 98 trad. Dostourian (Leichengestank über dem Land nach einem Überfall auf die Provinz Armenia IV, 1062) ; ebd. II 20 : S. 101 („Ermordung von Priestern und Mönchen, 1064“) ; ebd. II 47 : S. 125 („wilde Tiere und Vögel fallen über ermordete Mönche im Amanus-Gebirge her“) ; vgl. auch Aristakes von Lastivert XXIV : S. 123 trad. Canard-Berbérian anlässlich der Eroberung von Ani („Les morts trouvèrent leur tombe dans le ventre des bêtes sauvages et des animaux domestiques, car personne ne pouvait les enterrer ou répandre de la terre sur leurs corps“). Matth. Edess. II 27 : S. 108 trad. Dostourian („gnadenloses Gemetzel des Slar-Khorasan in Sewawerak bei Nisibis“) ; zum Salār von Ḫurāsān bzw. Yāqūtī, einem Bruder des Alp Arslan vgl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 69, 71. Matth. Edess. II 28 : S. 109 trad. Dostourian („blutüberströmte Ebene nach einem Gemetzel unter byzantinischen Soldaten aus Edessa“) ; vgl. auch Aristakes von Lastivert XXIV : S. 123 trad. Canard-Berbérian nach dem Gemetzel in Ani 1064 („La ville était remplie de cadavres au-delà de toute mesure, les chemins étaient marquées par les corps des tués ... de cadavres avaient rendu la grande rivière qui coule près de la ville rouge de sang“).

Mangels unabhängiger Parallelquellen ist es kaum möglich, den Faktizitätsgrad dieser und ähnlicher Berichte auszuloten. Vryonis dienen sie vornehmlich zur Untermauerung seines Bildes von der allumfassenden Katastrophe der kleinasiatischen Provinzen in den ersten Jahrzehnten der seldschukischen Einfälle, während türkische Historiker darin Anhaltspunkte für eine sehr rasche und effektive Eroberung der betroffenen Gebiete zu erkennen meinen (27). Dabei gehen beide von der Voraussetzung aus, dass diese Schilderungen trotz mancher Übertreibungen ein hohes Maß an erlebter Realität widerspiegeln. War die Wirklichkeitsbeschreibung aber tatsächlich die primäre Intention der

(26) Matth. Edess. II 1 : S. 84 trad. Dostourian („infidel nation“), ebd. 8 : 92 ("the nation of the infidels“), ebd. 9 : S. 93 („infidel forces“), ebd. 13 : S. 96 („the wicked, bloodthirsty, and savage Turkish forces“), ebd. 15 : S. 97 („like bloodthirsty wolves or crazed dogs“), ebd. 20 : S. 101 ([der Sultan Alp Arslan] „moved forth like a river swelling up with tempestuous rage and like a beast crazed by its bloodthirsty nature“), ebd. 20 : S. 101 („the crazed and pernicious nation of the Turks“), ebd. 23 : S. 105 („we became subjected to servitude under infidel peoples and alien savages“), ebd. 27 : S. 107 („the wicked Persian chief Slar-Khorasan“), ebd. 28 : 109 („the wicked and bloodthirsty beast Slar-Khorasan“), ebd. 48 : S. 125 („the wicked and vicious beast Afshīn“), ebd. 49 : S. 125 („Gümüshtigin ... like a wounded and enraged beast“), ebd. 49 : S. 126 („the pitiless, savage and perfidious nation of the Turks“), ebd. 56 : S. 131 ([Alp Arslan] „this venomous serpent and ferocious beast, for indeed he was a bloodthirsty man“).

(27) Vryonis, *Decline*, S. 132, 140-141, 144-145, 147-148, 149-155 ; Turan, *Türkiye*, S. 20.

Verfasser ? Hierzu fällt zunächst auf, dass die Berichte einen ausgeprägt schablonenhaften Charakter haben, der durch die Wiederholung derselben narrativen Elemente bei zeitlich und geographisch oft weit auseinander liegenden Ereignissen entsteht. Nur in wenigen Fällen lassen sich eindeutig situationsspezifische Details ausfindig machen, wie etwa die unbestattet gebliebenen Mönche im Amanus-Gebirge, wo sich bedeutende Klöster befanden, oder die ausnehmende Grausamkeit einzelner türkischer Heerführer wie des Afšīn oder des Salār von Ḫurāsān. Es kann sich also nur sehr bedingt um den schriftlichen Niederschlag unmittelbarer Erfahrungen in der Art von Augenzeugenberichten handeln. Vielmehr sind die Schilderungen aufgrund ihrer narrativen Gestaltungsmittel und ihrer Detailfülle darauf angelegt, beim Rezipienten den *Eindruck* realitätsnaher Unmittelbarkeit und somit emotionelle Betroffenheit zu erzeugen. Aristakes von Lastivert bemerkt auch explizit, dass er seine Leserschaft zu Tränen rühren möchte ([28]). Dahinter steht vor allem eine moralisierende Absicht, die mit der Vorstellung von der göttlichen Heimsuchung in direktem Zusammenhang steht. Aristakes weist wiederholt darauf hin, dass die tiefere Ursache für das Unheil in der Sündhaftigkeit seiner Zeitgenossen liege, und untermauert dies mit zahlreichen Stellen aus den Propheten des Alten Testaments ([29]). Ebenso bezeichnet auch Matthäus von Edessa die türkischen Heerführer als Instrumente des göttlichen Zorns ([30]). Beide Autoren bringen damit eine grundsätzlich pessimistische Haltung zum Geschehen ihrer Zeit zum Ausdruck und implizieren deutlich eine Schuldfrage, der sich der von ihnen angesprochene Rezipientenkreis zu stellen hat. Eine Schlüsselstelle für das Verständnis der damit intendierten Botschaft ist die dem Vardapet Johannes Kozern zugeschriebene Deutung einer als böses Omen verstandenen Sonnenfinsternis aus dem Jahr 1036 ([31]), mit der

(28) ARISTAKES VON LASTIVERT XI : S. 63 trad. CANARD-BERBÉRIAN („Je voudrais, dans la mesure de mes forces, ne pas me hâter dans mon exposé, afin de pouvoir provoquer les larmes de chacun").

(29) ARISTAKES VON LASTIVERT XI : S. 58, 59-60, XII : S. 63-66, XVI : S. 78, 82-83, XVII : S. 91-92, XVIII : S. 102 trad. CANARD-BERBÉRIAN ; besonders charakteristisch der Kommentar anlässlich des Überfalls auf Melitene ebd. XXI : S. 105 („Tel fut, pour leur orgueil, le châtiment infligé aux habitants de Mélitène par le Dieu juste et incorruptible qui récompense ou punit chacun selon ses œuvres").

(30) MATTH. EDESS. II 49 : S. 125 trad. DOSTOURIAN („being an instrument of the divine wrath ... he struck down all the inhabitants").

(31) MATTH. EDESS. I 64 : S. 56-60 trad. DOSTOURIAN.

Matthäus die beschriebenen Ereignisse in einen apokalyptisch-endzeitlichen Rahmen stellt : Indem sich die Kreuzigung Christi zum tausendsten Mal jährt und Satan aus seinem Gefängnis im Jordanfluss freikommt, bricht für alle christusgläubigen Völker eine Zeit der Finsternis an. Für die Armenier bedeutet dies den Ausbruch innerkirchlichen Zwistes, den spirituellen und moralischen Niedergang des Klerus und der weltlichen Herrn und schließlich auch den Einfall der Türken, die das Land und die byzantinischen Streitkräfte in schwere Bedrängnis bringen werden ([32]). Einen politischen Wendepunkt sieht Matthäus im Tod König Ašots IV. im Jahr 1038, mit dem die Einheit und Kampfeskraft des armenischen Adels verloren geht und das Land den Griechen preisgegeben wird ([33]). Die türkischen Überfälle werden somit in einen unmittelbaren Sinnzusammenhang mit den von den Autoren als bedrohliche Missstände empfundenen inneren Verhältnissen ihrer Heimat gestellt. Das betont emotionelle Moment ihrer Schilderungen dient dazu, wachzurütteln, zu warnen und zu innerer Besinnung zu mahnen. Im Grunde genommen handelt es sich um Beschreibungen historischer Ereignisse mit einem ethisch-didaktischen Predigtcharakter. Dieser Befund verbietet es modernen Interpreten, aus ihnen irgendwelche Rückschlüsse über das tatsächliche Ausmaß der Zerstörungen oder die militärische Stärke der Invasoren abzuleiten.

Ein weiterer Aspekt dieser Darstellungsweise findet sich in der Chronik des Michael Syrus, der seiner Herkunft und Stellung entsprechend einen besonderen Schwerpunkt auf die obere Euphratregion um Melitene und die dort ansässigen jakobitischen Syrer setzt. Auch er geht davon aus, dass die türkischen Überfälle in seiner Heimat ein Zeichen des göttlichen Zorns sind, der vor allem dadurch verursacht worden sei, dass die häretischen, sprich chalkedonensischen, Griechen nach ihren erfolgreichen Eroberungszügen im Osten mit der Verfol-

(32) MATTH. EDESS. I 64 : S. 58-60 trad. DOSTOURIAN („there will take place invasions by the infidels, the abominable forces of the Turks, the accursed sons of Ham"). Ähnliche Aussagen finden sich auch im Epilog der Chronik des ARISTAKES VON LASTIVERT, S. 129 trad. CANARD-BERBÉRIAN („le corps sacré et l'ordre de l'Église sont profanés et ruinés. Depuis, nous n'avons pas entendu de message de paix ni d'heureuse nouvelle").

(33) MATTH. EDESS. I 70 : S. 63 trad. DOSTOURIAN („Armenian forces grew slack and scorned the art of war ... they departed from the unity ... delivering up one another to the sword of the Greek nation").

gung der rechtgläubigen, sprich monophysitischen, Christen begonnen hätten ([34]). Michael ist allerdings viel weniger ausführlich, was die Darstellung der seldschukischen Plünderungen und Grausamkeiten anbelangt. Eine Ausnahme stellt sein auf älteren Quellen basierender Bericht über den Überfall auf seine Heimatstadt Melitene im Jahr 1057 dar ([35]). Er kombiniert darin bestimmte, sicherlich als historisch anzusehende Einzelfakten mit einem Martyriumsbericht. Der Protagonist der Episode ist der Diakon Petrus, ein Handschriftenschreiber und Schulmeister (*Puṭrūs mšamšānā kāṯōḇā w-mallep̱ ṭlāyē*) ([36]), der von den raubenden Kriegern auf ihrer Suche nach verborgenen Schätzen aufgestöbert wurde. Das auslösende Moment des Vorfalls ist dabei ein kulturell bedingtes Missverständnis, nämlich das Unvermögen der Türken, die wahre Bedeutung der in der Schreibstube befindlichen Handschriften zu erkennen. Die Plünderer sahen, so der Bericht, die „prachtvollen Bände" (*kṯāḇē hḏīrē*) des Petrus und hielten ihn daher für das „Oberhaupt aller Christen" (*rēšā ḏ-ḵulhōn kristyānē*). Als sich Petrus dem Ansinnen der Türken widersetzte, vor ihnen das Kreuz zu schänden, wurde er auf schreckliche Weise zu Tode gequält. Ungeachtet des historischen Kerns, welcher der Episode zugrunde liegen mag, verweist die plakative Kontrastierung zwischen dem beherzten Diakon und den stumpfsinnigen Barbaren deutlich auf eine literarische Bearbeitung, durch die der Diakon als ein Vorbild gebendes Modell präsentiert werden soll ([37]). Im Mittelpunkt steht dabei die Frage, wie man selbst unter

(34) Mich. Syr. XIV 4 : S. 154 (Übersetzung) = S. 569, Sp. B, Z. 1-8 (syrischer Text). Zum Kontext vgl. D. Weltecke, *Die „Beschreibung der Zeiten" von Mōr Michael dem Großen (1126-1199). Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 594, *Subsidia*, 110), Louvain, 2003, S. 58-62.

(35) Mich. Syr. XV 1 : III, S. 158-159 (Übersetzung) = S. 572, Sp. B, Z. 15-573, Sp. B, Z. 19 (syrischer Text) ; zur Chronologie und zum historischen Rahmen vgl. Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 22-23 ; Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 70 ; Vryonis, *Decline*, S. 79.

(36) Melitene war bereits seit dem 10. Jahrhundert ein wichtiges Zentrum syrischer Buchproduktion : Weltecke, *Beschreibung der Zeiten*, S. 67.

(37) Zu dem auch hier zugrunde liegenden Modell der christlichen *Passio* und seinen narrativen Gestaltungsmitteln vgl. etwa M.-F. Auzépy, *L'Hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin. Le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*, 5), Aldershot, 1999, bes. S. 21-46, und P. Agapitos, *Mortuary Typology in the Lives of Saints : Michael the Synkellos and Stephen the*

widrigsten Umständen Standhaftigkeit im Glauben bewahren kann. Für die Zeugen der frühen seldschukischen Überfälle, die mit nur oberflächlich islamisierten und vornehmlich auf Beutegewinn ausgerichteten Kriegerverbänden konfrontiert waren, kann diese Problematik kaum eine wesentliche Rolle gespielt haben ([38]). Anders verhielt es sich freilich mit Michaels christlichen Zeitgenossen, die bereits seit Generationen unter muslimischer Herrschaft lebten und daher mit dem Phänomen des Übertritts zum Islam, sei es freiwillig oder auch durch Zwang, vielfach konfrontiert waren. Vor allem an diese dürfte das Exempel des Diakons Petrus adressiert gewesen sein.

Die byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber greifen bei ihrer Berichterstattung über die seldschukischen Einfälle weniger auf das biblische Heimsuchungsmotiv als auf spätantike Barbaren-Topoi, insbesondere auf die Idee von der moralischen und kulturellen Überlegenheit des Römertums gegenüber den ἔθνη, zurück. Das Bild der seldschukischen Türken wird folglich nach denselben Mustern konstruiert wie das anderer nomadischer Steppenvölker, angefangen von den Goten und Hunnen im 4. bis zu den Petschenegen im 11. Jahrhundert ([39]). Interessanterweise findet sich in den Texten zur Frühphase der türkischen Expansion in Kleinasien zwar von Anfang an die Tendenz, die Seldschuken mit den Πέρσαι zu identifizieren, eine religiös begründete Gleichsetzung mit den muslimischen Arabern (Σαρακηνοί, Ἰσμαηλῖται, Ἀγαρηνοί) lässt sich dagegen höchstens in Ansätzen erkennen, weshalb

Younger, in P. Odorico - P. Agapitos (Hrsg.), *Les vies des saints à Byzance. Genre littéraire ou biographie historique ? Actes du IIe colloque international philologique «EPMHNEIA», Paris, 6-8 juin 2002* (*Dossiers Byzantins*, 4), Paris, 2004, S. 103-135.

(38) Hier sei erneut an die armenischen Chronisten erinnert, die trotz des religiös-moralischen Bezugsrahmens ihrer Schilderungen kaum auf einen islamisch motivierten Fanatismus der Invasoren Bezug nehmen. Ähnliches gilt für die byzantinischen Gewährsmänner (vgl. hierzu die Angaben gleich im Folgenden). Aus den islamischen Quellen ist zwar ein mit den seldschukischen Überfällen verbundenes Aufleben des *ǧihād*-Gedankens erschließbar (vgl. oben, S. 56), es scheint aber quellenkritisch dennoch äußerst bedenklich, wesentlich später entstandene Texte wie das von Vryonis, *Decline*, S. 132, 159, 161, 173, 175 mehrfach zitierte frühosmanische Epos Dānišmendnāme als Beleg für das Bestehen eines ausgeprägten islamischen Kampfgeistes und Bekehrungseifers zu verwenden.

(39) Zu den Hauptmerkmalen des spätantiken Barbarenbildes, vgl. Dauge, *Le Barbare*, S. 307-378.

auch nur sehr selten auf den islamischen Glauben der türkischen Invasoren Bezug genommen wird ([40]).

Den Ausgangspunkt der Berichterstattung bilden fast immer die kaiserliche Regierung in Konstantinopel und deren Maßnahmen angesichts der seldschukischen Gefahr. Die Dominanz der hauptstädtischen Perspektive ist bei Michael Psellos, dem ältesten der für unsere Thematik in Frage kommenden Autoren, so stark, dass die Seldschuken lediglich mit einer kurzen Statistenrolle im Zusammenhang mit der militärischen Niederlage und dem darauf folgenden Sturz Romanos' IV. bedacht werden ([41]). Die übrigen Geschichtsschreiber erstatten über die Situation in den kleinasiatischen Provinzen in dem Maße Bericht, als diese zu Schauplätzen von Feldzügen, sei es unter kaiserlichem Kommando oder unter der Leitung untergeordneter Feldherrn, oder von lokalen Aufstandsbewegungen wurden. Dabei stehen die Ereignisse auf dem Schlachtfeld und militärische Aspekte, bis zu einem gewissen Grad auch Verhandlungen und diplomatische Kontakte im Mittelpunkt. Die von den Invasoren verursachten Verwüstungen und Plünderungen werden zwar als generelles Phänomen mehrfach registriert, jedoch nur selten zum Gegenstand ausführlicher Berichterstattung erhoben.

Ioannes Skylitzes bietet den ausführlichsten aus byzantinischer Perspektive verfassten Bericht über die Anfangsphase der seldschukischen Einfälle von den ersten Expeditionen im armenischen Grenzgebiet bis zu den Raubzügen des Heerführers Samuch um 1055. Die zahlreichen Details über die militärischen Abwehrmaßnahmen der örtlichen Kommandanten lassen auf eine wohl informierte lokale Quelle schließen, die möglicherweise mit dem von J. Shepard erkannten Dossier des Strategen Katakalon Kekaumenos identifiziert werden kann. Die Aggression der Invasoren gegen die Provinzbevölkerung wird nur an einer Stelle, im Bericht über die Plünderung der bei Theodosiupolis

(40) Michael Attaleiates und Ioannes Skylitzes unterscheiden konsequent zwischen Τοῦρκοι bzw. Οὖννοι und den zumeist als Σαρακηνοί bezeichneten islamischen Arabern ; vgl. die Indices in den Editionen von Pérez Martín, S. 376 und Thurn, S. 547-548 und 553 ; vgl. dazu die ausführlicheren Angaben bei A. Beihammer, *Die Ethnogenese der seldschukischen Türken im Urteil christlicher Geschichtsschreiber des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *BZ*, 102 (2009) (im Druck).

(41) *Michele Psello, Imperatori di Bisanzio (Cronografia)*, I-II, ed. S. Impellizzeri, Mailand, 1984 : II 2, 13-20.

gelegenen Stadt Artze im Jahr 1048, ausführlicher thematisiert ([42]). Ganz anders als in den armenischen Quellen geht es hier allerdings nicht um die abstrakte Ausmalung eines göttlichen Strafgerichts, sondern um die konkrete Schilderung einer durch eine Feuersbrunst verursachten Massenpanik, bei der die Bewohner zuerst ihre Frauen und Kinder töteten und sich dann selbst in die Flammen warfen.

Der in der Darstellung der seldschukischen Einfälle vielschichtigste byzantinische Autor ist zweifellos Michael Attaleiates ([43]), was in erster Linie auf seine persönliche Involvierung in die militärischen Ereignisse seiner Zeit, insbesondere seine Teilnahme an den drei Feldzügen Romanos' IV. in den Jahren 1068, 1069 und 1071, zurückzuführen ist. Das entscheidende Moment in seiner Konstruktion des türkischen Feindbildes ist seine jeweilige Haltung zu den Inhabern des Kaiserthrons von Konstantinos IX. Monomachos bis Nikephoros III. Botaneiates. Man könnte von einem proportionalen Verhältnis zwischen seiner Wertschätzung für die politischen Entscheidungsträger in Konstantinopel einerseits und der Gewichtung der seldschukischen Gefahr andererseits sprechen. Je kritischer Attaleiates ersteren gegenüber eingestellt ist, desto mehr dramatisiert er die Bedrohung für das Reich. In der modernen Sekundärliteratur werden seine Aussagen zu den militärpolitischen Maßnahmen der Kaiser gerne als objektiver Maßstab für die byzantinischen Fehleinschätzungen angesichts der seldschukischen Überfälle betrachtet. Dies mag in mancher Hinsicht auch zutreffen ([44]), in anderen Fällen erweist sich sein Urteil allerdings als eindeutig personenabhängig. So werden etwa die Bestrebungen von Attaleiates' Antihelden

(42) Io. Skyl., Konst. Mon. 13 : S. 451, 47-452, 55 Thurn ; zu dem Überfall auf Artze/Arcn vgl. auch Aristakes von Lastivert XII : S. 63-68 trad. Canard–Berbérian und Matth. Edess. I 92 : S. 76-77 trad. Dostourian. Zur Quellenfrage vgl. J. Shepard, *A Suspected Source of Scylitzes' Synopsis Historion : the Great Catacalon Cecaumenus*, in *BMGS*, 16 (1992), S. 171-181.

(43) Hinsichtlich der Aussagen des Autors zu den Türkenkriegen vgl. auch E. Tsolakes, *Ὁ Μιχαὴλ Ἀτταλειάτης ὡς κριτικὸς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων καὶ τῆς τακτικῆς τοῦ πολέμου*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 1 (1969), S. 189-204 ; A. Kazhdan, *The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates*, in : Ders. in collaboration with S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1984, S. 23-86, bes. S. 32, 36-37, 40, 48, 67, 70-72, 82.

(44) Vgl. Haldon, *Approaches*, S. 49-52, 57-60.

Michael VII. (45), türkische Heerführer im Kampf gegen den fränkischen Söldnerführer Roussel de Bailleul und später auch gegen Nikephoros Botaneiates als Bündnispartner zu gewinnen, scharf kritisiert, während dieselben Bemühungen in Bezug auf Botaneiates vorbehaltlos idealisiert und als maßgeblicher politischer Erfolg dargestellt werden. Michael VII. habe sich, so der Autor, mit den Türken verbündet, da er das Hinschlachten des Christenvolkes und das Ausplündern der Landstädte und Provinzen als zweitrangig erachte und ihm die Herrschaft der Türken über die rhomäischen Gebiete lieber sei, als dass der Lateiner einen Platz besetzt hielte und von dort aus die Türken abwehre (46). Im Falle des Botaneiates hingegen, der offenbar gleich nach dem Beginn seines Aufstands im Sommer 1077 türkische Hilfstruppen für den Vormarsch auf Konstantinopel anwarb, erscheinen die Türken als Überläufer (αὐτόμολοι), die bei dem neu ausgerufenen Kaiser „in untertäniger Gesinnung" (ἐν δουλικῷ τῷ φρονήματι) zusammenströmten und Botmäßigkeit (δουλεία) versprachen (47). Bald darauf kam es in Nikaia zum Treffen mit „einigen Edelleuten aus Persien", den Söhnen von Ṭoġrıl Begs Kousin Qutlumuš. Der Empfang wird als Unterwerfungsakt dargestellt, bei dem die türkischen Heerführer

(45) Allgemein zur Darstellung Michaels VII. im Werk des Attaleiates vgl. KAZHDAN, *Social views*, S. 36-38 (angesichts des üblichen Wertekanons für byzantinische Kaiser ist Michael VII. „the true anti-hero").

(46) MICH. ATTAL. S. 146, 10-14 und 22-26 PÉREZ MARTÍN („Denn die Überfälle der Türken auf die Rhomäer, der Umstand, dass soviel Christenvolk niedergemetzelt, Landstädte und Dörfer geplündert und der Orient in völligem Aufruhr zu sehen war, weil zahllose Menschen teils niedergemetzelt und teils in Gefangenschaft geraten waren, wurde für zweitrangig erachtet"); ähnlich auch MICH. ATTAL. S. 147, 16-19 PÉREZ MARTÍN (der Kaiser ist völlig ungerührt angesichts der Gerüchte, dass die Türken bereits die Gebiete um Chalkedon und Chrysopolis plündern). Vgl. auch KAZHDAN, *Social views*, S. 37; zum ereignisgeschichtlichen Hintergrund vgl. G. A. LEBENIOTES, *Το στασιαστικό κίνημα του Νορμανδού Ουρσελίου (Ursel de Bailleul) στην Μικρά Ασία (1073-1076)* (*Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών Ερευνών*, 19), Thessalonike, 2004, S. 145-149.

(47) MICH. ATTAL. S. 157, 26-158, 2 PÉREZ MARTÍN (Zahlreiche Türken treten zu Botaneiates über und bekunden ihm ihre Ergebenheit; mit ihm zu sprechen und seiner ansichtig zu werden, erachten sie als höchste Wohltat); ebd. S. 173, 3-9, 22-28 (Türken, die das offene Land beherrschen und die Straßen kontrollieren, bereiten den Anhängern des Botaneiates keine Hindernisse); ebd. S. 174, 7-17 (Trotz reicher Versprechungen Michaels VII. ziehen es die Türken vor, sich dem Botaneiates anzuschließen).

vor dem Kaiser in die Knie gingen und ihm Ergebenheit versprachen, während sie von diesem mit Geschenken überhäuft wurden (48). Dass Botaneiates auf diese Weise türkische Krieger bis Chalkedon und Chrysopolis brachte, wird damit gerechtfertigt, dass diese nunmehr als rhomäische Truppen ausgewiesen seien und die Raubzüge im bithynischen Küstenland ein Ende fanden (49). Realpolitisch gesehen waren die Auswirkungen dieses Bündnisses, durch das die Basis für die Herausbildung eines seldschukischen Herrschaftsbereichs in Bithynien gelegt wurde, weitaus fataler als die der Politik Michaels VII. im Jahr 1074. Wenn man dem auch entgegenhalten könnte, dass Attaleiates diese Entwicklung noch nicht vorhersehen konnte, zeigt sich hier dennoch sehr deutlich, dass der Autor seine Interpretation der türkischen Bedrohung dem allgemeinen Darstellungsziel seines Werkes unterordnete.

Dieselbe Tendenz zeigt sich auch in den Passagen, in denen der Autor die katastrophale Lage im Osten mit der Idee des göttlichen Zorns in Zusammenhang bringt. Attaleiates konstruiert mit Hilfe dieses Motivs eine schrittweise Intensivierung, die sich, an ihrem Scheitelpunkt angelangt, in einer gewaltsamen Gegenreaktion der Untertanen gegen die kaiserliche Regierung entlädt und somit einen legitimen Grund für den Aufstand liefert. Eine erste diesbezügliche Aussage findet sich angesichts der militärischen Lage zur Zeit Konstantinos' X. Dukas (1059-1067), unter dem sich die türkischen Raubzüge bereits auf den gesamten östlichen Grenzraum erstreckten und die Byzantiner einige schwere Schläge wie die Eroberung der armenischen Königsstadt Ani und Überfälle auf das kappadokische Kaisareia und die Umgebung von Antiocheia hinnehmen mussten:

> Das sind die Ratschlüsse Gottes. Eine solche Arroganz der Barbarenvölker und ein derartiges Gemetzel unter den Untertanen der Rhomäer mochte als Zorn gegen die Häretiker erscheinen, die Iberien und Mesopotamien bis Lykandos, Melitene und die angrenzenden Gebiete bewohnen. [Es sind dies] die Armenier und die, welche der jüdischen Häresie des Nestorios und der-

(48) MICH. ATTAL. S. 191, 9-23 PÉREZ MARTÍN (τινες τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τῆς Περσίδος); ebd. S. 198, 21-199, 6 (die bei Chrysopolis lagernden Qutlumuš-Söhne betreten in sklavischer Haltung die Kaiserstadt und werden dafür mit Schätzen überhäuft; im türkischen Lager wird die Anerkennung des Botaneiates mit Trommelschlägen und Akklamationen zum Ausdruck gebracht).

(49) MICH. ATTAL. S. 191, 24 - S. 192, 7 PÉREZ MARTÍN.

jenigen der Akephaloi anhängen. Diese Landstriche waren ja voll von dieser Ketzerei. Als das Übel aber auch die Rechtgläubigen heimzusuchen begann, gerieten alle, die dem Glauben der Rhomäer anhingen, in Ratlosigkeit (50).

Attaleiates kommt zu dem Schluss, dass das geläufige Deutungsschema, dem zufolge sich die vom rechten Glauben abgewichenen Häretiker Gottes Strafe zugezogen haben, angesichts des umfassenden Charakters der türkischen Bedrohung nicht greift. Entgegen den armenischen und syrischen Chronisten, die unter umgekehrten Vorzeichen denselben Vorwurf erheben, geht es ihm freilich nicht darum, seinen Zeitgenossen ein kollektives moralisches Versagen vorzuhalten. Vielmehr betont er die ἀμηχανία, die mit der Angst vor einer ungewissen Zukunft gekoppelte allgemeine Unsicherheit, die seine Zeitgenossen erfasst hatte und sich daraus erklärt, dass die alte Ordnung ins Wanken geraten ist. In weiterer Folge mehren sich die Indizien, dass Gott seinem auserwählten Volk die Gnade entzogen hat. So gestattet er auch die Schändung und Plünderung bedeutender Heiligtümer in Kleinasien wie des Reliquienschreins in der Basileios-Kirche von Kaisareia (1067) oder der Michaels-Kirche von Chonai (1070) (51). Desgleichen ist der letzte Feldzug Kaiser Romanos' IV. von 1071, der in der Katastrophe von Mantzikert enden sollte, von einer Reihe ungünstiger Vorzeichen begleitet (52).

Ist in den bisher genannten Beispielen ein ursächlicher Zusammenhang zwischen dem Fehlverhalten des Kaisers und Gottes Zorn nur impliziert, so wird dies im Fall Michaels VII. erstmals auch explizit ausgesprochen. Seine persönliche Unfähigkeit und die Intrigen seines Ministers Nikephoritzes hatten zur Folge, dass ein gottgesandtes Strafgericht (θεήλατός τις ὀργή) den Osten erfasste und Türken aus Persien (οἱ ἐκ Περσίδος ἐπιφανέντες Τοῦρκοι) die byzantinischen Provinzen verwüsteten (53). Auf diese Weise weist der Autor den seldschukischen Überfällen eine zentrale Funktion für die Rechtfertigung der Erhebung des Nikephoros Botaneiates zu. Das in immer größere Bedrängnis gera-

(50) Mich. Attal. S. 73, 11-17 Pérez Martín.

(51) Mich. Attal. S. 71, 6-16 und S. 105, 14-24 Pérez Martín. Zur Chronologie der Überfälle auf Kaisareia und Chonai vgl. Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 25, 28 ; Vryonis, *Decline*, S. 81, 87-88, 140.

(52) Mich. Attal. S. 108, 20 - S. 109, 6 ; S. 114, 7-17 ; S. 118, 21 - S. 119, 7 Pérez Martín.

(53) Mich. Attal. S. 134, 24 - S. 135, 15 und bes. S. 135, 16-19 Pérez Martín.

tende Volk habe sich, so die Argumentation, veranlasst gesehen, Gott anzuflehen, dass er sein Erbe schützen und den Tyrannen stürzen möge, worauf er einen Mann, „der die Gebete der Gottesfürchtigen noch übertraf", aufsteigen ließ (54). Das Motiv vom göttlichen Zorn steht hiermit an seinem Kristallisationspunkt : Gott wendet sich letztendlich gegen die kaiserliche Regierung, nimmt dafür aber das reuige Christenvolk wieder in seinen Schutz, wodurch die Aussöhnung mit den barbarischen Feinden und die Beseitigung der Gefahr ermöglicht wird. Die Assoziation zwischen den türkischen Überfällen und dem *flagellum-dei*-Gedanken erfüllt hier also weniger eine moralisierende Funktion, wie dies in den armenischen und syrischen Texten der Fall ist, sondern ist vielmehr Bestandteil der politischen Propaganda des Attaleiates.

Dieses Zwischenresultat führt uns zu weiteren Aspekten des türkischen Feindbildes, die vor allem auf die traditionellen Vorstellungen zu den Eigenschaften der Barbarenvölker zurückgehen. Während syrische und armenische Quellen diesbezüglich nur wenig aussagekräftiges Material enthalten (55), schöpfen byzantinische Autoren sehr ausgiebig aus dieser Tradition. Auf diese Weise wird ein System von Werturteilen und Konzepten aktualisiert, durch das einerseits die ethische und kulturelle Opposition zwischen den türkischen Invasoren und der christlich-römischen Welt verdeutlicht und andererseits die Erfahrung der feindlichen Bedrohung mithilfe eines sich um die Vorstellungen von barbarischer Fremdheit und Andersartigkeit gruppierenden Begriffsfeldes verbalisiert werden (56). Ein Kanon an stereotypen Eigenschaften,

(54) Mich. Attal. S. 155, 24 - S. 156, 22 Pérez Martín, bes. S. 155, 24-25 (Ἤσχαλλον πάντες καὶ ἐδυσχέραινον καὶ διηνεκῶς ἐποτνιῶντο πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιβλέψαι πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ κληρονομίαν) und S. 156, 1-3 (προσδεξάμενος γὰρ τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῶν ὁ ἐν ἐλέει ἀμέτρητος Κύριος, ἀνίστησιν ἄνδρα κρείττονα τῆς εὐχῆς τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτόν).

(55) Eine Ausnahme stellt Mich. Syr. XIV 2 : III, S. 152 (Übersetzung) = IV, S. 567, Sp. A, Z. 42-568, Sp. B, Z. 34 (syr. Text) dar, wo sich der Autor im Rahmen eines ethnographischen Exkurses zur Lebensweise und den Charaktereigenschaften der Türken äußert. Zu diesem Abschnitt in Michaels Chronik, der als eine Art Einleitung zum zeitgenössischen, durch die Herrschaft der Türken gekennzeichneten Teil seiner Chronik fungiert, vgl. Weltecke, *Beschreibung der Zeiten*, S. 58, 132-133.

(56) Dauge, *Barbare*, S. 378 spricht von einer «conception bipolaire du monde, qui oppose étroitement et continûment romanité et barbarie, et qui réussit à relier tous les aspects de l'activité humaine en un système idéologique vraisemblable, mais surtout utile.»

den man allen Nomadenvölkern der eurasiatischen Steppe zuzuschreiben pflegte und sich seit der Spätantike nur mehr unwesentlich gewandelt hatte, stand dafür Pate. So charakterisiert das Strategikon des Maurikios aus dem 6. Jahrhundert die Awaren und die Stämme des alttürkischen Reichs nicht viel anders als Michael Psellos die im 11. Jahrhundert in den Balkan einbrechenden Petschenegen. Alle diese abwechselnd als Skythen, Hunnen oder eben Türken bezeichneten Völkerschaften sind „verschlagen", „schlecht", „treulos", geldgierig", „meineidig", „vertragsbrüchig" und „fürchterlich" (57). Es überrascht daher kaum, dass dieselben Vorstellungen auch in Bezug auf die seldschukischen Türken zur Anwendung kommen. So meint etwa Michael Attaleiates zur Gefangennahme des fränkischen Söldnerführers Roussel de Bailleul im Jahr 1074, die der mit ihm verbündete Heerführer Tutach – freilich auf Anstiftung Kaiser Michaels VII. – während eines Gastmahls bewerkstelligte :

> Die Türken, die jede Freundschaft gegen Geld verraten, ergriffen ihn und nahmen ihn in Haft. Sie haben es ja zum gesetzlichen Gebot, die Rhomäer zu betrügen, niederzumetzeln und zu verraten und keinen ihrer Eide zu fürchten (58).

Ebenso spricht auch Anna Komnene, unsere Hauptquelle zur seldschukischen Expansion ab ca. 1080 und für viele vor allem im westlichen Kleinasien zu lokalisierende Ereignisse aus der Regierung Alexios' I. oft die einzige Gewährsmännin (59), anlässlich der Raubzüge

(57) *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, Einführung, Edition und Indices von G. T. Dennis, Übersetzung von E. Gamillscheg (*CFHB*, 17), Wien, 1981 : XI 2 : S. 360, 16 - S. 362, 20 (Über die Skythen, d. h. die Awaren und Türken und die anderen hunnischen Völker mit derselben Lebensweise) : Περίεργα δὲ καὶ κρυψίβουλα φαῦλά τε καὶ ἄπιστα ὄντα καὶ τῇ ἀπληστίᾳ τῶν χρημάτων κρατούμενα, ὅρκον περιφρονοῦσι, μηδὲ συνθήκας φυλάττοντα, μηδὲ δώροις ἀρκούμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὶν τὸ δοθὲν δέξονται, ἐπιβουλὴν μελετῶσι καὶ ἀνατροπὴν τῶν δοκούντων. Mich. Psellos VII 69 : S. 266, 38 - S. 268, 7 Impellizzeri (zu den Petschenegen) : Τοῦτο τὸ γένος δεινοὶ ξύμπαντες καὶ τὰς γνώμας ὑποκαθήμενοι· οὔτε δὲ συνθῆκαι τούτους φιλίας ἐπέχουσιν, οὔτε κατὰ τῶν θυμάτων ὀμόσαντες τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδέ τι θεῖον σεβάζονται ... διὰ ταῦτα ῥᾷστά τε σπένδονται, καὶ πολεμεῖν δεῆσαν, εὐθὺς ἠθετήκασι τὰς σπονδάς.

(58) Mich. Attal. 147, 6-9 Pérez Martín. Zu dem Ereignis vgl. Lebeniotes, *Στασιαστικό κίνημα*, S. 173-175.

(59) Zum aktuellen Forschungsstand vgl. die Beiträge in Th. Gouma-Peterson (Hrsg.), *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, London, 2000.

des Sulaymān b. Qutlumuš in den Landstrichen der Propontis von den ἀθεώτατοι Τοῦρκοι (60) und meint in Hinblick auf den Konflikt zwischen dem türkischen Lokalmachthaber von Smyrna, Tzachas (Caka) und dessen Schwiegervater, dem Sultan Qılığ Arslan I., dass das gesamte Barbarenvolk ja stets zu Gemetzel und Krieg bereit sei (61). Überhaupt ist Tzachas, so das Urteil der Autorin, ein kriegerischer Mann der selbst während der Friedensverhandlungen mit den Rhomäern nicht von seiner Verschlagenheit ablasse : „Aber der Krebs lernt es nicht, gerade aus zu gehen, und so ließ auch Tzachas nicht von seiner früheren Verschlagenheit ab" (62). So war auch der Flottenkommandant Konstantinos Dalassenos, der mit Tzachas Verhandlungen zwecks einer Übergabe der Festung von Chios führte, mit „dem heimtückischen Charakter der Türken" (63) konfrontiert.

Derartige Aussagen zur unberechenbaren Fürchterlichkeit des Gegners paaren sich mitunter mit einem materiell begründeten Überlegenheitsdenken. Auch hierfür ist eine Aussage Annas anlässlich einer ca. 1092 von Sultan Malikšāh nach Konstantinopel detachierten Gesandtschaft illustrativ (64). Auf das bereits zu anderen Gelegenheiten vorgebrachte Angebot einer ehelichen Verbindung zwischen den Komnenen und den Seldschuken wird Alexios I. die Entgegnung in den Mund gelegt, dass das kaiserliche Töchterchen, das dem erstgeborenen Sohn des Barbaren versprochen werden sollte, wohl unglücklich gewor-

(60) Anna Komn. III 11, 1 : S. 114, 39 Reinsch-Kambylis.

(61) Anna Komn. IX 3, 3 : S. 265, 28 Reinsch-Kambylis (τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον ἅπαν ἕτοιμον πρὸς σφαγὰς καὶ πολέμους). Zum ereignisgeschichtlichen Hintergrund vgl. A. Savvides, *Ο Σελτζούκος εμίρης της Σμύρνης Τζαχάς (Çaka) και οι επιδρομές του στα μικρασιατικά παράλια, τα νησιά του ανατολικού Αιγαίου και την Κωνσταντινούπολη, c. 1081 - c. 1106*, Α΄ : *c. 1081-1090*, in *Χιακά Χρονικά*, 14 (1982), S. 9-24, bes. S. 18-23 zu den Kämpfen auf Chios im Jahr 1090 ; Β΄ : *1090 - c. 1106*, in *Χιακά Χρονικά*, 16 (1984), S. 51-66 (Nachdruck in : Ders., *Βυζαντινοτουρκικά Μελετήματα, Ανατύπωση άρθρων 1981-1990*, Athen, 1991, n. IV-V).

(62) Anna Komn. IX 3, 1 : S. 263, 93 Reinsch-Kambylis (ὁ δέ γε Τζαχᾶς ἀνὴρ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος), ebd. IX 1, 8 : S. 260, 93-94 (die deutsche Wiedergabe folgt der Übersetzung von Reinsch, S. 295).

(63) Anna Komn. VII 4, 8 : S. 225, 86-87 Reinsch-Kambylis (τὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἦθος δολερόν).

(64) Zu dem Gesandtschaftsverkehr vgl. F. Dölger - P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 2. Teil, *Regesten von 1025-1204*, zweite Auflage, München, 1995, Reg. 1164.

den wäre, wenn es nach Persien gezogen und dort einer Kaiserherrschaft teilhaftig geworden wäre, die elender ist als jede Form von Armut [65].

Der Umstand, dass die genannten Werturteile oft in Zusammenhang mit militärischen Erfolgen der Gegner oder gescheiterten diplomatischen Kontakten evoziert werden, erhellt überdies die ihnen zukommende argumentative Funktion. Boten sie doch ein leicht transponierbares Deutungsschema, mithilfe dessen jede Art von Misserfolgen gerechtfertigt und selbst bei Niederlagen zumindest ein moralischer Überlegenheitsanspruch behauptet werden konnte. Wie die Roussel de Bailleul-Episode bei Attaleiates verdeutlicht, kam dieses Denkmuster mitunter selbst entgegen der inneren Logik der Erzählung zum Einsatz. Werden hier doch die Türken mit den Attributen der Untreue und Gewaltbereitschaft bedacht, obgleich Kaiser Michael VII. explizit als Urheber des Verrats benannt wird. Außerdem waren die genannten Stereotype dazu geeignet, die Grenzen der Kontakt- und Interaktionsmöglichkeiten mit den Türken aufzeigen. Die angeborene Bösartigkeit des Gegners stellt, so die Argumentation, den Abschluss oder die Umsetzung von Vereinbarungen stets in Frage, so dass dem Kaiser oder seinen Amtsträgern – wie etwa dem weiter oben genannten Konstantinos Dalassenos – keine Schuld an den unbefriedigenden Resultaten ihres politischen Handelns unterstellt werden kann.

Eine Sondervariante dieses Deutungsschemas stellen jene Berichte dar, denen zufolge die Byzantiner, selbst wenn sie auf dem Schlachtfeld unterlegen sind, aufgrund ihrer moralischen, intellektuellen und kulturellen Vorzüge in der Lage sind, ihre türkischen Gegner zu beeindrukken und auf diese Anziehungskraft auszuüben, so dass letztere zu Zugeständnissen und im Extremfall sogar zum Seitenwechsel bereit sind. Ein anschauliches Beispiel ist Attaleiates' Bericht über die Gefangenschaft des georgischen Potentaten Liparites, der den Byzantinern bei der Abwehr der seldschukischen Invasion von 1048 beistand und den Gegnern in der Schlacht von Kapetru in die Hände fiel. Als der Gefangene dem Sultan Ṭoğrıl Beg in Rayy vorgeführt wurde, zeigte sich dieser von der Tapferkeit, der Entschlossenheit und der standhaften Gesinnung des Mannes tief beeindruckt. Da ihm der Sultan an Edelmut

(65) Anna Komn. VI 12, 4 : S. 195, 81-83 Reinsch-Kambylis (die deutsche Wiedergabe folgt der Übersetzung von Reinsch, S. 225).

und Uneigennützigkeit nicht nachstehen wollte, erstattete er ihm alles, was er im Krieg verloren hatte, vielfach zurück und schenkte ihm die Freiheit [66]. Alle Quellen zu diesem gut dokumentierten Ereignis stimmen darin überein, dass Liparites durch einen Gnadenakt des Sultans und ohne die Zahlung von Lösegeld freikam [67]. Anstelle der den tatsächlichen Umständen sicher näher kommenden Version des Skylitzes und der orientalischen Quellen, der zufolge der georgische Fürst seine Freiheit als Ergebnis der im Jahr 1049 zwischen dem Kaiser und Ṭoğrıl Beg geführten Friedensverhandlungen wiedergewann, beschreibt Attaleiates eine idealisierte Kontaktsituation, in der die Überwindung der bipolaren Opposition zwischen Byzantinern und Barbaren durch die freiwillige Anerkennung der moralischen Überlegenheit der ersteren thematisiert und gleichzeitig die Vorstellung einer kulturellen Sogwirkung impliziert wird. Es handelt sich um einen klaren Fall der ideologischen Umdeutung eines Ereignisses, die aus einem reellen Rückschlag einen ideellen Sieg macht.

Nach ähnlichen Mustern sind die mitunter recht detaillierten Berichte über türkische Überläufer gestaltet. Das bei solchen Gelegenheiten zum Tragen kommende Geflecht an ideologischen Haltungen und kommunikativen Praktiken hat ebenfalls eine uralte Tradition, die sich bis in die Spätantike zurückverfolgen lässt. Es sei etwa nur an den Empfang des im Jahre 381 nach Konstantinopel geflohenen Gotenfürsten Athanarich erinnert, der, obgleich er sich der Versuchung,

(66) Mich. Attal. S. 34, 17-24 Pérez Martín (προκατέλαβε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ φήμη τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενναιότητος ... θαυμάσας τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐψυχίαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ φρονήματος εὐσταθὲς καὶ θελήσας μὴ δεύτερος αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ τῆς πράξεως εὐγενὲς καὶ ἀφιλοχρήματον).

(67) Vgl. Io. Skyl., Konst. Mon. 15 : S. 454, 10–19 Thurn ; Aristakes von Lastivert XIII : S. 69-72 trad. Canard-Berbérian (im Kommentar ebd. S. 70-71, A. 1 werden weitere Quellen aufgelistet) ; Matth. Edess. I 94 : S. 78-79 trad. Dostourian ; Ibn al-Aṯīr, VI, S. 139, 6-7 (Qārīṭ malik al-Abḫāz) und S. 146, 9-11 ; letzterer und andere orientalische Quellen berichten von der Vermittlerrolle des Lokalmachthabers im Diyār Bakr, Naṣraddawla b. Marwān, der damals mit Byzanz verbündet war und gleichzeitig die seldschukische Oberherrschaft anerkannt hatte, so dass er sich beim Sultan auf die Bitte der kaiserlichen Regierung für den Gefangenen einsetzen konnte. Vgl. zu dem Ereignis W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen von 1001 bis 1055* (*Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 14), Wien, 1981, 170 und Dölger-Wirth, Reg. 890d (ca. 1049 Anfang).

Reichsgebiet zu betreten, ein Leben lang widersetzte, kurz vor seinem Tod der Anziehungskraft des römischen Kaisertums erlag ([68]). Etwa acht Jahrhunderte später, im Jahre 1070, erfolgte der von mehreren Quellen bezeugte Übertritt des seldschukischen Heerführers Chrysoskulos (Arīsġī) an den Hof Kaiser Romanos' IV. ([69]). Am Anfang stand hier die Gefangennahme des Kuropalates Manuel Komnenos, der nahe der kappadokischen Stadt Sebasteia eine militärische Schlappe gegen Arīsġī erlitten hatte. Die beiden Hauptquellen, Nikephoros Bryennios und Michael Attaleiates, ergänzen einander gegenseitig, indem ersterer die vertraulichen Gespräche zwischen Manuel und Arīsġī und letzter die offizielle Aufnahme des türkischen Kommandanten am Kaiserhof beschreibt. Manuel wusste, so Bryennios, von „der Arznei überaus wirksamer Worte Gebrauch zu machen", so dass er die „Starrköpfigkeit" des abtrünnigen Heerführers erweichte und ihn dazu überredete, zum Kaiser der Rhomäer überzulaufen und sich diesen zum Verbündeten und Mithelfer zu gewinnen ([70]).

Nach Attaleiates erfolgte die Audienz, die man dem Arīsġī beim Kaiser gewährte, erst nach vielen Tagen und in einem besonders eindrucksvollen Ambiente, einer am frühen Morgen stattfindenden glanzvollen Senatsversammlung im Chrysotriklinon ([71]) :

> Da erhoben alle, die anwesend waren und entweder den Verstand oder die Empfindsamkeit stärker ausgeprägt hatten, ihre Stimme und verliehen naturgemäß ihrer Aufregung Ausdruck, denn der Vortretende war zwar jung, doch beinahe zwergenhaft an Wuchs und dem Aussehen nach ein unschöner Skythe, zumal dieses Volk von den Skythen und deren Bösartigkeit und Hässlichkeit abstammt. Der Kaiser aber verlieh ihm den Ehrentitel eines Proedros und im Glauben, dass dieser auf dem Feldzug gegen die Türken keinen geringen Nutzen bringen könne, unterhielt er sich mit ihm darüber.

(68) Vgl. etwa die diesbezüglichen Angaben bei Zosimos (*Zosime, Histoire nouvelle*, ed. - trad. F. Paschoud, 5 Teile in 3 Bden, Paris, 1971-1989 : IV, S. 34, 5).

(69) Zu dieser Persönlichkeit vgl. Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 27-28 ; Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 71 (erschließt die türkische Namensform Erisgen). Sibṭ b. al-Ǧawzī, S. 144, 2 Sevim bezeichnet ihn als *zawǧ uḫt as-sulṭān* „Ehemann der Schwester des Sultans", wodurch er als Schwager des Alp Arslan ausgewiesen ist. Zu seinem Übertritt auf byzantinische Seite aus muslimischer Sicht vgl. ebd. S. 146, 20 - S. 147, 10.

(70) Nik. Bryenn. I 11 : S. 101, 18 - S. 103, 3 Gautier.

(71) Mich. Attal. S. 106, 6-107, 4 Pérez Martín. Derselbe Bericht verkürzt auch in Skyl. Cont. S. 141, 21 - S. 142, 2 Tsolakes.

Die Ankunft des feindlichen Heerführers am Kaiserhof muss damals als eine Sensation von besonderem Seltenheitscharakter empfunden worden sein. Der einzige bekannte Fall eines hochrangigen türkischen Überläufers aus der Zeit vor 1070 ist der des Amertikes (Hārūn b. Ḫān), der von Kaiser Michael VI. aufgenommen worden war, dann aber unter Konstantinos X. Dukas in Ungnade fiel und verbannt wurde ([72]). Insofern ist es einleuchtend, dass man den Empfang beim Kaiser vor der Öffentlichkeit der Hofwürdenträger möglichst eindrucksvoll inszenieren und propagandistisch verwerten wollte. Das Zeremoniell zielte offenbar darauf ab, die durch die offizielle Aufnahme und die Verleihung des Proedros-Titels sinnfällig gemachte Transformation des Ankömmlings zum kaiserlichen Untertan als Prestigegewinn und moralischen Sieg darzustellen. Tagelanges Warten, ein großes Publikum und die beim Auftreten des Fremdlings wohl ganz bewusst eingesetzten Erstaunensrufe verliehen dem Ereignis ein besonderes Gewicht und eine nicht zu übersehende emotionelle Komponente. Die literarische Darstellung bei Bryennios und Attaleiates vermittelt dieselbe Kernaussage wie die oben erwähnte Liparites-Episode und basiert auf derselben bipolaren Gegenüberstellung : Die Beredsamkeit des Manuel Komnenos wird mit der Engstirnigkeit des Chrysoskulos und die äußere Hässlichkeit des Türken (δυσμορφία) mit dem Glanz der Senatsversammlung (λαμπροφορία) kontrastiert. Darüber hinaus vermittelt die Schilderung des Attaleiates auch einen direkten Einblick in die zeremonielle Wirklichkeit des Kaiserhofs, wo die Integrationswirkung der römischen Welt auf das Barbarentum neben der sprachlichen auch eine rituell-zeichenhafte Versinnbildlichung erfuhr.

Anna Komnene bringt in die Gestaltung der Thematik eine Reihe von neuen Aspekten ein. So stellt sie erstmals die Rolle der Religion in den

(72) Mich. Attal. S. 71, 21 - S. 72, 1 Pérez Martín ; Io. Skyl., Konst. Mon. 27 : S. 474, 90-98 Thurn gibt ferner an, dass Ṭoġrıl Begs Cousin Qutlumuš (Κουτλουμούσης) in der Zeit seines Zerwürfnisses mit dem Sultan zu Konstantinos IX. überlaufen wollte und bei der armenischen Stadt Kars (Κάρσε) auf eine diesbezügliche Antwort gewartet habe. Ein Vergleich mit orientalischen Parallelquellen zeigt jedoch, dass die Nachricht nicht haltbar ist ; vgl. hierzu C. Cahen, *Qutlumush et ses fils avant l'Asie-Mineure*, in *Der Islam*, 39 (1964), S. 14-27 (Nachdruck in Ders., *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus*, Nr. V), bes. S. 22-23 mit A. 42. Eine Übersicht zu den Quellen und den bekannten Fakten zu Amertikes und Chrysoskulos bietet C. M. Brand, *The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 43 (1989), S. 1-25, hier S. 2.

Vordergrund, indem sie die Bestrebungen Alexios' I., türkische Würdenträger auf seine Seite zu ziehen, als missionarischen Eifer präsentiert. Der Kaiser erscheint nunmehr als „Erzpriester jeder Frömmigkeit" und eifriger Lehrer des christlichen Dogmas, der in seiner apostolischen Überzeugung nicht nur die skythischen Nomaden, sondern auch alle Anhänger Mohammeds in Persien, Ägypten und Libyen zum Christentum bekehren möchte (73). Da der Bekehrungsgedanke in den älteren Quellen völlig fehlt, wird man hier wohl weniger an eine plötzliche Neuerung in der Herrschaftsrepräsentation Alexios' I., sondern eher an den Reflex einer sich im Zuge der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts schrittweise wandelnden Wahrnehmung der seldschukischen Türken zu denken haben. Die Etablierung politischer Machtzentren islamischen Charakters in Kleinasien und die Erfahrungen des Ersten Kreuzzugs mit der ihn begleitenden neuartigen Ideenwelt sind hier sicherlich als Voraussetzungen in Rechnung zu stellen.

Das missionarische Bemühen des Kaisers wird vor allem anhand zweier türkischer Würdenträger exemplifiziert, eines als „Siaus" bezeichneten Gesandten des Malikšāh, der in der Phase der Machtkonsolidierung des Sultans in Syrien um 1086 in Konstantinopel vorstellig wurde, und des türkischen Lokalpotentaten Elchanes (Il-Ḫān), der zur Zeit der Machtübernahme Qılığ Arslans I. in Nikaia (ca. 1092) die Küstenregion von Kyzikos und Apollonias beherrschte und dort das Ziel zweier militärischer Unternehmungen der Byzantiner wurde (74). Annas Berichten zufolge ließen sich beide unter dem Eindruck reicher Versprechungen taufen und bekamen Titel und Ämter verliehen. Man wird davon ausgehen können, dass Alexios I. nicht viel mehr tat als die-

(73) Anna Komn. VI 13, 4 : S. 199, 11-17 Reinsch-Kambylis (εὐσεβείας ἁπάσης ἀρχιερεύς) (die deutsche Wiedergabe folgt der Übersetzung von Reinsch, S. 229). Allgemein zu dieser Haltung in der byzantinischen Diplomatie vgl. J. Shepard, *'Father' or 'Scorpion'? Style and Substance in Alexios's Diplomacy*, in M. Mullet - D. Smythe (Hrsg.), *Alexios I Komnenos. Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-16 April 1989* (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 4.1), Belfast, 1996, S. 68-132, bes. S. 76-80.

(74) Zur Siaus-Episode vgl. Anna Komn. VI 9, 4-5 : S. 187, 9 - S. 188, 41 Reinsch-Kambylis. Zu den Ereignissen um Elchanes ebd. VI 13, 1-4 : S. 197, 58 - S. 199, 17, zum Übertritt besonders VI 13, 4 : S. 198, 5 - S. 199, 11 ; vgl. außerdem Brand, *Turkish Element*, S. 4, und M. Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm Turc. Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (*Les Cahiers du Bosphore*, 10), Istanbul, 1994, S. 31.

selbe Taktik anzuwenden, derer sich schon Romanos IV. bei Chrysoskulos oder Nikephoros III. bei den Qutlumuš-Söhnen bedient hatte. Erst aus der Retrospektive mehrerer Jahrzehnte erhielt diese Handlungsweise durch die besondere Betonung des religiös-missionarischen Aspekts eine neue Interpretation.

Im Falle der Konstantinopelreise des Emirs von Nikaia, Abū l-Qāsim (Ἀπελχασήμ) (75), der dort vom Kaiser mit Geld und Geschenken überhäuft, durch allerlei Vergnügungen unterhalten und schließlich mit dem Titel eines Sebastos geehrt wurde, wird die Wirkung kultureller Anziehungskraft als Kriegslist präsentiert, die es Alexios ermöglichte, eine Zwingburg zur Wiedereroberung von Nikomedeia fertig zu stellen. Zum ersten Mal im Rahmen der byzantinisch-seldschukischen Beziehungen findet sich hier die Praktik der vorübergehenden gastlichen Aufnahme eines feindlichen Machthabers am Kaiserhof dokumentiert, durch die letzterem als Gegenleistung für materielle Vorteile und zeremonielle Ehrenbezeigungen politische Zugeständnisse abgerungen werden. Der ideologische Ausgangspunkt dieser vielfach praktizierten Handlungsweise der byzantinischen Diplomatie ist die Vorstellung von der unersättlichen Habgier der Barbarenvölker (76), die im vorliegenden Fall in Form einer kontrastiven Gegenüberstellung zwischen dem gewinn- und vergnügungssüchtigen türkischen Fürsten und dem weitsichtig planenden Kaiser narrativ dargestellt wird.

Mehr als zwanzig Jahre später, nach dem Ende der Kämpfe des Jahres 1116, in deren Verlauf die Truppen Alexios' I. bis Polybotos (Bolvadin) und Philomelion (Akşehir) vorgestoßen waren, kam es erneut zu einer persönlichen Begegnung zwischen dem Kaiser und dem Sultan der Rūm-Seldschuken, in diesem Fall Qılığ Arslans I. Sohn und Nachfolger Šāhānšāh (1110-1116) (77). Anna beschreibt ausführlich das Zeremoniell des Treffens, das in der Ebene von Akroinon (Afyon Karahisar) am Tag

(75) Anna Komn. VI 10, 8-11 : S. 191, 43 - S. 192, 83 Reinsch-Kambylis.

(76) Vgl. etwa diesbezügliche Aussagen im *De administrando imperio* des Konstantinos Porphyrogennitos (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, trad. R. J. H. Jenkins, [*CFHB*, 1], Washington D.C., 1967, Prooimion, 17-18 (περὶ τῆς ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀκορέστου αὐτῶν γνώμης) ; cap. 13, 15-16 (τοῖς βορείοις ἅπασι γένεσι φύσις ὥσπερ καθέστηκεν τὸ ἐν χρήμασι λίχνον καὶ ἄπληστον καὶ μηδέποτε κορεννύμενον).

(77) Zum ereignisgeschichtlichen Hintergrund vgl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 91-92 ; Turan, *Türkiye*, S. 157-158.

vor dem formellen Abschluss des Friedensvertrags stattfand. Besonders bemerkenswert ist hierbei, dass der Sultan nicht länger als „übertölpelter" Feind, sondern als ein ernstzunehmender Vertragspartner präsentiert wird, der im Gegenzug für die dem Kaiser erwiesenen Ehrenbezeigungen mit besonderem Respekt bedacht wird. Was Anna zur Darstellung brachte, war offenbar eine minutiös durchdachter Schlagabtausch von Huld- und Demutsbezeigungen, durch den der Sultan zwar einerseits seine Unterwerfung bekundete, andererseits aber in ein unmittelbares Naheverhältnis zum Kaiser rückte.

> Die Satrapen stiegen von ihren Pferden ab, als sie des Autokrators von weitem ansichtig wurden und erwiesen ihm die fußfällige Verehrung, wie es den Basileis gegenüber üblich ist. Beim Sultan aber, der mehrmals versuchte, von seinem Pferd abzusteigen, wollte der Autokrator das nicht zulassen; jener sprang jedoch rasch zu Boden und küsste seinen Fuß. Da reichte ihm dieser seine Hand und hieß ihn, ein edles Pferd zu besteigen. Als er im Sattel saß und seitlich neben dem Autokrator ritt, nahm dieser sogleich den Umhang, den er trug, ab und legte ihn jenem um die Schultern ([78]).

Der hier zum Ausdruck gebrachte Vorgang geht über den bislang bekannten Usus, türkische Würdenträger durch die Verleihung von Ehrentiteln in die byzantinische Hofhierarchie einzugliedern, weit hinaus. Wir haben hier erstmals einen türkischen Fürsten vor uns, dem vom Kaiser Symbole der Gleichrangigkeit – ostentatives Hindern am Fußfall, Nebeneinanderreiten, Einkleidung mit dem kaiserlichen Umhang – zugestanden werden. Die im Anschluss „zitierte" Ansprache des Alexios, in der unter anderem von einer Beschränkung der Türken auf die Gebiete, die sie vor dem Sieg über Romanos IV. innegehabt hatten, Bezug genommen wird ([79]), ist mit Sicherheit eine rhetorische Übertreibung Annas, mit der der *de facto* erzielte Kompromiss als kaiserlicher Triumph präsentiert werden soll. Folgerichtig berichtet die Autorin auch nichts über die Einzelbestimmungen des ausgehandelten Vertrags. Dennoch erlaubt das beschriebene Zeremoniell den Schluss, dass es sich um einen wohl auch in dem Vertrag schriftlich fixierten Versuch handelte, das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Machthabern auf eine neue Basis der gegenseitigen Anerkennung zu stellen, durch die dem Sultan eine Teilhaberschaft an der kaiserlichen Sphäre eingeräumt werden sollte. Dem Ausgleich war infolge des bald darauf erfolgten Sturzes Šāhānšāhs durch dessen Halbbruder Mas'ūd keine Lebensdauer beschieden. Das Konzept von 1116 kam aber erneut in den Verträgen zwischen Manuel I. und Qılığ Arslan II. aus den Jahren 1161-1162 zur Anwendung, als der Kaiser dem Sultan die Ehre der Adoption nebst der Einführung einer entsprechenden Vater-Sohn Anrede in die offizielle Korrespondenz verlieh und somit erstmals im Bereich der byzantinisch-muslimischen Kontakte ein Verhältnis geistiger Verwandtschaft begründet wurde ([80]).

Einen Sonderfall im Rahmen der geläufigen Deutungsmuster zu den türkisch-byzantinischen Kontakten stellt der bereits in anderem Zusammenhang vorgestellte Lokalmachthaber Tzachas (Çaka) dar ([81]). Als ehemaliger Kriegsgefangener, der es als Gefolgsmann Nikephoros' III. zum Protonobelissimos gebracht hatte, dann aber im Zuge des Umsturzes von 1081 auf die Verliererseite geriet, war er so etwas wie ein gescheiterter Emporkömmling, der es in der Folge verstand, sich über seine türkische Abkunft eine Klientel unter seinen Volksgenossen zu schaffen und sich dadurch ein independentes Machtzentrum in der Region um Smyrna und in der östlichen Ägäis aufzubauen. Obgleich seine politischen Erfolge vornehmlich auf der Loyalität türkischer Kriegerverbände und auf Bündnissen mit benachbarten Emiren basierten, beschreibt Anna seine Ambitionen als voll und ganz im Geist byzantinischer Herrschaftskonzepte stehend. Um einer vertraglichen Einigung mit Alexios I. zuzustimmen, forderte er die Restitution der ihm

(78) Anna Komn. XV 6, 5 : S. 478, 74-81 Reinsch-Kambylis (οἱ δέ γε σατράπαι πόρρωθεν θεασάμενοι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάντες τὴν συνήθη τοῖς βασιλεῦσι προσκύνησιν ἀποδεδώκασι. τὸν δὲ σουλτάνον πολλάκις τοῦ ἵππου ἀποβῆναι ἐπιχειρήσαντα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐ ξυνεχώρει. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος τάχυ πεζεύσας τὸν πόδα τούτου ἠσπάσατο. καὶ ὃς χεῖρά τε δοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππον τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἐπιβῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπιβάντα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ περὶ θατέραν πλευρὰν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσεγγίσαντα, παραχρῆμα τὸ ἄμφιον λύσας, τοῖς ὤμοις ἐκείνου ἐπέθετο). Die deutsche Wiedergabe folgt der Übersetzung von Reinsch, S. 531.

(79) Anna Komn. XV 6, 5 : S. 478, 85-89 (ἐν ταῖς ἀποτεταγμέναις ὑμῖν χώραις τοῦ λοιποῦ βιώσεσθε, οὗ τὸ πρότερον τὰς διατριβὰς εἴχετε πρὸ τοῦ Ῥωμανὸν τὸν Διογένην ... τὴν ἧτταν ἐκείνην ἡττηθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ σουλτάνου συνάξαντα δυστυχῶς τὴν μάχην ...).

(80) *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten (*CFHB*, 11/1-2), Berlin, 1975 : Bas. Man. 3 : S. 123, 76-78. Zu den Verträgen vgl. Dölger-Wirth, Reg. 1444, 1446 ; vgl. außerdem P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, S. 76-78.

(81) Vgl. die oben, Anm. 61 zitierte Literatur sowie Brand, *Turkish Element*, S. 2-3.

zustehenden, sprich der ihm von der früheren kaiserlichen Regierung gewährten, Rechte sowie eine eheliche Verbindung (82). In Smyrna trat er als *basileus* in kaiserlichen Insignien auf, und das Ziel seiner militärischen Unternehmungen bestand Anna zufolge in der Erringung der Kaiserwürde in Konstantinopel (83). Demnach verkörpert Tzachas den Modellfall eines zwischen den Welten stehenden Grenzgängers, der zwar in seiner äußeren Machtausübung als türkischer Emir agierte, sein ideologisches Selbstverständnis aber auf der Übernahme kaiserlicher Symbolik und einer erstrebten verwandtschaftlichen Verbindung mit der herrschenden Dynastie gründete.

Aktuelle Erfahrungen und Haltungen

Neben dem Substrat traditionsgebundener Vorstellungsmuster stehen diejenigen Aussagen, in denen sich aktuelle Erfahrungen des kriegerischen Alltags und moralische und soziale Normen der Lebenswirklichkeit des 11. Jahrhunderts manifestieren. Damit soll nicht impliziert sein, dass sich die beiden Bereiche eindeutig voneinander abgrenzen ließen. Traditionelle Denkschemata konnten durch ihre ständige Aktualisierung durchaus zu alltäglich gelebter Erfahrung werden (84). Immerhin lassen sich jedoch bestimmte Kategorien von Aussagen festmachen, die zu dem in der Bibel oder im antiken Barbarenbild begründeten Ideengut, wie es im vorangehenden Abschnitt dargelegt wurde, vielfach im Widerspruch stehen und daher eine relativierende Wirkung auf dessen Gültigkeitsanspruch haben.

Von zentraler Bedeutung ist in dieser Hinsicht die mitunter zum Ausdruck kommende Erkenntnis, dass Raublust und Zerstörungswut nicht nur Eigenschaften barbarischer Feinde sind, sondern im Zuge von Kriegshandlungen allenthalben in Erscheinung treten können. Infolge

(82) Anna Komn. VII 8, 7 : S. 225, 70-85 Reinsch–Kambylis.

(83) Anna Komn. IX 1, 2 : S. 258, 21 - S. 259, 25 Reinsch-Kambylis (τοῖς προσήκουσι βασιλεῦσι χρᾶται παρασήμοις βασιλέα ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζων ... μέχρις αὐτοῦ φθάσαι τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνενεχθῆναι περιωπήν).

(84) Vgl. hierzu (mit einer etwas anderen Schwerpunktsetzung) Scharff, *Kämpfe*, S. 5 : „Es ist nahe liegend, daß Menschen, die es gewohnt sind, sich in einer Welt zu orientieren, in der ein stark ritualisiertes Verhalten wesentliche Bereiche des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens bestimmt, auch ihr Denken und ihre Erfahrung von Geschichte an diesen Kriterien ausrichten."

dessen werden Attribute und Verhaltensweisen, die üblicherweise für die seldschukischen Invasoren kennzeichnend sind, mitunter auch der eigenen Seite bzw. den christlichen Glaubensgenossen zugeschrieben. Michael Syrus charakterisiert etwa eine Bande armenischer Freischärler, die um 1066 die Umgebung von Melitene heimsuchten, als „Verbrecher, reißende Wölfe und Blutvergießer, die sich Christen nannten" und schildert deren Untaten mit kaum geringerer Intensität als die der türkischen Plünderer (85). Ebenso schreibt Matthäus von Edessa die Schuld für ein im Jahr 1105 erfolgtes Gemetzel in der kappadokischen Stadt Plasta (Aplast'an), in das ortsansässige Armenier, deren muslimische Verbündete und fränkische Ritter verwickelt waren, den von Habsucht getriebenen, wütenden Franken zu (86). Aus dem Bericht der Anna Komnene über einen auf ca. 1108 zu datierenden Feldzug unter dem Kommando des Eumathios Philokales in Westkleinasien erfährt man schließlich, dass sich die byzantinischen Soldaten nach einem Sieg über turkmenische Krieger derart grausam verhielten, dass sie sogar neugeborene Kinder in kochendes Wasser warfen. Die überlebenden Türken seien hierauf eine Zeit lang in schwarze Gewänder gehüllt und unter lautem Wehgeschrei durch die Lande gezogen, um ihre Volksgenossen zur Vergeltung anzustacheln (87). Dürften in den ersten beiden Beispielen auch die Gegensätze zwischen syrischen Jakobiten, Armeniern und Lateinern die Sicht der Chronisten beeinflussen, so übt Anna eindeutig offene Kritik an der übermäßigen Aggressivität der im Dienste der eigenen Seite stehenden Söldner. Dies wurde ihr freilich dadurch erleichtert, dass ihr Vater in den Vorfall nicht unmittelbar involviert war. Unabhängig vom jeweiligen Standpunkt des Autors wird aus den genannten Quellenstellen deutlich, dass als „barbarisch" klassifizierte Charakteristika keine unveränderlichen Konstanten in der Wahrneh-

(85) Mich. Syr. XV 1 : III, S. 162, Sp. A–164, Sp. A (Übersetzung) = IV, S. 573, Sp. A, Z. 19-44 (syrischer Text) (kulhōn ʿawwālē w-d̲ēb̲ē ḥāṭōp̲ē w-aššāday dmā d̲-b̲a-šmā d̲a-k̲ristyānūt̲ā).

(86) Matth. Edess. III 30 : S. 197–198 trad. Dostourian. Zu der im Quellgebiet des Pyramos (Ceyhan) gelegenen Stadt Plasta (modern Elbistan) vgl. F. Hild - M. Restle, *Kappadokien* (*TIB*, 2), Wien, 1981, S. 260–261. Weitere Beispiele fränkischer Grausamkeiten in christlich-orientalischen Quellen finden sich zusammengestellt bei M. Moosa, *The Crusades : An Eastern Perspective, With Emphasis on Syriac Sources*, in *The Muslim World*, 93 (2003), S. 249-289, bes. S. 256-262.

(87) Anna Komn. XIV 1, 4 : S. 425, 52 - S. 426, 64 Reinsch-Kambylis.

mung ethnischer Identitäten, sondern an bestimmte Situationen gekoppelte Darstellungskategorien waren, die bei Bedarf auf alle möglichen Gegner und ausnahmsweise sogar auf die eigene Seite übertragen werden konnten.

Andererseits wurden Gräueltaten unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen auch wertneutral dargestellt oder sogar moralisch gerechtfertigt. Ein solcher Fall liegt in einer bei Matthäus von Edessa überlieferten Episode vor, in der ein armenischer Edelmann aus Ani namens Georg Shirakats'i von antiochenischen Bürgern ausgeraubt, aus der Stadt vertrieben und dabei noch besonders gedemütigt wurde, indem man ihm den Bart abrasierte. Hierauf tat sich dieser mit einer Truppe türkischer Räuber zusammen, plünderte die Dörfer um Antiocheia und ließ in einem demonstrativen Racheakt die Gefangenen vor den Toren der Stadt niedermachen und deren Leichen in den Orontes werfen ([88]). Die Ehrenbeleidigung des Adeligen ist ein hinreichender Grund, dass weder das Bündnis mit den Türken noch die Rache an den Gefangenen vom Verfasser negativ dargestellt werden. Der Bund mit dem Feind kann, wenn es die Umstände erfordern, eine durchaus logische und auch nicht weiter tadelnswerte Option politischen Handelns sein.

Schließlich thematisieren die Quellen auch Fälle bewusster Gewaltbeschränkung seitens der türkischen Heerführer, wobei die Beweggründe dafür sehr unterschiedlicher Natur sein können. Der Kommandant Afšīn, der sich durch weit nach Westen ausholende Expeditionen gegen Amorion (1068) und Chonai (1070) auszeichnete, sah sich einer bei Bar Hebraeus überlieferten Episode zufolge offenbar durch rein äußere Zwänge wie winterliche Witterungsbedingungen und Versorgungsprobleme zu einer vorübergehenden Einstellung der Plünderungen veranlasst. Während einer Überwinterung auf byzantinischem Gebiet verlangte er, so der Bericht, von einer griechischen Stadtherrin, dass sie seinen Leuten den Kauf von Nahrungsmitteln gestatten möge, andernfalls würde er die Bäume, das Weinland und die Obstgärten in der Umgebung zerstören lassen ([89]). Gewalt wurde hier zwar angedroht, brachte aber den Invasoren in der konkreten Situation keine Vorteile,

(88) Matth. Edess. II 79 : S. 148 trad. Dostourian.

(89) Bar Hebraeus S. 246, 27 - S. 247, 7 Bedjan = S. 220 Budge. Der Bericht übertreibt den tatsächlichen Aktionsradius von Afšīn's Feldzug (wa-npaq l-Māqēdōnīyā w-kad mṭā l-atrā d-Sīmnadū, „und er zog nach Makedonien, und als er das Gebiet von Sīmnadū erreichte").

so dass man sich für eine vorübergehende Zusammenarbeit mit der Gegenseite und den friedlichen Warenkauf entschied.

Ein ethisches Motiv, konkret der Respekt vor der Tugendhaftigkeit des Gegners, lag demselben Chronisten zufolge einer Verhaltensweise des Sultans Malikšāh zugrunde. Als dieser auf seinem Syrienfeldzug im Jahr 1086 die Euphratfestung Qal'at Ǧa'bar bezwang, wollte sich die Frau des Festungskommandanten über die Mauern in den Tod stürzen, überlebte aber den Fall auf wundersame Weise. Angesichts ihrer Rechtfertigung, dass sie unter keines Mannes Gebot außer unter dem ihres Gatten stehen wolle, zeigte sich Malikšāh dermaßen beeindruckt, dass er der Frau nicht nur die Freiheit schenkte, sondern sie auch in ihre Heimatstadt Damaskus eskortieren ließ ([90]).

Ein weiterer Grund, auf Plünderungen und Gewaltausübung zu verzichten, war das Bestreben, in eroberten Gebieten das Vertrauen der Bevölkerung zu gewinnen und dort möglichst rasch geordnete Verhältnisse wiederherzustellen. Diese Beweggründe kamen etwa bei der Eroberung der ostarmenischen Stadt Ganǧak durch Malikšāh's General Būzān ([91]) oder bei der Eroberung von Melitene durch den Emir Dānišmend von Sebasteia im September 1102 zum Tragen. In letzterem Fall hatte der Emir, so Michael Syrus, drei Jahre lang die Ernte verwüsten lassen, damit die Bevölkerung Hunger leide ([92]). Als die Übergabe erfolgte, durfte jedoch niemand umgebracht oder verschleppt werden, und man ließ Lebensmittel zur Versorgung der Einwohner in die Stadt bringen ([93]). Es ist wohl zu kurz gegriffen, wenn man in derartigen Maßnahmen lediglich vereinzelte Ausnahmen vom brutalen Kriegsalltag sehen wollte ([94]). Vielmehr spiegelt sich darin eine neue Phase der türkischen Präsenz im Vorderen Orient und in Kleinasien wider, in welcher der Übergang von Plünderungszügen zu permanenten Herrschaftsbildungen erfolgte. In weiterer Folge ergab sich daraus auch ein neues Erscheinungsbild der seldschukischen Invasoren, die bald nicht mehr ausschließlich als bedrohliche Feinde, sondern als Oberherrn, die poli-

(90) Bar Hebraeus S. 260, 3-14 Bedjan = S. 231 trad. Budge.

(91) Matth. Edess. II 89 : S. 155 trad. Dostourian.

(92) Mich. Syr. XV 8 : III, S. 187 (Übersetzung) = IV, S. 588, Sp. B, Z. 27-32 (syrischer Text).

(93) Mich. Syr. XV 8 : III, S. 188 (Übersetzung) = IV, S. 590, Sp. B, Z. 1-14 (syrischer Text) ; Bar Hebraeus S. 267, 14-25 Bedjan = S. 237 trad. Budge.

(94) Vryonis, *Decline*, S. 154-155.

tische Souveränitätsrechte ausübten, wahrgenommen und beschrieben wurden. So erklärt es sich, dass Matthäus von Edessa eine Reihe von türkischen Machthabern, die anlässlich der Kriegshandlungen in den düstersten Farben erscheinen, letztlich mit einer durchaus positiven Memoria aus dieser Welt scheiden lässt. Der 1092 verstorbene Sultan Malikšāh hatte ein „Herz voll Wohlwollen, Sanftheit und Mitleid für die Christen". Ismāʿīl, der Onkel des Sultans Berkyaruk, der als Statthalter über Armenien regierte, war ein „höflicher, barmherziger, guter, fürsorglicher, wohlwollender, friedvoller Mann und Wohltäter aller Armenier, ein Erneuerer der Klöster und Freund der Mönche, der die Christen beschützte." Aber auch die kleinasiatischen Machthaber Dānišmend und Qılığ Arslan I. waren derart höflich und wohltätig, dass ihr Tod unter den Christen große Betrübnis verursachte (95). Das Kriterium für die Einschätzung der türkischen Herrschaftsträger war dabei vor allem das Ausmaß, in dem diese bereit waren, der Kirchenorganisation und den Mönchsgemeinschaften um Edessa Schutz und wirtschaftliche Prosperität sicherzustellen. Das Bild des als Werkzeug des göttlichen Zorns fungierenden Barbaren und dasjenige des gerechten und legitimen Herrschers schlossen einander also nicht aus, sondern konnten einander entsprechend den sich verändernden Rahmenbedingungen komplementär ergänzen.

Emotionen und emotionsbedingtes Handeln

Wir kommen somit zum letzten der hier zur Diskussion stehenden Aspekte der Konfliktwahrnehmung, dem der Emotionen. Es liegt in der Natur kriegerischer Konflikte, dass diese stets von einem breiten Spektrum an heftigen emotionellen Regungen und emotionell bedingten Verhaltensweisen begleitet sind. Derartige Phänomene werden auch in den Quellen zu den byzantinisch-seldschukischen Kriegen vielfach registriert, so dass ihnen sowohl bei der Konstruktion von Kausalabläufen als auch bei der Beurteilung von Verhaltensweisen der auf beiden Seiten involvierten Personen eine maßgebliche Bedeutung zukommt (96). Wo mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreiber auf Emotionen

(95) MATTH. EDESS. II 86 : S. 153 trad. DOSTOURIAN (Malikšāh), ebd. II 103 : S. 160 (Ismāʿ īl), ebd. III 21 : S. 194 (Dānišmend), ebd. III 36 : S. 199 (Qılığ Arslan).
(96) Allgemein zur Bedeutung von Emotionen in der byzantinischen Historiographie vgl. M. HINTERBERGER, *Φόβῳ κατασεισθείς : τα πάθη του ανθρώπου και της

Bezug nehmen und diese als Motive politischen Handelns begreifen, versuchen moderne Historiker zumeist, verobjektivierte äußere Faktoren, institutionelle Gegebenheiten, Rechtsgrundsätze, politisches Kalkül und strategische Beweggründe als Ursachen einer Ereignisabfolge in den Vordergrund zu stellen. Entgegen dieser traditionellen Vorgehensweise wird in jüngsten Forschungen wohl mit Recht darauf verwiesen, dass dadurch die Vorstellungen und Sichtweisen der Zeitzeugen ungebührlich übergangen werden. Indem neuzeitliche Verhaltensnormen und Wertvorstellungen auf das Mittelalter zurückprojiziert werden, wird den damaligen Akteuren die Maske affektfreier und kühl berechnender Staatsmänner, wie sie uns aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert vertraut sind, übergestülpt (97). Diesbezüglich sehr illustrativ ist etwa die Art und Weise, mit der C. Cahen die seldschukischen Kommandanten der Eroberungszeit charakterisiert : «Il n'est guère douteux qu'on a affaire, en la personne des premiers chefs selǧükides et de Toghrïl-Beg en particulier, à des hommes doués non seulement de l'art du commandement, mais d'une claire conscience sinon du résultat final qui sera atteint, du moins d'une direction d'action, d'une méthode, d'objectifs successifs, enfin de la volonté de conquête et de fondation d'état» (98). Gewisse Aspekte dieser Einschätzung mögen zutreffend sein ; das Bild, das die Autoren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts von Ṭoġrıl Beg und seinen Kampfgefährten zeichnen, ist allerdings ein ganz anderes. Man sollte dabei den Umstand in Rechnung stellen, dass auf emotionellen Momenten aufbauende Darstellungsmuster, um für den zeit-

αυτοκρατορίας στον Μιχαήλ Ατταλειάτη. Το αιτιολογικό σύστημα ενός ιστοριογράφου του 11ου αιώνα*, in V. N. VLYSSIDOU (Hrsg.), *Η αυτοκρατορία σε κρίση(;)*, S. 155-167 ; DERS., *Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Emotionen*, in *JÖB*, 56 (2006), S. 27-51, bes. S. 35-45. Zum Vergleich mit dem westlichen Mittelalter eignet sich etwa H. ROSENWEIN (Hrsg.), *Anger's Past : The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1998. Zu Emotionen als allgemein verständlichen nonverbalen Zeichen mit bestimmten sozialen und politischen Funktionen vgl. G. ALTHOFF, *Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung. „Emotionen" in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 30 (1996), S. 60-79. Einen sehr ausführlichen Überblick über die verschiedenen Aspekte und den aktuellen Forschungsstand der mediävistischen Emotionsforschung findet man bei R. SCHNELL, *Historische Emotionsforschung. Eine mediävistische Standortsbestimmung*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 38 (2004), S. 173-276.
(97) GÖRICH, *Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas*, S. 4-5.
(98) CAHEN, *Pénétration turque*, S. 10.

genössischen Rezipientenkreis nachvollziehbar und überzeugend zu sein, auch allgemein akzeptierten Denk- und Verhaltensformen entsprochen haben müssen. Diese werden freilich in den Quellen, da zumeist als bekannt vorausgesetzt, kaum explizit ausgeführt. Fassbar sind dagegen ethische Maxime und Wertvorstellungen, die das Idealbild des musterhaften Fürsten und Kriegsherrn konstituieren (99). Eben diese können daher auch als Kriterien dienen, mit deren Hilfe die jeweils beschriebenen Verhaltensweisen beurteilt und in ihrer Bedeutung dechiffriert werden können. Im Folgenden möchte ich vor allem zwei Aspekte emotionell bedingten Handelns, die in den christlichen Quellen zu den byzantinisch-seldschukischen Konflikten besonders häufig thematisiert werden, einer näheren Betrachtung unterziehen. Die Rede ist von Handlungen und Verhaltensweisen, die durch Furcht, und solchen, die durch Zorn motiviert sind (100).

Grundsätzlich entsprach es auch dem militärischen Ethos des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, dass Soldaten angesichts des Feindes möglichst Fassung bewahren, Tapferkeit demonstrieren und also keine Furcht zeigen sollten. Nur so konnte die erforderliche Disziplin im Kampf aufrechterhalten werden, und so nimmt es auch nicht Wunder, dass verschiedene psychologische Mittel zum Einsatz kamen, um einerseits die eigene Kampfmoral zu stärken und andererseits die des Gegners zu unterminieren (101). Die Quellen sprechen von erschreckenden Kriegsrufen, von Scheinangriffen, von nächtelangem Pfeilbeschuss, vom erschreckenden äußeren Aussehen der Angreifer und von einer ungeheuren Zahl an Lagerfeuern, die in der Dunkelheit den Eindruck einer großen Streitmacht erwecken sollten (102).

(99) Zum kaiserlichen Tugendkatalog gemäß den Quellen des 11. Jahrhunderts vgl. Kazhdan, *Social Views*, S. 24-39.

(100) Den Kategorien der modernen Psychologie zufolge gehören beide Gefühlszustände zu den „primary" bzw. „basic" emotions ; vgl. B. H. Rosenwein, *Writing and Emotions in Gregory of Tours*, in W. Pohl - P. Herold (Hrsg.), *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., *Denkschriften*, 306 = *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 5), Wien, 2002, S. 23-32, hier S. 25 und die dort zitierte Literatur.

(101) Vgl. hierzu J. Haldon, *Alternative Military History*, S. 45-74, bes. S. 50-51.

(102) Mich. Attal. S. 82, 15-17 Pérez Martín (Scheinangriffe auf die byzantinischen Truppen vor Hierapolis im Sommer 1068) ; ebd. S. 86, 11-12 (Schlachtrufe) ; ebd. S. 116, 25 - S. 117, 3 (nächtlicher Beschuss auf das Feldlager bei Mantzikert, 1071) ; Anna Komn. XV 6, 2 : S. 476, 22-25, 29-31 Reinsch-Kambylis (Schlachtrufe, Feuer, Beschuss, Feldzug von 1116) ; Matth. Edess. II 12 : S. 95 trad. Dostourian (schwarz gekleidete Truppen mit Standarten, die den Tod symbolisieren, Überfall auf Sebasteia im Jahr 1059).

Michael Attaleiates sieht einen der Hauptfaktoren für die militärischen Misserfolge gegen die Türken im Verfall der Kampfmoral der byzantinischen Truppen (103). Die Plünderung und Verwüstung des Ostens sei auf die Übermacht der Türken, den übereilten Abzug der dortigen Verbände und die dadurch verursachte Angst (δεῖμα) der vernachlässigten Soldaten zurückzuführen. Zwar habe man Truppen entsandt, diese seien jedoch zahlenmäßig gering und infolge der ausstehenden Soldzahlungen unmotiviert gewesen. Es habe sich um den schlechtesten Teil des Heeres (τὸ κάκιστον μέρος) gehandelt, der nicht in der Lage war, etwas Tapferes, was der ehemaligen Pracht und Stärke der Rhomäer entsprochen hätte, zu vollbringen (104).

Im Tugendkatalog des idealtypischen Heerführers spielt die Unerschrockenheit, die oft mit verwandten Vorzügen wie etwa der Entbehrfreudigkeit gepaart wird, ebenfalls eine zentrale Rolle (105). Dies verdeutlicht etwa eine Episode aus Nikephoros Bryennios' Bericht über die Heldentaten des jungen Alexios Komnenos : Im Jahr 1073 geriet Alexios' älterer Bruder Isaakios Komnenos in Kappadokien in einen Hinterhalt und wurde von den Türken gefangen genommen. Von seinen Soldaten im Stich gelassen, konnte sich Alexios im Alleingang in die südlich von Kaisareia gelegene Stadt Gabadonia (106) durchschlagen. Die Stadtoberhäupter nahmen den Jüngling, der einen blutüberströmten Mantel über dem Brustpanzer trug, mit größter Ehrerbietung bei sich auf. Auch brachten sie ihm standesgemäße Kleider und forderten ihn auf, sich im Spiegel zu betrachten :

(103) Allgemein zur Angst im Geschichtswerk des Attaleiates vgl. die Bemerkungen bei Hinterberger, *Πάθη*, S. 162-163.

(104) Mich. Attal. S. 59, 16 - S. 60, 7 Pérez Martín ; vgl. auch die allgemeine Schlussfolgerung des Attaleiates, ebd. S. 60, 7-13 Pérez Martín : „So kam es, dass die Rhomäer schwer zu leiden hatten und die Feinde für überwältigend hielten, ja nicht einmal deren Stimme ertrugen, jene aber sich brüsteten und hochmütig wurden und mit viel Selbstvertrauen Angriffe unternahmen. Also geschah etwas völlig Unsinniges, das nicht nur unerträgliche Trübsal, sondern auch eine Verminderung des rhomäischen Herrschaftsgebietes und den Verlust größter Stärke nach sich zog."

(105) Nach Kazhdan, *Social views*, S. 28, 31-32, 38-39 wird militärische Tapferkeit im 11. Jahrhundert auch zu einer der zentralen Herrschertugenden.

(106) Modern Develi, vgl. Hild-Restle, *Kappadokien*, S. 178-179.

„Dieser aber lächelte, als er den Spiegel sah, und wunderte sich über das, was da vor sich ging. Er meinte, es zieme sich nicht für Männer, und vor allem nicht für Soldaten, sich im Spiegel zu betrachten. Dies sei nur Sache der Frauen, die sich darum zu kümmern hätten, ihren Männern zu gefallen. Der Schmuck eines Mannes und Soldaten aber sind die Waffen, die Knappheit und die Genügsamkeit" (107).

Dieselbe Grundhaltung veranschaulicht eine Szene bei Anna Komnene, die in Zusammenhang mit dem letzten Feldzug des Kaisers gegen die Türken im Jahr 1116 geschildert wird : Im Morgengrauen des Tages, an dem der Angriff der seldschukischen Verbände auf Nikaia begann, ruhte der von seiner Krankheit schon schwer gezeichnete Kaiser mit seiner Gattin Eirene im kaiserlichen Zelt des Heerlagers. Eine Erzählsequenz, die durch eine Abfolge von drei im Abstand weniger Stunden eintreffenden Boten dramatisiert wird, beschreibt das mustergültige Verhalten des obersten Heerführers angesichts der nahenden Gefahr : Auf die ersten beiden Meldungen reagierte der Kaiser mit der Demonstration unerschütterlicher Gemütsruhe, zunächst, indem er sich weiter schlafend stellte, dann, indem er unbeeindruckt mit seinen morgendlichen Alltagsgeschäften fortfuhr. Erst als gegen Mittag ein dritter, nunmehr schon blutüberströmter Kurier einlangte, wies Alexios seine Frau an, nach Konstantinopel zurückzukehren, und befahl den Aufbruch (108).

Vor diesem Hintergrund wird es verständlich, wenn in byzantinischen Quellen wiederholt von der Angst des seldschukischen Sultans und seiner Heerführer die Rede ist. Ioannes Skylitzes zufolge hatte Ṭoġrıl Beg anfangs große Furcht davor, gegen die Rhomäer einen Krieg zu beginnen, da er schon allein von den Gerüchten über die Heldentaten der drei früheren Kaiser Nikephoros, Ioannes und Basileios erschauderte und befürchtete, dass den Rhomäern noch immer dieselbe Tugend und Kraft eigen sei. Freilich habe Qutlumuš den Sultan darüber aufgeklärt, dass die armenische Grenzprovinz Vaspurakan ein fruchtbares Land sei, das von Weibern kontrolliert werde (109). Ein weiteres Mal macht Skylitzes vom Angstmotiv Gebrauch, indem er zwischen dem desaströsen Plünderungszug des Heerführers Asan von ca. 1046 und dem erfolgreichen Feldzug des Ibrāhīm Inal von 1048 einen direkten Kausalzusammenhang herstellt. Der Sultan habe von flüchtigen Soldaten vom Unglück des Asan erfahren und sei darauf von großer Bangnis befallen worden. Also bemühte er sich, den entstandenen Verlust wieder gut zu machen, und stellte ein neues Heer auf (110).

(107) Nik. Bryenn. II 7 : S. 155, 1-13 Gautier.

(108) Anna Komn. XV 2, 1-2 : S. 463, 84 - S. 464, 5 Reinsch-Kambylis.

(109) Io. Skyl., Konst. Mon. 10 : S. 446, 1 - S. 447, 8 Thurn (πρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὅπλα κινῆσαι ἀπεδειλία, δεδιὼς καὶ φρίττων ἐκ μόνης τῆς φήμης τὰ τῶν προηγησαμένων τριῶν βασιλέων ἀνδραγαθήματα, Νικηφόρου, Ἰωάννου καὶ Βασιλείου, καὶ ὑποπτεύων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἔτι καὶ δύναμιν προσεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις).

Im ersten Fall thematisiert der Autor ein wichtiges psychologisches Moment der Kriegsführung, das sich aus unzureichendem Wissen über die tatsächliche militärische Stärke des Gegners ergibt. Die Stelle macht deutlich, dass die Byzantiner ganz gezielt darum bemüht waren, die Memoria ihrer vergangenen Ruhmestaten bei den Nachbarn wach zu halten (111). Dadurch ließen sich aktuelle Schwächen eine zeitlang verbergen und aggressive Absichten in Zaum halten. Die Möglichkeiten einer derartigen Propaganda waren freilich begrenzt und konnten durch militärische Erfolge einfallender Feinde leicht zunichte gemacht werden. Indem die ἀγωνία des Sultans als Handlungsmotiv in den Vordergrund gestellt wird, suggeriert der byzantinische Autor darüber hinaus das Bild eines Gegners, der über keine politische Initiative oder militärische Strategie verfügt : Seine Entscheidungen basieren nicht auf sorgfältiger Planung und abgewogenem Urteil, vielmehr wird er von seinen Ratgebern und dem Gang der Ereignisse getrieben.

Skylitzes teilt offenbar nicht die von Attaleiates vertretene Ansicht, dass die Fehlentscheidungen und die Korrumpiertheit des Konstantinos Monomachos und seiner Nachfolger die Katastrophe im Osten verursacht hätten. Die ruhmreiche Vergangenheit und die militärische Stärke des Reichs hätten weiterhin ausgereicht, um den Türken beträchtliche Angst einzuflößen. Vielmehr sei es das Versagen der örtlichen Kommandanten gewesen, das die Erfolge der Türken erklärt. So habe etwa der Patrikios Stephanos Leichoudes das Gesuch eines türkischen Kriegerverbands um freien Durchzug durch die Provinz Vaspu-

(110) Io. Skyl., Konst. Mon. 13 : S. 449, 79-80 Thurn (εἰς μεγάλην ἐνέπεσεν ἀγωνίαν).

(111) Zur Entstehung und zum ideologischen Rahmen dieser politischen Verhaltensweise vgl. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory : Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge, 1986, S. 1-6 und bes. S. 131-188 (die kaiserlichen Siegesfeiern in der mittelbzyantinischen Periode bis ins 10. Jahrhundert) ; vgl. außerdem Schotz, *Deli kedi*, S. 639-689.

rakan in einer fatalen Fehleinschätzung als Zeichen der Feigheit aufgefasst, so dass er bei dem anschließenden Gefecht geschlagen und gefangen genommen wurde ; ebenso hätten sich byzantinische Befehlshaber, die den Angriff des Ibrāhīm Inal zu parieren hatten, darauf geeinigt, mit ihren Truppen Städte und Festungen zu sichern und den Feind in byzantinisches Territorium eindringen zu lassen, was den Türken schließlich die Plünderung der Stadt Artze ermöglicht habe (112). Somit bieten uns die byzantinischen Quellen zwei unterschiedliche Interpretationen, die auf dem Kontrast zwischen dem Idealbild des furchtlosen Kriegers und der Erfahrung der Angst vor dem Feind basieren. War es nach Attaleiates die Furcht der Byzantiner, die den Übermut der Türken hervorrief, so war es Skylitzes zufolge zunächst der türkische Sultan, der vor der Macht und dem Ruhm des Reiches zitterte, dann aber seine Angst infolge des Fehlverhaltens der byzantinischen Kommandanten überwand und mit seinen militärischen Unternehmungen erfolgreich war.

Ein weiteres emotional bedingtes Handlungsmotiv, das in unseren Quellen eine zentrale Bedeutung als Erklärungsmuster politischen Verhaltens hat, ist wie gesagt der Zorn. Dieser fungiert als grundlegender Gefühlszustand, durch den heftige und vielfach auch gewalttätige Reaktionen motiviert werden (113). Freilich bedurfte der Zorn auch seinerseits eines auslösenden Faktors. Diesbezüglich lassen sich je nach Ursache Formen des Zorns unterscheiden, die durch Ehrenverletzungen, durch vom Gegner bewusst eingesetzte Demütigungen und durch politische und militärische Misserfolge entstanden sind.

Einmal mehr liefert uns Ioannes Skylitzes ein illustratives Beispiel dafür, wie der Zorn des Sultans Ṭoġrıl Beg als Erklärung für einen Feldzug, konkret die vom Sultan persönlich geleitete Expedition von 1054, auf der unter anderem auch die Stadt Mantzikert erfolglos belagert wurde (114), verwendet wird. Auch hier werden mehrere Jahre auseinander liegende Ereignisse in eine Kausalabfolge gestellt, der zufolge der Auslöser für den Zorn des Sultans die Verachtung ist, die man im Jahr

(112) Io. Skyl.., Konst. Mon. 10 : S. 446, 80-91 Thurn (zu Stephanos Leichudes), ebd. Konst. Mon. 13 : S. 450, 85 - S. 451, 28 (zur Expedition des Ibrāhīm Inal).

(113) Vgl. auch hierzu die Bemerkungen bei Hinterberger, Πάθη 165-166.

(114) Zum ereignisgeschichtlichen Hintergrund vgl. Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 16-17 ; Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 69.

(115) Io. Skyl.., Konst. Mon. 19 : S. 462, 43-44 Thurn (βαρυθυμήσας διὰ τὴν τῶν αὐτοῦ καταφρόνησιν πρέσβεων καὶ τὴν τῶν θελημάτων ἀστοχίαν). Zu der Gesandtschaft vgl. Dölger-Wirth, Reg. 890d.

1049 seinen Gesandten in Konstantinopel entgegengebracht hatte (115). Die Ablehnung der vorgebrachten Angebote durch die Byzantiner bedeutet für den Sultan eine Ehrenminderung, die diesen wiederum zu einem militärischen Schlag reizt. Vergleichsbeispiele aus dem innerbyzantinischen Bereich machen deutlich, dass die Zurückweisung eines offiziell vorgebrachten Anliegens nach allgemeinem Dafürhalten tatsächlich eine gewaltsame Reaktion rechtfertigen konnte. Ein Parallelfall ist etwa das Verhalten des fränkischen Söldnerführers Hervé (Ἐρβέβιος Φραγγόπωλος), eines alten Kampfgefährten des Georgios Maniakes. Als er bei Kaiser Michael VI. um die Verleihung der Magistros-Würde nachkam, wurde er unter Spott weggejagt. Schwer gekränkt zog er sich hierauf auf seine Liegenschaften im Thema Armeniakon zurück und verbündete sich dort mit dem türkischen Heerführer Samuch, um mit ihm gemeinsam gegen die Rhomäer Krieg zu führen (116). Eine weitere Parallele bietet die bei Anna Komnene geschilderte Reaktion Kaiser Alexios' I. auf das Verhalten des Tankred von Antiocheia, der sich nach dem Tod Bohemunds in unverhohlener Missachtung des Vertrags von Deabole (1108 September) (117) als unabhängiger Fürst gebärdete. Alexios konnte dies nicht hinnehmen „und es war gänzlich untragbar für ihn, keine Vergeltungsmaßnahmen zu ergreifen und sich an ihnen (= den Franken) für ein derartig menschliche Regeln mißachtendes Verhalten nicht zu rächen ... das zerriß ihm das Herz, und er konnte diese Anmaßung nicht ertragen" (118). Die Begründung des Skylitzes für den Feldzug des Sultans bewegte sich also ganz im Rahmen der politischen Spielregeln seiner Zeit. Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass der Zorn des Sultans über das Scheitern der Verhandlungen von 1049 auch noch fünf Jahre später als Element der offiziellen Propaganda fungierte, die den Feldzug begleitete.

Verletzte Ehre war nach Michael Attaleiates auch der Grund für die Eroberung der armenischen Königsstadt Ani durch die Truppen Alp

(116) Io. Skyl., Mich. Geron 4 : S. 484, 41 - S. 485, 56 Thurn (οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ὕβριν ... ἀμύνασθαι τὸν ὑβριστήν). Zum ereignisgeschichtlichen Hintergrund Cahen, *Pénétration turque*, S. 22 ; Ders., *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 69-70.

(117) Vgl. Dölger-Wirth, Reg. 1243.

(118) Anna Komn. XIV 2, 1-2 : S. 427, 18 - S. 428, 42 Reinsch/Kambylis, bes. S. 428, 33–34, 41–42 (φέρειν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' ὅλως ἠνείχετο ... διεσπάραττεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἐνέγκοι τὴν ὕβριν) (die deutsche Wiedergabe ist zitiert nach Reinsch, S. 479).

(119) Zu dem Ereignis vgl. M. Canard, *La campagne arménienne du sultan salǧuqide Alp Arslan et la prise d'Ani en 1064*, in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, N.S., 2

Arslans im Jahre 1064 [119]. Seinem Bericht zufolge sei der Sultan damals zwar durch Reichsgebiet gezogen, habe aber nicht die Absicht gehabt, Überfälle zu unternehmen. Bloße Habgier hätte den Statthalter von Ani, Pankratios, und einen weiteren dort stationierten kaiserlichen Kommandanten dazu verleitet, einen Überfall auf die Nachhut des seldschukischen Heeres zu unternehmen. Dies war für den Sultan und seine Soldaten eine unerträgliche Beleidigung, die nicht unbestraft bleiben durfte. So begann Alp Arslan „Zorn und Ungestüm schnaubend" den Angriff auf Ani [120]. Der byzantinische Gewährsmann rechtfertigt explizit das Verhalten des Sultans und stellt es als logische Folge des Fehlverhaltens der byzantinischen Amtsträger dar. Die hier zum Ausdruck kommende Grundhaltung ist dieselbe wie in dem weiter oben erwähnten Bericht des Matthäus von Edessa über die Taten des Georg Shirakats'i [121].

Die Frage der Ehre konnte freilich nicht nur Zorn und daraus resultierende militärische Konflikte entfachen. Sie war mitunter auch ein Konflikt eindämmender Faktor. So etwa, wenn der Gegner in einer bevorstehenden Schlacht als nicht ebenbürtig angesehen wurde. Diesbezüglich berichtet Ioannes Skylitzes von einem Plünderungszug des Sultans in Iberien, auf den Kaiser Konstantinos IX. Monomachos mit der Entsendung des Akolouthos Michael reagierte. Der Sultan entschied sich, den Kampf mit den aus Iberien und Chaldia gesammelten Franken und Varangern nicht aufzunehmen. Der Grund ist „die in beiderlei Hinsicht gegebene Unrühmlichkeit der Angelegenheit ... denn wenn er siegt, so ist er Sieger über einen Untertanen des Basileus, wird er aber besiegt, so hat er beachtliche Schmach davonzutragen" [122]. Der Wert oder Unwert eines militärischen Zusammenstoßes wurde also auch an den möglichen Konsequenzen für die persönliche Ehre gemessen.

Formen des Zorns, die aus Misserfolgen und Demütigungen resultieren, lassen sich anhand der Berichte zur Belagerung von Mantzikert im

(1965), S. 239-259. Neben einigen Angaben der islamischen und der byzantinischen Überlieferung wird das Ereignis vor allem von den beiden armenischen Hauptzeugen ARISTAKES VON LASTIVERT XXIV : S. 120-124 trad. CANARD-BERBÉRIAN und MATTH. EDESS. II 22 : S. 102-104 trad. DOSTOURIAN dokumentiert.

(120) MICH. ATTAL. S. 61, 11-20 PÉREZ MARTÍN (θυμοῦ πνέων καὶ ἰταμότητος), SKYL. CONT. S. 113, 15-19 TSOLAKES.

(121) Vgl. oben, S. XXX.

(122) IO. SKYL., Konst. Mon. 27 : S. 475, 10-12 THURN (τὸ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ πράγματος ἄδοξον, καὶ ὅτι νικήσας μὲν δοῦλον ἔσται βασιλέως νενικηκώς, νικηθεὶς δὲ οὐ μικρὰν αἰσχύνην ἀποίσεται).

Jahr 1064 illustrieren. Der Sultan, der sich „vor Zorn lodernd" an die Belagerung der Stadt gemacht hatte, musste diese laut Skylitzes nach vergeblichen Bemühungen und „von heftigem Schmerz erfasst" abbrechen. Er zog jedoch nicht ab, ohne Drohungen auszustoßen, dass er im kommenden Frühjahr mit einer noch größeren Streitmacht gegen die Rhomäer zu Felde ziehen werde [123]. Den Zorn über militärische Misserfolge durch Drohgebärden zu kompensieren, war eine seit alters her verbreitete Gewohnheit auf dem Schlachtfeld. Eine bekannte Parallele bieten etwa die Gebärden des Awaren-Khagans nach dem Scheitern der Belagerung von Konstantinopel im Jahr 626 [124].

Ähnliche Nachrichten über das Verhalten des Ṭoġrıl Beg finden sich bei Matthäus von Edessa. Auch hier rufen schmachvolle Demütigungen jeweils zornerfüllte Gewaltreaktionen des Sultans hervor. Gleichzeitig wird veranschaulicht, wie der sich in Sicherheit wiegende Gegner durch symbolische Akte der Demütigung den Zorn des Sultans anstachelt, um so das Gefühl der persönlichen Schmach noch weiter zu steigern.

So wurde der Sultan, wie Matthäus berichtet, schwer gekränkt, als sein in Gefangenschaft geratener Schwiegervater Osketsam auf den Stadtmauern von Mantzikert demonstrativ hingerichtet wurde. Ebenso kränkend empfand er die Ablehnung eines mutigen fränkischen Soldaten aus den Reihen der Verteidiger, den der Sultan für eine Heldentat mit Geschenken ehren wollte. Beide Vorfälle entfachten im Sultan, so Matthäus, verstärkten Eifer, die Belagerung weiter fortzusetzen [125]. Schließlich begingen die Einwohner der Stadt auch den Abbruch der Belagerung mit einer symbolischen Demütigung der besonderen Art. Sie schleuderten ein Schwein ins türkische Lager und riefen dem Sultan dabei zu: „Bring das Schwein deiner Frau mit, und wir werden dir Mantzikert als Mitgift übergeben." Der Sultan soll daraufhin so zornig geworden sein, dass er alle, die ihn nach Mantzikert gebracht hatten, köpfen ließ. Dennoch musste er schwer gedemütigt abziehen [126].

(123) IO. SKYL., Konst. Mon. 19 : S. 462, 51 THURN (τῷ θυμῷ φλεγμαίνων), ebd. S. 464, 7–10 (περιαλγήσας τῷ πάθει ... ἀπειλῶν εἰς τοὐπιὸν ἔαρ μετὰ μείζονος κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεῦσαι δυνάμεως).

(124) Vgl. W. POHL, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567-822 n. Chr.*, München, 1988, S. 254.

(125) MATTH. EDESS. II 3 : S. 87-88 trad. DOSTOURIAN.

(126) MATTH. EDESS. II 3 : S. 88 trad. DOSTOURIAN.

Wir haben keine Möglichkeit, den Historizitätsgrad der einzelnen Details zu überprüfen, können aber immerhin Schlüsse allgemeiner Natur ziehen. Dort, wo moderne Historiker dazu neigen, strategische Konzepte für die Durchführung militärischer Operationen zu rekonstruieren, berufen sich unsere Quellen oftmals auf Ehrenvorstellungen und auf die aus verletzter Ehre erwachsene Entrüstung. Die damit in Zusammenhang stehenden Erklärungsmuster beschränken sich nicht nur auf die Begründung von Konflikten, sondern betreffen auch deren Verlauf. Bewusste Schmähungen des Gegners veranlassen diesen zu einer Steigerung seiner Aggressivität oder zwingen ihn in den Fällen, wo dies nicht möglich ist, sich auf andere Weise Genugtuung zu verschaffen, sei es durch demonstrative Drohgesten oder durch die exemplarische Bestrafung vermeintlich Verantwortlicher. Wichtig ist darüber hinaus, dass der Zorn des Sultans, selbst wenn er sich gegen Christen richtete, nicht unbedingt negativ konnotiert sein musste, wie am Beispiel der Belagerung Anis gezeigt werden konnte.

Resümee und Ausblick

Die seldschukische Eroberung Kleinasiens ist für uns, da andere Quellengattungen wie Urkunden, Inschriften und archäologische Zeugnisse fast zur Gänze fehlen, so gut wie ausschließlich über die historiographischen Zeugnisse der Zeit erschließbar. Die obigen Ausführungen sollten vor allem die innere Logik verdeutlichen, die den Wahrnehmungsformen und Deutungsmustern der zeitgenössischen Autoren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts zur Konfrontation mit den Seldschuken zugrunde liegt. Weiters ging es darum, die Schwierigkeiten und Schwachpunkte aufzuzeigen, die eine selektive Harmonisierung mittelalterlicher Quellenangaben mit modernen teils ideologisch geprägten und teils methodisch bedingten Betrachtungsweisen mit sich bringen, insbesondere wenn der die Einzelaussage bestimmende Gesamtkontext bei der Analyse nur ungenügend berücksichtigt wird. Berichte über weiträumige und allumfassende Plünderungen und Zerstörungen erhalten einen ganz anderen Sinn, wenn sie anstatt als Augenzeugenberichte mit einer Tendenz zur Übertreibung als göttliche Strafgerichte gelesen werden, die ihrerseits auf politische und kirchliche Missstände verweisen oder den Sturz unfähiger Kaiser rechtfertigen sollen. Ebenso sind Aussagen, in denen sich antike Vorstellungsmuster zu der bipolaren Opposition zwischen Rom und der Barbarenwelt widerspiegeln, nicht einfach als durch den ständigen Gebrauch sinnentleert gewordene Denkschemata, sondern als narrative Darstellungsform unterschiedlicher Ebenen erlebter Realität zu verstehen, die teils mit dem Bemühen der aus der Retrospektive berichtenden Autoren um Rechtfertigung und ideologische Ausdeutung, teils aber auch mit der zeremoniellen Wirklichkeit und der diplomatischen Praxis des Kaiserhofs korrelieren können. Moderne Vorstellungen von einer türkischen Staatenbildung oder der Vernichtung eines griechischen Kulturraums mögen sich aus einem Teil der Berichte herausdeuten lassen, doch sollte dabei nicht übersehen werden, dass die Begrifflichkeit der Quellentexte ganz andere Implikationen und gedankliche Assoziationen bewirkt. Ferner wird man in Rechnung zu stellen haben, dass sich die Normen, an denen Verhaltensweisen in kriegerischen Zusammenstößen gemessen wurden, aber auch die Kriterien für eine legitime und akzeptable Herrschaftsausübung von denen der Neuzeit stark unterschieden. Unsere Quellen sprechen kaum von kühl planenden und weitsichtigen Strategen und Heerführern, dafür aber sehr oft von Menschen, deren Handlungen einerseits von militärischen Idealen und Ehrvorstellungen und andererseits von heftigen emotionellen Regungen oder auch vom Augenblick und seinen Umständen bestimmt werden.

Als Desiderat für die Zukunft ergibt sich somit eine stärker an der Vorstellungswelt der Quellen orientierte Untersuchung der byzantinisch-seldschukischen Beziehungen, die die Aussagen zeitgenössischer Gewährsmänner nicht einfach als Datenspeicher für die Erschließung historischer Fakten betrachtet, sondern diese im Kontext des ihnen eigenen Sinnzusammenhangs zu verstehen sucht. Insofern sollten die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung auch auf andere Fronten der byzantinischen Kriegsgeschichte oder auch auf innerbyzantinische Konflikte gewinnbringend übertragbar sein.

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Summary

This article attempts to approach the first phase of the Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor (ca. 1050–1118) not as a historical event, but as an object of historiographical elaboration in narrative sources of the eleventh and twelfth cen-

turies. Thus, it focuses on modes of perception and interpretative patterns concerning military conflicts and the image of the barbarian enemy in Byzantine and Christian Oriental sources, which constitute the main body of documentation for the period under discussion. The investigation is based on the assumption that a deeper understanding of these phenomena enables us to discover and to reconsider the conceptual framework and the ideological pre-occupations of modern "master narratives" concerning the Turkish intrusion into Christian Asia Minor. The first part of the present study deals with the function of traditional concepts provided by the bible and late antique ethnographic stereotypes in the framework of descriptions of Seljuk raids. The second part tries to discover traits of actual experiences of contact situations with the Turkish enemy. The final section is devoted to the role of emotions, namely fear and anger, as causal link and moving force in depictions of Seljuk enemies and their behavior in military conflicts.

PSEUDO-JUSTIN ON ARISTOTELIAN COSMOLOGY : A BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHER SEARCHING FOR A NEW PICTURE OF THE WORLD (*)

1. *Introduction*

Nowadays it would be unpersuasive to suggest that the genuine task of a philosopher is commenting on a text of an author of the past, regardless of the fact that his or her comment constitutes a truly accurate or faithful exegesis of what the commented text stands for. It is likely that any philosopher is more interested in examining which aspects are helpful for his or her own account of a philosophical problem. All the great philosophers have had and have their interpreters. Certainly, Aristotle is not an exception ; on the contrary, he is, along with Plato, the first Greek philosopher about whom vast philosophical commentaries were written already in antiquity, some of them of an excellent philosophical quality. No matter how paradoxical this may be, the works of the Greek commentators on Aristotle (Alexander of Aphrodisias, Simplicius, Philoponus, Themistius, Dexipus, and so forth) are not just 'commentaries' in the sense of merely reproducing what the commented text maintains. In fact, as observed by Richard Sorabji, a manner of doing philosophy between 200 and 600 AD was, precisely, writing commentaries on the works of the great philosophers [1], but those commentaries were not limited to repeating a particular thesis in other words. It is true that sometimes this is the case, but in attempting to account for a specific passage, some commentators usually introduce

(*) I would like to thank both the anonymous referees for their remarks and Peter Van Deun for his formal correction and improvements.

(1) R. Sorabji, *General Introduction*, in C. Wildberg (transl.), *Philoponus. Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World* (*The Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*), Ithaca (New York), 1987, p. 1.

other conceptual ingredients, pose new problems, and display new argumentative strategies to try to solve the issues they are dealing with.

This paper aims to show the relevance of Pseudo Justin, an almost unknown Aristotelian writer (probably fifth century AD), as a commentator on Aristotle, and his eventual importance in the history of Aristotelianism. I hope to show in what follows that, as an effect of Pseudo Justin's objections to Aristotle's cosmological doctrines, an entirely new view of the natural world bursts in, a picture of the cosmos where there are no entities (like the heavenly ones) having ontological pre-eminences in virtue of their elemental component (ether) and thereby a cosmos where there are no significant differences between the heavenly and the terrestrial realms. This fact alone, I submit, would be important enough both to devote some effort to study this author and to take his objections to Aristotle's cosmological model seriously ; in fact, if my suggestion in this paper is right, Pseudo Justin would have put forward and advanced for the first time some aspects of the physical model which turned out to be dominant from Modernity onwards several centuries before the new approach to nature starting in the XVII[th] century. To be sure, his theses are not 'scientific' in terms of an empirical physical model, and it is pretty obvious that he draws his conclusions speculatively and as a result of his criticisms to Aristotle's viewpoints. Furthermore, it could be objected that his conclusions are, to some extent, a chance outcome, since his interests were not particularly 'scientific', but probably philosophical or even theological. He was keenly interested in refuting some Aristotelian assertions that were against his own Christian view (*v.g.* the Aristotelian tenet that the world is eternal). However, one could argue that almost every cosmological theory in antiquity started as a philosophical problem – not as a 'scientific' one – since, as a matter of fact, philosophy *was* science. At any rate, the fact that Pseudo Justin finally removes ether from the physical landscape (and, along with ether, the Prime Mover as the ultimate cause of the motions of the world) clearly presents a serious problem to a basic assumption of Aristotle's physical model : there is not a significant difference between heaven and earth ; besides, the heavenly entities have no ontological privilege and the accounts explaining the terrestrial motions should be equally explicative for the heavenly ones.

Pseudo Justin writes in Greek and undoubtedly knows quite well Aristotle's works ; although he does not belong to the distinguished group of the 'official' commentators on Aristotle, what I have just suggested above might be perfectly applied to his *Confutatio dogmatum quorundam aristotelicorum* (hereafter *Conf.*) (²). In this treatise Pseudo Justin transcribes some selected passages taken from both Aristotle's *De Caelo* (*DC*) and *Physics* (*Phys.*). The fact that he questions some basic principles of the Aristotelian system of nature and that he argues against Aristotle *making use of conceptual tools and of some assumptions Aristotelian in character* without resorting (at least explicitly) to the creationist argument to reject some basic Aristotle's thesis (like the one regarding the eternity of motion and time, for instance) makes his commentary relevant from both a philosophical point of view and from that of the evolution of scientific and philosophical ideas. From a philosophical standpoint it is important because it shows (in some cases more successfully than in others) that it is possible to note some apparent inner incoherencies in the Aristotelian cosmology taking as a departure point the same Aristotle's presuppositions and making use of some argumentative resources proper of Aristotelianism. From the point of view of the evolution of scientific and philosophical ideas, Pseudo Justin's *Conf.* is relevant because it shows how, in spite of the assumingly scientific authority of Aristotle in matters of cosmology, in Late Antiquity there was an important attempt to break up the cosmological model of Aristotle that, nonetheless, would continue to dominate the philosophical and scientific conceptions up to Modernity. Among the Greek commentators on Aristotle there is at least one indirect attempt to unify the heavenly and terrestrial domains, and although such an attempt is neither clearly formulated nor presented in terms of 'laws', in Late Antiquity the strong distinction between heaven and earth (as well as the existence of

(2) The Greek title of the treatise is Ἀνατροπὴ δογμάτων τινῶν ἀριστοτελικῶν. I have known Pseudo Justin's work through a paper by J. P. Martín, *El Pseudo Justino en la historia del aristotelismo*, in *Patristica et Mediaevalia*, 10 (1989), pp. 3-19. The text of *Conf.* can be found in *PG* 6, 1491-1564 (Migne's text is quite deficient) ; the text edited by J. K. Th. von Otto, *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi*, IV, Wiesbaden, 1969 (= Iena, 1876), pp. 100-223 is much better (this is the edition my translations of Pseudo Justin are based on). The text of Aristotle's passages quoted by Pseudo Justin in his *Conf.* is quite similar to the text included in the critical editions of Aristotle we use currently : W. D. Ross for the *Physics* (*Aristotle's Physics. A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford, 1979 [= 1936], D. J. Allan and P. Moraux for the *On Heaven* (D. J. Allan, *Aristotelis De caelo. Libri Quattuor*, Oxford, 1955 [= 1936]) ; P. Moraux *Aristote. Du ciel*, Paris, 1965). That could be indicating that Pseudo Justin had a high quality *textus receptus*.

a 'fifth element' as the material constituent of celestial bodies, whose fundamental characteristic was the circular motion and being eternal) was already seen as highly problematic (3). Philippe Hoffmann has remarked that John Philoponus had attacked the Aristotelian doctrine that the heavens are made of ether and that the world is eternal, denying before Copernicus that there was any substantial difference between the heavens and the sublunary world (4). If Philoponus' life extended from around 490 to 570 AD (5), and Pseudo Justin's time of life can be dated towards the second half of the fifth century AD, we should conclude that the one who denied for the first time that there was any substantial difference between the heavens and the sublunary world was Pseudo Justin, not Philoponus, and that he did so almost one hundred years earlier.

2. *Some remarks on the authorship and the general structure of Pseudo Justin's treatise*

The authorship of *Conf.* and other treatises is a matter of controversy. Towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century Adolf K. G. von Harnack advanced some arguments designed to prove that the author of *Conf.* and the other treatises attributed to Pseudo Justin (*Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* ; *Quaestiones christianorum ad gentiles* ; *Quaestiones gentilium ad christianos*) should belong to Diodorus of Tarsus (death around 390 AD) (6). In his 1989 article J. P. Martín suggested that Theodoretus of Cyrus (probably death around 466 AD) could be the author hidden behind Pseudo Justin. Recently he has retracted his earlier statement and now considers that the difference of language and concerns show that the author of this and the other treatises, labelled by the editors under the name 'Pseudo Justin', cannot be Diodorus of Tarsus (as suggested by von Harnack) and that he cannot be Theodoretus of Cyrus (7). Martín's analysis of *Quaestiones christianorum ad gentiles*, where there is a polemic dialogue between a Christian and an anonymous adversary defending doctrines that can be attributed to the Neoplatonic Proclus, indicates that this writing cannot be dated before the last quarter of the fifth century AD. Disappointingly, he suggests continuing to consider the author anonymous (8). Given that I have no new arguments to improve the discussion regarding the identity of the author hidden behind Pseudo Justin, I shall follow Martín's suggestion (9).

(3) See John Philoponus, quoted by Simplicius, *In Aristotelis De Caelo Commentaria*, p. 370, 29 - p. 371, 4 (ed. J. L. Heiberg, Berlin, 1894). See also Philoponus, *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, now reconstructed and translated into English by Wildberg, *Philoponus*, especially frs. 71-72 (ed. Wildberg = Simplicius, *In Aristotelis De Caelo Commentaria*, p. 134, 9-28 and p. 135, 21 - p. 136, 1, respectively), where Philoponus suggests that the same prime matter (πρώτη ὕλη) must belong both to heaven and earth. It is certain that Philoponus' objections are motivated by his Christian approach, which assumes that the world has had a beginning (see R. Sorabji, *The contra Aristotelem*, in Wildberg, *Philoponus*, p. 19). But indirectly he posits the unification of heaven and earth. Theophrastus, the head of the Lyceum after Aristotle's death, also is pretty critical of certain Aristotelian stances concerning the natural world : for instance, he observes that since bodies moving in circles (τὰ κυκλικά) are many and their motions of locomotion (φοραί) are in a certain way opposed, and such motions are endless (ἀνήνυτον), the issue concerning the impulse or tendency (ἔφεσις) of their motion toward an end turns out to be obscure. In fact, Theophrastus goes on to argue, if the moving principle is one, it is absurd that it does not move *all* the bodies with the same type of motion (*Metaphysics* 5a15-18 ; see also 5b19-6a5). Apparently, Theophrastus himself was not very persuaded about the drastic separation between heaven and earth, either.

(4) See P. Hoffmann, *Simplicius' Polemics*, in R. Sorabji (ed.), *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, London, 1987, pp. 57-83, at p. 57.

(5) Cf. R. Sorabji, *Philoponus*, in Idem, *Philoponus and the Rejection*, p. 1.

(6) See A. von Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus. Vier pseudojustinische Schriften als Eigentum Diodors nachgewiesen* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 21/4), Leipzig, 1901, pp. 240-245 ; Idem, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, I, Leipzig, 1958², pp. 99-114. von Harnack's arguments were discussed by F. Funk, *Le Pseudo-Justin et Diodore de Tarse*, in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 3 (1902), pp. 947-971 ; Funk argued that the author hidden behind Pseudo Justin might be Theodoretus of Cyrus.

(7) See J. P. Martín, *Las Quaestiones de Pseudo Justino : un lector cristiano de Aristóteles en tiempos de Proclo*, in *Tópicos*, 18 (2000), p. 137.

(8) Martín, *Quaestiones*, pp. 139-140.

(9) The few indications that can be found in the reference works, such as the article *Iustinus der Märtyrer* published in the *RE*, do not give any important clue with regard to Pseudo Justin. An exception is the recent paper by C. Riedweg, *Iustin Martyr II (Pseudo-Justinische Schriften)*, in *RAC*, XIX (2001), cols. 848-873 (see especially cols. 869-870), even though his remarks depend heavily upon Martín's 1989 paper. In his comprehensive paper on the presence of Aristotle in the Greek Fathers, D. Runia has observed that 'the preoccupation of Patristic thinkers with Aristotle and his philosophy was quite limited', although he also stresses that Pseudo Justin's *Conf.* (along with Nemesius' *De natura hominis*), dealing with scientific and philosophical topics, is 'exceeding-

The literary form of the *Conf.* depicts the structure of a school treatise designed to struggle with an opponent : that opponent is Aristotle. Its structure is that of a *lectio*, where (*i*) a passage of Aristotle is cited in full, (*ii*) the basic thesis is paraphrased, and (*iii*) Pseudo Justin proceeds to try to refute the thesis at stake through a *reductio ad absurdum* method. The procedure Pseudo Justin is following is the one of the so called 'indirect proof', which works by assuming first the contradictory of the thesis that should be proved; then such thesis is refuted by deducing the contradictory or some pair of contradictory propositions, or some other proposition which is taken to be false. The indirect proof (or proof *per impossibile*) is characterised by Aristotle as a proof (or demonstration ; ἀπόδειξις) that poses that which it should be removed by making a reduction to a proposition that has been regarded as being false ([10]). Pseudo Justin demonstrates to know this procedure pretty well and he uses it throughout the *Conf.* against the very Aristotelian positions. He also knows Aristotle's technical terminology quite well, of which he takes advantage to promote his own view ([11]). In some cases he

ly rare in the Patristic corpus' (see D. Runia, *Festugière Revisited : Aristotle in the Greek Patres*, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 43 [1989], pp. 1-34, at pp. 13-14).

(10) 'Demonstration *per impossibile* differs from probative demonstration in that it posits what it wishes to refute by reduction to a statement admitted to be false whereas probative demonstration starts from admitted positions. Both, indeed, take two propositions that are admitted, but the latter takes the premises from which the deduction starts, while the former takes one of these, along with the contradictory of the conclusion. Also in the probative case it is not necessary that the conclusion should be familiar, nor that one should suppose beforehand that it is true or not ; in the other it is necessary to suppose beforehand that it is not true. It makes no difference whether the conclusion is affirmative or negative ; the method is similar in both cases' (*Prior Analytics*, 62 B 29-38 ; transl. A. J. Jenkinson, in J. Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle. The Revised Oxford Translation*, Princeton [New Jersey], 1984).

(11) Cf. *Conf.* 115 C4-5 ; 116 D 1-2 ; E 1-2, where Pseudo Justin makes use of the ambiguity 'to be-to exist' of the Greek εἶναι. In 116 D 1-2-E 2, for instance, the participle ὄν could be translated both by 'being' and by 'existent'. Of course, I am aware that this ambiguity is common in Aristotle and in other Greek philosophers as well, but what is important here is that Pseudo Justin takes advantage of such ambiguity to undermine an Aristotelian tenet. For a very complete survey of the use of εἶναι in Greek philosophy see L. Brown, *The verb 'to be' in Greek philosophy : some remarks*, in S. Everson (ed.), *Language* (*Companions to Ancient Thought*, 3), Cambridge, 1994, pp. 212-236, especially at

makes cross-references and conflates Aristotle's assertions taken from distinct treatises (he sometimes does so by paraphrasing a passage without citing it textually) ; after that he sometimes shows the absurd consequences that, in his view, follow from some of Aristotle's theses. So, Pseudo Justin no only applies the Aristotelian procedures to Aristotle himself, but also makes use of some crucial Aristotelian premises as the starting points of his arguments *against* Aristotle.

As I have suggested above, although Pseudo Justin does not argue *explicitly* from his own assumptions related to his Christian faith, his final goal appears to be to offer a sort of rational confirmation of the revealed truth by the prophets in order to show that such truth is possible both from the revelation – something that is not acknowledged by the Greeks, 'who distrusted the words transmitted by the prophets' (*Conf.* 112 A) – and from reason's viewpoint, the only one recognized by the Greek philosophers. In the more philosophical section of the treatise, which in fact is the longest and most important part of it (*Conf.* 112 B-159 B), there are few clues of Pseudo Justin's Christian view, even though the few passages where those clues are evident are certainly significant. The most important is the one concerned with the thesis – incomprehensible for a Greek philosopher – that God is able to produce what is impossible. The argument runs as follows : (i) God cannot be limited since He has produced the limit ; and (ii) if He is not limited (insofar as he is not 'impeded' by the necessity of the limit) and hence is not limited to producing what He wishes, then, (iii) He is free to produce the limit from what underlies ([12]). To be sure, the *implicit* contention is that God, in virtue of His omnipotence, is able to produce any thing, including the limit that eventually would prevent Him from producing what is impossible. In this line of thought Pseudo Justin

pp. 228-236 where some specific cases focused on the sophists, Plato, and Aristotle are analysed.

(12) *Conf.* 113 E 4-114 A 4 : 'That God has established this limit by nature and by art is evident. However, if God does not depend upon the limit (ὑπὸ τὸν ὅρον οὐκ ἔστιν), but produces what is by chance out of what is by chance, without being prevented by the necessity of the limit from producing what He wishes (τῇ τοῦ ὅρου ἀνάγκῃ μὴ κωλυόμενος τοῦ ποιεῖν ἃ βούλεται), how is it possible that He has not been free to necessarily produce the limit from the underlying things ?' (πῶς οὐκ ἠλευθέρωται καὶ τοῦ ὅρου τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων κατ' ἀνάγκην;).

maintains that if God has the same power as His will in everything (*Conf.* 145 C 6-7 : Εἰ δὲ ἴσην τῇ βουλήσει ἔχει τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν πᾶσι), it does follow that He is the artificer or maker (ποιητής) of matter (13). With this argument Pseudo Justin believes to have refuted Aristotle's tenet that matter is everlasting (and above all its character of ungenerated principle) and thereby to have shown that matter also has an artificer ; he also believes to have undermined the thesis of the eternity of the world, both terrestrial and heavenly. Of course, there are several points in this account that Aristotle would have not accepted : On the one hand, Aristotle might argue, Pseudo Justin should demonstrate that God has will. If he could do that, he should also demonstrate that God's power and will are one and the same thing. As is obvious, Pseudo Justin introduces an ingredient that is alien to Aristotle's assumptions insofar as it is arguable that Aristotle does not think in terms of will as a faculty different from reason. In Aristotelian technical contexts βούλησις does not mean 'will' but a certain kind of desire : 'rational desire'. According to Aristotle, it is a strictly human form of desire in which there are rational and volitional ingredients involved (14). Furthermore, we never find in Aristotle's discussion of god that he has will, or that his will can be identified with his power. Aristotle's god is rather pure thinking and it is pretty obvious that god is not preoccupied with human affairs : the only

(13) To some extent, Pseudo Justin is paraphrasing Plato's *Timaeus* 28 C 3-4 (41 A 7-B 7), a passage that other Christian authors found attractive as well insofar as Plato introduces the picture of a 'creator' of the world (cf. Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 6.2, 8, 3-2).

(14) It is true that there are some Aristotelian passages where one is sometimes compelled to translate βούλησις as 'will' (cf. *Nicomachean Ethics* 1136 B 7 ; we also should translate like this in *Conf.* 145 C 6, where the basic sense seems to be that), but as it is shown by Aristotle himself βούλησις is a peculiar type of desire (ὄρεξις) : rational desire. See *De anima* 414 B 2 and specially 432 B 5-6 and 433 A 26-27, where it is plain that, when desire is associated with the rational part of the soul it is βούλησις whereas when it is associated with the irrational part it is appetite (ἐπιθυμία) or rage (θυμός). Aristotle is willing to argue that the object of βούλησις is the good (see *Rhetoric* 1369b2-3 with M.C. Nussbaum's comments in her *Aristotle's* De motu animalium [*Text with Translation, Commentary and Interpretative Essays*], Princeton, 1985, pp. 334-336. See also *Eudemian Ethics* 1223 A 26-27 and *De motu animalium* 700 b 22). Finally, it should be recalled that Aristotle never uses the word θέλησις, a term that, among Greek philosophers, appears rather late (cf. Plotinus, 6.8 13, 26-37 ; 6.8 16 *et passim*).

thing Aristotle's god is doing is to think about himself (15). This is one of the few cases where Pseudo Justin argues on the grounds of Christian assumptions that were unknown to Aristotle and that would probably have been unacceptable to him. To sum up, Pseudo Justin's two more important Christian premises are (*i*) that God is not limited to producing what He wishes (in fact, the necessity of the limit cannot be a hindrance for Him insofar as God is the cause of the limit, which in Pseudo Justin's argument implies that God, in virtue of His omnipotence, is able to produce whatever He wants, even what is impossible ; *Conf.* 113 E), and (*ii*) that God's power and will coincide (*Conf.* 145 C). The detailed knowledge that Pseudo Justin depicts of Aristotelian texts, though, makes me think that, in formulating his criticisms, he must have been aware of the fact that Aristotle would not have been willing to admit his own assumptions with regard to God and that, consequently, his criticism would not have been feasible, both from the Aristotelian viewpoint and from a perspective analysing the feasibility of those presuppositions.

There is another interesting point which is worth mentioning : the exhortative introduction of Pseudo Justin's *Conf.* is characterised by an attitude common to Christian authors of the first centuries : the distinction between (*a*) 'those who admitted the teaching coming from

(15) Moreover, Aristotle has another argument to show that his god is not interested in human affairs. The question is : what is god thinking ? For god cannot think of nothing, since if that were the case, it would be hard to know what his dignity consists of. Now if he thinks, but in order to think he requires another thing (in the case that his substance were potentiality), then he will not be the best substance. It follows that either he thinks of himself or of another thing ; but he should think of himself, for otherwise god would degrade in his dignity. Therefore, his only object of thinking must be himself : he thinks of the most divine and valuable, and he does not undergo any change since change would be for the worse (*Metaphysics* 1074 B 15-27). For the Platonic antecedent of this view see Plato, *Republic* 381 B, where it is emphasized that in god change is always for the worse insofar as god is the most perfect. The emphasis Aristotle makes in *Metaphysics* on the fact that god or the first mover is actuality (ἐνέργεια) is not present in *Phys.* 8, where the first mover is never called 'god' or 'actuality'. This fact can be easily explained, for in *Phys.* the first mover is not regarded as being an intellective substance ; it is not called 'what is object of desire', 'what is object of thought' (*Metaphysics* 1072 A 25), or 'what is loved' (*Metaphysics* 1072 B 2-5), either.

God Himself', and (*b*) 'those who distrusted the words transmitted by the prophets and fostered the finding of God's knowledge through their own arguments' (*Conf.* 111 A-B). This is a strong contrast between trust in divine revelation for knowledge of God, on the one hand, and a strictly scientific procedure, on the other hand, for the same end. What can be envisaged here is a dispute between Christian thinkers and pagan thinkers, as well as Pseudo Justin's efforts to show that revealed truth suffices for the true knowledge of God ([16]). The other interesting point to take into account is the fact that his arguments addressed against Aristotle's views follow patterns that are characteristic of the Greek thinkers and, in particular, of Aristotle, although sometimes one can note some backgrounds proper of a Christian underlying ontology. As suggested above, there are some hallmarks that Pseudo Justin's concern is to show the rational viability of the Christian doctrine before the traditional Greek thought. In this vein, it turns out to be intriguing that, even though Pseudo Justin ideologically adheres to position (*a*), the development of his treatise depicts an amazing skill to elucidate the discussed issues following the procedures used by the followers of stance (*b*). As we shall see in the next section of this essay, the author of *Conf.*, both in his assumptions and in his manner of arguing, exhibits some Aristotelian features and evidences a solid knowledge of Greek philosophy and of its methods of analysis.

Although Pseudo Justin's declared intentions at the beginning of the treatise are 'to devote himself to make better the human beings as long as it is possible' [...] and 'to make a modest selection of the Greek doctrines on God and his creatures' (*Conf.* 110 D), his clear intention is to prove that, even though the Greeks (and especially Aristotle) contend that in their investigations they proceed 'following the demonstrative science' (κατὰ τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην), they did not compose their works following such a demonstrative science. Thus he appears to mean that the Greek philosophers are clearly incoherent for, in spite of declaring to be conducting a demonstrative scientific method, in fact they do not do so. The point Pseudo Justin stresses is that their supposed demonstrations contain a great amount of inconsistencies or

(16) However, as I have suggested above and will suggest in what follows, there are reasons to think that he also was interested in pointing out that his faith could be rationally justified.

rather "dissensions" (πολλὴ διαφωνία ; *Conf.* 112 A 2-3) ([17]). In this vein, he intends to make evident that, more than proceeding demonstratively, the Greeks in general and Aristotle in particular look into 'what appears' (τὸ δοκοῦν) by means of a conjecture (εἰκασμός) ([18]). The word εἰκασμός has no technical meaning in Aristotle and, as a matter of fact, it does not appear in the whole *Corpus Aristotelicum*. Maybe Pseudo Justin is relating the methodological procedure of conjecture (which he attributes to Aristotle) to the cognitive state whose objects are images (εἰκόνες), the objects fitting with the second section of the inferior region in the paradigm of the line in Plato's *Republic* (*Republic* 511 D-E), that is to say, the cognitive state of mere conjecture (εἰκασία). If this is, in fact, the case, the contrast that Pseudo Justin would be intent on establishing is that Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher who has vigorously insisted on demonstrative accurate procedures of argumentation, examines what appears to him through mere conjectures, statements which appear *likely* to be true, but have not been formally *proven* to be true under the requirements of demonstrative knowledge.

Beyond the clearly polemic intentions Pseudo Justin is advancing, it is worth pointing out his remark that Aristotle does not apply his model of knowledge in the strict sense (i.e., demonstrative knowledge, such as it is presented in *Posterior Analytics*) to the whole field of knowledge, and in this particular case to physics. This is a topic that, contemporarily and *mutatis mutandis*, has been emphasised in the Aristotelian scholar-

(17) As pointed out by RUNIA, *Festugière Revisited*, p. 18, this feature made manifest to the Christian thinkers how the Greek philosophers, due to all their fruitless wrangling, could not hit on the truth revealed to the prophets. This contention is also present in the *Conf*; it is plain, though, that Pseudo Justin is willing to challenge Greek philosophy in its own terrain, i.e., by arguing against Aristotle making use of the same argumentative weapons.

(18) Cf. *Conf.* 110 E ; the same assertion can be found in *Conf.* 117 D-E where, when commenting on Aristotle, *Phys.* 191 A 24-33, Pseudo Justin observes, once more, that the Greek philosophers did not produce their arguments on the existent things in accordance with the demonstrative science. Actually, his commentary in this section is arbitrary and inaccurate ; to be sure, Aristotle's text just reflects the first part of the problem at stake, *i.e.* the part concerned with the dialectical discussion of the problem where the views of the physicists are presented. Later on Aristotle tries to refute these views. On the other hand, Aristotle's own position starts in the lines posterior to the passage quoted by Pseudo Justin.

ship by J.-M. Le Blond and, more recently, by J. Barnes ([19]). The method that Aristotle follows in his treatises and the method that he prescribes as a model of knowledge in *Posterior Analytics* (i.e. the deductive model of science) sometimes are quite different. According to the well-known model of scientific knowledge Aristotle posits in *Posterior Analytics*, science is composed of a set of propositions guided by definitions and postulates ([20]). If this is so, and if there are reasons to think that physics counts as a science (as it does), it should be possible to isolate in a more or less clear manner the set of propositions which yields the science of physics and, among those propositions, the definitions and postulates proper of physics. A fundamental postulate of physics is that there is motion (in fact, Aristotle assumes that such a postulate cannot be proven, for, as a matter of fact, there are many things that are in motion and changing all the time) ([21]) ; a crucial definition in the domain of physics, then, would be that of motion : 'the actuality of what is in potentiality, as such, is motion' (*Phys.* 201 A 10-11 ; my translation). And this is so, Aristotle contends, because without motion there is no physics. The thesis that some or all natural things are changing or in motion constitutes the basic postulate of the science of nature (*Phys.* 185 A 12-13 ; cf. 192 B 20-22 ; 200 B 12-15). However, Aristotle's physics cannot be understood as a set of propositions where certain theorems are deductively derived and follow syllogistically from the postulate 'there is motion'. In fact, Aristotelian physics (like other scientific disciplines such as ethics, rhetoric or politics) is not a science as geometry, where such a deductive proceeding makes sense insofar as its object is necessary and, therefore, can be constituted as a set of *necessary* truths. The object of physics is 'what occurs for the most part' (ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ)

(19) J.-M. Le Blond, *Logique et méthode chez Aristote. Étude sur la recherche des principes dans la physique aristotélicienne*, Paris, 1970², pp. 191-192 ; 432-34 ; J. Barnes, *Aristotle's Theory of Demonstration*, in J. Barnes, M. Schofield and R. Sorabji (ed.), *Articles on Aristotle*, I, *Science*, London, 1975, pp. 65-87.

(20) See *Prior Analytics*, 25 B 30-31 ; 41 B 1-5. *Posterior Analytics* 71 B 18-22 ; 72 A 14-29 ; 75 B 30-32 ; 90 B 24-25. Cf. *De Anima*, 402 B 25-26. This model is, of course, that of demonstrative science, i.e., that knowledge whose object cannot be otherwise (*i.e.* it is necessary ; *Posterior Analytics* 73 A 21-24). Such a science is characterised as a 'deductive system axiomatised comprising a finite set of *apodeixeis* or demonstrations' (Barnes, *Aristotle's Theory*, p. 65).

(21) For Aristotle's definition of 'postulate' (αἴτημα) see *Posterior Analytics* 76 B 32-34.

and, hence, what is contingent ([22]). This being so, it appears that one should conclude that, given that physics does not fulfil the requisite of having the proper object of science (i.e. an object which is necessary ; ἀναγκαῖον), it is not a scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, Aristotle, probably having this objection in mind, reminds us that science is concerned not only with what is necessary, but also with 'what occurs for the most part' ([23]). Consequently, physics can be understood as a science whose objects are not necessary, but contingent ([24]).

I am pretty sure that Pseudo Justin was thinking of the 'strong sense' of scientific knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) when addressing his criticism against the fact that the Greeks in general and Aristotle in particular do not do their philosophical research 'following demonstrative science'. His remark, once again, seems to have a clear polemic intention ; but his observation is also interesting in the sense already pointed out above : Aristotle does not apply the model of scientific knowledge he prescribes in *Posterior Analytics* to his own discussions and treatises. As far as I can see, in Pseudo Justin's other works there is not a clue that he is quoting or paraphrasing a specific passage of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* ([25]).

(22) That 'what occurs for the most part' is straightforwardly related to what is contingent (ἐνδέχεσθαι) is explicitly acknowledged by Aristotle (*Prior Analytics* 25 B 14-15 ; 32 B 4-8).

(23) See *Metaphysics* 1027 A 19-24, where he clearly states that, in a wide sense, scientific knowledge can be of 'what always is' (i.e., what is necessary) or of what is 'what occurs for the most part' (i.e. what is contingent). See also *Posterior Analytics* 87 B 19-25 ; 96 A 8-19.

(24) On the other hand, as remarked by Barnes, Aristotle's notion of necessity is not restricted to logical necessity, but encompasses 'natural' necessity too. So, the contingent truths of a science like biology can be included within 'science' or 'scientific knowledge' (ἐπιστήμη). See J. Barnes, *Aristotle. Posterior Analytics*, Oxford, 1994², p. 92.

(25) Although the word ἀπόδειξις appears a number of times in Pseudo Justin's works, it never is discussed in the technical sense of 'scientific demonstration', i.e. in terms of a knowledge that proceeds from items which are true, primary, immediate, more knowledgeable, prior, and causes of the conclusion (see Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* 71 B 19-22). There is a passage, though, where ἀπόδειξις is briefly discussed in a more or less epistemological context : 'For every demonstration (ἀπόδειξις) is more powerful and trustworthy than that which is demonstrated ; since what is previously distrusted, until [one] arrives at a demonstration, attains a trust when [such demonstration] is conducted, and it appeared such as it was said to be. But nothing is either more powerful

But his comment in the opening chapter of *Conf.* – especially in section 110 E – makes me think that he must be referring to Aristotle's notion of scientific knowledge as demonstrative science. In fact, this (i.e., demonstrative science : ἀποδεικτικὴ ἐπιστήμη) is the fashion, Pseudo Justin contends, 'in virtue of which the Greeks are willing to present their arguments on God and his creatures' (*Conf.* 111 E), probably implying that a good argument is that which proceeds deductively and whose middle term (τὸ μέσον) is really explicative, that is, the deductive argument that proceeds through immediate items and thereby assumes the 'prime causal explanation' (26). As we shall see in the next section of this paper, the bulk of his objection to the Aristotelian doctrine of the prin-

or more trustworthy than the truth ; so that the one who requires a demonstration about the truth is like the one who wishes to demonstrate why the things that appear to the perceptions (αἰσθήσεις) do appear. For the discernment (κριτήριον) of those things, which are received through an argument, is perception ; but of perception itself there is no criterion beyond itself. Therefore, such as we bring to perception those things which are pursued through an argument, and we discern (κρίνομεν) by perception what kind of things they are, whether the things spoken to be true or false, and then we judge trusting perception no longer, so too, we refer all the arguments regarding men and the world to the truth, and by it we judge whether it is worthless or not. But the arguments of truth we judge by no other mean, trusting the truth' (Pseudo Justin, *On resurrection*, 588 B 1-C 6 ; my translation). However, in the following sections of the text he identifies the truth with God, so the whole discussion becomes an entirely theological one. I am aware that the attribution of Pseudo Justin's *De resurrectione* has been a matter of intense dispute : M. Heimgartner argued that the text belonged to Athenagoras of Athens (*Pseudojustin : Über die Auferstehung* [*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 54], Berlin, 2001, pp. 75-94, *et passim*). More recently A. Whealey has discussed Heimgartner's book and argued that the likely authorship of Pseudo Justin's *De resurrectione* is Hippolytus of Rome (see *Pseudo Justin's De resurrectione : Athenagoras or Hippolytus ?*, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 60 (2006), pp. 420-430, at pp. 422-427). I cannot engage in this discussion here ; for the sake of brevity I shall assume that one could attribute the treatise to a 'very general' Pseudo Justin.

(26) Aristotle distinguishes (*i*) to know 'the fact' (ὅτι) from (*ii*) to know 'the reason why' (διότι). Knowledge of the fact occurs in two ways : (*a*) When the deductive argument (συλλογισμός) does not proceed through 'immediate items' and 'the prime causal explanation' (τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον) is not assumed. (*b*) It also occurs when the deductive argument proceeds through 'immediate items', and it does proceed through the causal explanation, but through the more knowledgeable among the converting terms (see *Posterior Analytics* 78 A 22-28).

ciples of change is that the three principles of change are not principles in the strict sense, i.e. they are not principles in the sense of an item that cannot be derived from another thing. And this, I submit, is the notion of principle that Aristotle describes in *Posterior Analytics*, where the concept of scientific knowledge is dealt with at length (cf. 72 A 6-8).

3. *Pseudo Justin's criticisms to Aristotle's cosmology*

3.1. *The criticism to Aristotle's theory of principles*

In *Phys.* 1. 4-5 Aristotle presents his theory of the principles of physical change. His arguments are mostly simple and clear, and, as usual, he develops his doctrine facing the earlier philosophical tradition. To put it roughly, Aristotle's treatment of the principles of change is as follows : the arguments the physicists make use of are of two kinds. Some posit an underlying single body and derive the multiplicity from other things by rarefaction and condensation. By positing the multiplicity they use the contraries, which are nothing but modalities of the excess and defect. Plato speaks of 'Great and Small', postulating these as matter, and the one as form. The physicists, on their part, posit a single substratum as matter, and the contraries as form or 'principle of differentiation'. Other physicists (like Anaximander, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras) contend that the contrarities contained in the unity emerge from it by segregation, and they derive the other things from mixture. Although all these philosophers share a common ground, they differ on account of the fact that while one of them (Empedocles) posits periodical mixtures, the other (Anaxagoras) puts forward a single series of mixtures. Besides, Aristotle adds, while Anaxagoras establishes his infinite homogeneous substances and contraries, Empedocles just posits the so-called 'elements' (*Phys.* 187 A 12-26). In what follows, Aristotle concentrates on a systematic criticism of his predecessors' stances on the principles, which extends toward the end of *Phys.* 1.6 (187 A 25 - 189 B 29).

Now, in *Phys.* 1.7 Aristotle develops the positive part of his doctrine of principles and in passage 191 A 6-7 he asserts that 'it will suffice that one of the contraries produces the change by its absence and presence'. I cite this assertion because it is crucial for Pseudo Justin's objection to the theory of principles. Let me quote in full the bulk of the argument where such objection is made :

'If the form informs (εἰδοποιεῖ) the matter by its own presence and produces what is formless (ποιεῖ ἀνείδεον) by its own absence, and if principles are two –the form and what is formless –, and if the privation also produces these same things by its own presence and by its own absence, then principles will generate and destroy each other, i.e., they will not be everlasting (ἀΐδιοι). For the everlasting does not require any presence or absence for existing (πρὸς τὸ εἶναι). If the change of principles is generated by the presence and the absence of the contraries, it is obvious that change is produced because of the fact that they are principles in themselves. How, then, can principles persist if they have withheld to be principles ? If a principle containing a principle is not a principle, how can the matter – which contains the form as a principle of its being, and the privation as a principle of its not being – be a principle ?' (*Conf.* 116 B 1-C 6).

Following Aristotle, Pseudo Justin accepts that by its presence form endues matter with form ([27]), and by its absence it produces what is formless, that is to say, if form is not present, matter remains formless, indeterminate. Now, if the principles are matter and form – in this passage Pseudo Justin calls matter 'formless', something perfectly legitimate insofar as Aristotle admits that matter lacking form is indeterminate – ([28]), it follows that the principles will generate and destroy each other. In other words, the principles will not be everlasting and, more importantly, the assumed principles will not be principles in the strict sense inasmuch as they are derived ([29]). Pseudo Justin's argument could

(27) According to Aristotle, matter is, among other things, possibility of being or not being something (cf. *Metaphysics* 1032 A 20-22 ; *On generation and corruption* 335 A 32 - 335 B 5), whereas what determines what the object is in each case and that in view of which it changes is its form (*Metaphysics* 1028 A3-5 ; 1032 A 24-25 ; 1070 A 1-2 ; *Phys.* 191 A 8-12 and, especially, *On generation of animals* 729 A 10-11, where it is quite clear that the active principle which sets matter in motion is form).

(28) Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1029 A 20-21 : 'I call 'matter' (ὕλη) that which by itself is said neither as something determinate (τι) nor as quantity or as any other thing with which being is determinate' (ὥρισται τὸ ὄν) (see also *Metaphysics* 1042 A 27-28 and *Phys.* 192 A 31-32).

(29) To be sure, when concluding that 'the principles will generate and destroy each other' Pseudo Justin is thinking of *Phys.* 188a27, where Aristotle argues that the principles cannot derive from each other or from other things. But the thesis that if an item *x* is principle, such an *x* cannot derive from something else also is at work within Aristotle's model of scientific knowledge. In fact in *Posterior Analytics* 76a31-32 he argues that a principle is an item that can-

be formulated this way : Aristotle has admitted that for something *x* to be a principle, such something *x* should not derive from another thing, but the other things from it (cf. *Phys.* 188 A 27-28 ; in the example, *x* can be both the form and the matter, since for Aristotle both items are principles). Let us call this first thesis T^1 : for every thing *x*, *x* is a principle if and only if it does not derive from another thing. But Aristotle also admits a second thesis : the form (F) informs matter (M) by its presence, and by its absence it produces what lacks form (this is T^2). In addition to that, Aristotle also maintains that the privation (στέρησις) – which is an item that by itself is not, unlike matter, which is an item that incidentally is not ([30]) – is capable of producing these things by its presence and its absence as well (this is T^3). However, from the conjunction of T^1, T^2, and T^3, it does follow – T^1, since by the presence of F the existence of M follows, and by the absence of F the inexistence of M follows. That is, M – that had been posited as a principle – derives from F, and for this reason it will not be 'a primary principle', which as such must be stable and not derived (cf. *Phys.* 189 A 19-20). What is eternal, like Aristotle himself admits (see *DC* 279 B 18-24), does not require the presence or absence of another thing for being what it is ; if something is effectively everlasting, it cannot depend upon the existence of some other thing for, in that case, it would be something derived, not primary, or like Pseudo Justin in a very Aristotelian manner concludes, 'a principle having a principle

not be proved or demonstrated that it is the case (ἔστι μὴ ἐνδέχεται δεῖξαι). Since demonstration is understood as a 'scientific *deduction*' (συλλογισμὸν ἐπιστημονικόν ; *Posterior Analytics* 71 b 17-18), and a principle (in a scientific syllogism or deduction) is that from which the conclusion derives (*Prior Analytics* 43 a 21-26 ; *Posterior Analytics* 74 b 5-6 ; 84 b 27-28), then a principle cannot be demonstrated. The accurate meaning of the sentence Λέγω δ' ἀρχὰς ἐν ἑκάστῳ γένει ταύτας ἃς ὅτι ἔστι μὴ ἐνδέχεται δεῖξαι in *Posterior Analytics* 76 a 31-32 is matter of debate. Some interpreters have argued that what Aristotle has in mind is that principles are not demonstrable *within the particular sciences* (ἐν ἑκάστῳ γένει) where they are principles (see P. Pellegrin, *Aristote. Seconds Analytiques. Organon IV*, Paris, 2005, p. 360). At any rate, although this is the case at stake here, it is at least arguable that Aristotle is concerned with showing – both within the ontological and logical domains – that a principle is what properly is first ; see *Posterior Analytics* 72 a 6-7 : 'For I call 'first' (πρῶτον) and 'principle' (ἀρχή) the same thing'. Besides, as stated in *Posterior Analytics* 71 b 21 (see also 86 b 1-4 ; 27-30), it is pretty clear that the principles have an epistemological priority with regard to what follows from them.

(30) *Phys.* 192 A 4-6.

is not a principle' (*Conf.* 128 B 5-6 : ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχή). Therefore, if principles derive neither from other things nor they derive each other, and if the privation derives from the absence of form, and the form derives from the absence of privation, form and privation derive each other. But this is in flagrant contradiction with Aristotle's starting point : if something is principle in the strict sense, it cannot derive from another thing (cf. *Conf.* 116 D 2-6). This is a clear example of the way in which Pseudo Justin draws a conclusion completely contrary to an Aristotelian viewpoint out of the same Aristotelian assumptions.

3.2. *The criticisms to Aristotle's theory of time, the eternity of heaven, and ether*

The other important attack Pseudo Justin addresses against Aristotelian cosmology is his criticism to the theory of ether, the elemental component of heavenly bodies, and the tenet that time is eternal. If it is possible to demonstrate that there is no ether, it will become clear that there is no eternal body in the universe and thereby that the heavenly realm is not eternal, either. In Pseudo Justin's *Conf.* a number of arguments against the Aristotelian doctrine of ether can be found ; such arguments attempt to show (*i*) the non eternity of ether, (*ii*) that ether, and in general the heavenly bodies, *can* perform motions contrary to nature (which would contradict Aristotle's assumption that circular motion has no contrary and, on account of that, is everlasting), (*iii*) that stars, due to the fact that they cannot move themselves, do not have an eternal motion in accordance with nature and, finally, (*iv*) that earth, in being an element with a similar nature to the other terrestrial elements, cannot be coeternal and co-generated with heaven. The attempt to rebut the ether's eternity is preceded by the attempt to demonstrate that time is not eternal. To be sure, if time is demonstrated to have a beginning (and, therefore, the motion will have a beginning as well, insofar as time is the number of motion), the impossibility that a body moving continuously exists will follow. There are different arguments in *Conf.* trying to show that time had a beginning. In what follows I shall present and comment on some of them critically.

In *Phys.* 3.7 Aristotle continues to deal with the notion of infinity. He takes to be reasonable that whereas in the case of number there is a smallest number – which limits its decrease – and yet, in increasing, it constantly goes beyond every quantity, in the case of magnitudes the opposite happens : magnitudes go beyond any determinate magnitude

when such a magnitude is decreasing, but when it is increasing, there cannot be an infinite magnitude. When a magnitude is increasing, a larger number always can be conceived of, since it can be divided into halves many times ; this is a potential infinite, not an actual one, but it is always possible, Aristotle goes on to argue, to take more than any determined quantity. However,

> "this number is not separable [from the dichotomy] (31), and the infinity does not persist but is in process of generation" (*Phys.* 207 B 13-14, my translation ; this is the passage Pseudo Justin comments on in what follows).

Aristotle accepts the infinite divisibility of magnitudes, but refuses the possibility of overcoming every magnitude that is defined by means of an infinite process of addition. In other words, there is no infinity in actuality : any magnitude that can exist potentially can exist in actuality as well. But given that there is not an infinite perceptible magnitude, therefore the existence of a magnitude which exceeds a determined magnitude is impossible (this also proves that there can be no infinite in actuality ; *Phys.* 207 B 17-21).

Now Pseudo Justin is worried about demonstrating that time (as well as motion) has an origin ; indeed, the background of his arguments, as usual in Christian authors of this age, is that the world has been created, and if time and motion are everlasting creation is not understandable. So he will try to prove that time had a beginning and, along with it, that motion started to exist and is not eternal. If this can be proven, then the world cannot be eternal, either. However, he does not make use of the creationist argument, but argues as a philosopher in order to try to show that it is false that both time and motion are everlasting. Pseudo Justin argues for his position taking as his starting point Aristotle's assertion that the infinity does not persist but is in process of generation (γίνεται), *such as time and the number of time* (*Phys.* 207 B 14-15). Let me quote in full Pseudo Justin's argument :

> 'If infinity (ἀπειρία) does not persist (οὐ μένει) but is in processes of generation (γίνεται) – such as both time and the number of time – then, nothing infinite is ungenerated (ἀγένητον). But if whatever is infinite is generated, then, all the other things [the expression] 'infinite' is spoken of, are generated, too (καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐν οἷς λέγεται εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον). If that

(31) On [τῆς διχοτομίας] see note 32 below.

which happens to the infinite (τὸ συμβαῖνον τῷ ἀπείρῳ) also necessarily happens to those things in which infinity is, and if the fact of having been generated (τὸ γενέσθαι) and of having a beginning (τὸ εἶναι ἠργμένον) happens to what is infinite, then, time is generated, that is to say, has a beginning. The same thing happens to motion as well, of which time is number' (*Conf.* 131 A 3- B 4).

The objection is focussed on the very notion of 'infinity', such as it is presented by Aristotle in the passage Pseudo Justin is commenting on (*Phys.* 207 B 10-15). He starts by taking advantage of Aristotle's assumption that the number that is gotten in the processes of division (or subdivision) of a magnitude is not 'definable' (32) ; he also exploits Aristotle's assertion that infinity does not persist, but is in a processes of coming into being. In Pseudo Justin's view, it seems to follow that nothing which is infinite is ungenerated (since, according to Aristotle, what is ungenerated persists all the time), and if whatever is infinite is generated, the same thing will occur to that which exists in the domain of what is infinite. Therefore, if being generated and having generation happen to what is infinite, time will be generated and will have generation. If time is generated, motion will also be generated, insofar as time is, by definition (*Phys.* 219 B 1-2), the number of motion. Pseudo Justin's objection is again suggestive, but the phrase in occasion of which the criticism is addressed should be carefully examined : 'this number is not *definable* and its infinity does not persist, but it is in process of generation'. In the Aristotelian passage it is clear that the numeric infinitude depends upon the activity of subdividing a determined magnitude, and of continuing to count beyond any amount attained (*Phys.* 207 B 11-13), which implies that it has in itself a crucial temporal ingredient that, nonetheless, cannot be reduced to a mere mathematical succession.

(32) Aristotle's text as printed by D. W. Ross reads : οὐ χωριστὸς ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος [τῆς διχοτομίας], οὐδὲ μένει ἡ ἀπειρία ἀλλὰ γίγνεται (*Phys.* 207 B 13-14 ; this is the line I just translated above). When citing Aristotle's passage, Pseudo Justin reads : οὐχ *ὁριστὸς* οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμός, οὐδὲ μένει ἡ ἀπειρία ἀλλὰ γίγνεται. This textual difference indeed is meaningful ; the correct reading should be οὐ χωριστὸς (not οὐχ ὁριστὸς) : in fact, what Aristotle is trying to show is that the existence of an infinite *separable* is impossible. In other words, the existence of a *substantial* infinite is impossible. As Ross, *Physics*, p. 560, points out, τῆς διχοτομίας must be a gloss, but from the meaning viewpoint it is indeed correct.

This accounts for the fact that Aristotle points out that in this case it is not an infinite that persists, but an infinite that is in a continuous process of coming into being. The fact that it is an infinity that does not persist, but is coming into being, does not necessarily imply that there has been a moment in which there was no time. It is true that Aristotle says that infinity does not persist, but is being generated ; nevertheless, if the passage is placed within its context, it is more or less clear that what Aristotle is implying is not that time is generated, *but it is being generated all the time.* For Aristotle time *as whole* is not generated. Now the fact that there is no infinite in actuality does not mean that it can be denied any kind of existence to the infinite. The negation of infinite in a strict sense would imply some inconvenient consequences : (1) there will be a certain beginning and end of time, (2) magnitudes will not be divisible into magnitudes, (3) number will not be infinite (*Phys.* 206 A 9-12). These consequences are obviously unacceptable for Aristotle. By contrast, Pseudo Justin endeavours to argue against the Aristotelian thesis of the impossibility of actual infinite ; his argument runs thus :

'But if one part of the infinite is in actuality, and the other in potentiality, and if it is impossible that what is now in actuality is not in potentiality prior to what is infinite, then, it is impossible that what is infinite is always in a sense in actuality and in another sense in potentiality, but if it is prior in potentiality, it is posterior in actuality. If, such as time lacks an end in the future (κατὰ τὸ μέλλον ἀτελεύτητος ὁ χρόνος), so too it lacks a beginning in the past (κατὰ τὸ παρεληλυθὸς ἄναρχος), then, time will be both ungenerated in the future and in the past. But if it is impossible that this is ungenerated in the future – according to which it had not been generated yet – and that it has been generated in the past, therefore, time does not lack a beginning. For there is no generation of that which lacks beginning, but there is [generation] of time. If nothing can be infinite in actuality, therefore, the already taken divisions of magnitude are not infinite ; and the already taken number is not [infinite], either. For both are in actuality ; but if they are not infinite, they are, then, finite. And if they are finite, it follows that they have a beginning : the one of being divided, the other of being numbered' (*Conf.* 129 C 4-E 6).

It is clear that Pseudo Justin is sceptical about Aristotle's account of the existence of infinite as being an infinite in potentiality (and the Aristotelian denial of actual infinite), a crucial thesis for Aristotle's argument concerning the eternity of movement. According to Pseudo Justin's interpretation, if infinite in actuality does not exist, *everything* (including time) which is in actuality is always finite (cf. also *Conf.* 130 C).

But that which is finite necessarily has a beginning, and if it has a beginning, it is necessarily generated, and ultimately, if it is generated, there was a time in which it did not exist. Pseudo Justin's first objection to Aristotle's doctrine of infinite turns out to be a little feeble, since it does not take into account the fact that Aristotle's definitive stance is that there must be no infinity in actuality. Pseudo Justin probably argues in the way he does at the beginning of the text ('if one part of the infinite is in actuality, and the other in potentiality') because, even though Aristotle denies the possibility of the existence of an infinite in actuality and maintains that infinite just can exist potentially (*Phys.* 207 B 10-12 ; 209 B 12-13), he anyway admits that infinite can also exist in actuality. Certainly, Aristotle admits this in a very restricted sense : in fact, in *Phys.* 206 B 13-14 he says that infinity 'also can exist in actuality (ἐντελεχείᾳ), such as we say that a day and a contest exist'. What Aristotle is really stressing is that, strictly, there is no infinitude in actuality, although we must recognise that the actual existence takes place in successive series (such as the day and the contest) that are partially actualised with the actual existence of each one of their phases (*Phys.* 206 A 23-25). It seems to me that this important restriction could not pass unnoticed to Pseudo Justin ; however, for the sake of his own argument, it turned out to be very useful to show that the conclusion (absurd for Aristotle) that if infinite is prior in potentiality it is posterior in actuality could be drawn (*Conf.* 129 D 1-2) ([33]).

The second objection turns again to the issue of time and concentrates on the fact that, if it is admitted that time has neither an end in the future nor a beginning in the past, it does follow that it will be both ungenerated in the future and in the past. However, if time cannot be in the future – for the future does not exist yet – and if it is not possible that the past has already been, then, it should be admitted that time has

(33) Of course, Aristotle could avoid this objection by indicating that the way of arguing of Pseudo Justin assumes a substantialist conception of infinitude that he expressly denies and against which he extensively argues in *Phys.* 3.5. On the other hand, it is worth noting that Pseudo Justin carefully omits such arguments against the substantialist conception of infinite. His starting point that 'one part of the infinite is in actuality, and the other in potentiality' (*Conf.* 129 C 4-5) clearly shows that he is presupposing that infinite can be regarded as being something separated or as 'something existent in itself as infinitude', a point of view that is explicitly refused by Aristotle (*Phys.* 204 A8-9).

a beginning. For just what has no beginning has no generation, either. But, as has been seen, time has a beginning, that is, the beginning of the future time, which does not exist yet. This last objection intends to exploit the Aristotelian thesis regarding the impossibility of the existence of infinity in actuality ; the implicit interest is to conclude in an opposite direction to that of Aristotle, which, once more, would imply the generation of time : if an infinity in actuality is not possible (as Aristotle asserts), it follows that the divisions of magnitude cannot be infinite, either. For a magnitude is a determined quantity, but, as Aristotle maintains, there is no infinite perceptible magnitude (cf. *Phys.* 207 B 19 ; cf. 206 A 16). In other words, what Pseudo Justin is worried about stating is that both magnitude and the concrete number are in actuality, but *they are finite* and if they are finite, they must have a beginning. Thus, as mentioned above, he is sceptical about Aristotle's account of the existence of infinite as an infinite in potentiality. According to Pseudo Justin's interpretation, if infinite in actuality does not exist, whatever is in actuality is always finite. But that which is finite necessarily has a beginning, and if it has a beginning, it is necessarily generated, which is the same thing as saying that there was a time in which it did not exist. Furthermore, time, Pseudo Justin contends, is contrary to what Aristotle states, generated. For there is generation of the future time (for it does not exist yet) and there is also generation of the past time since for a fact *x* to exist in it, such a fact should have started at any time (*Conf.* 129 D). And if whatever is generated did not exist prior to generating itself, it follows that time is not eternal and does not lack a beginning. This being so, the motion will not be eternal either ; his argument runs thus :

> 'For if the future part of time does not exist yet, and the past part of time (τὸ γεγονὸς μέρος τοῦ χρόνου) is prior to that which will be, then, [this part] existed when the past part of time did not exist. And if infinite must lack a beginning (ἄναρχον), it follows that time is not infinite, for it has the change of the future as the beginning of its existence (ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι). And if the past part of time is time in actuality, and the future is in potentiality, and [if] actuality and potentiality take place within the sphere of the existing things, then, time –which consists of the past and the future– does not consists of non existing things' (*Conf.* 134 D 1-E 3).

This comment is focused on Aristotle's *Phys.* 217 B 32-218 A 8, where he puts forward an argument based on the unreality of the 'parts' of time : the past and the future. One of Aristotle's conclusions in this puzzling argument was precisely that time seems to be constituted from 'non existent things', 'not beings' (ἐκ μὴ ὄντων), since both the past and the future do not exist (the former has already been and the latter is going to be). Pseudo Justin opposes to this in holding that if the past is time in actuality and the future is time in potentiality, then, time does not consist of non-existent things. It is worth noting here that Aristotle does not assume as a definitive position that time is a composite of non-existent parts. To sum up Pseudo Justin's point, given that Aristotle admits, *expressis verbis*, that one part of time has existed and that it does not exist now anymore (the past), and that another part will exist and it does not exist yet (the future), then, time is generated. If time is a wholeness, whose parts are always in process of coming into being, it must follow that time is generated as well.

Before turning to the arguments addressed against the Aristotelian doctrine of ether, let me refer to and comment on two last arguments offered by Pseudo Justin against the eternity of time and the world. The first argument can be found in *Conf.*, chapter 41, where he cites *Phys.* 251 B 19-28. There Aristotle argues this way : (*i*) if time cannot either exist or it is impossible to think about it without the now, and (*ii*) if the now is a kind of middle-point having both a beginning and an end (beginning of the future time, and end of the past time), (*iii*) it follows that time must be eternal. For the extremity of time, which is taken as being final must be a now, since, apart from the now, nothing can be conceived of. Consequently, given that the now is both beginning and end, time must exist on both sides of it. (*iv*) But if there must be time on both sides of the now, there must also be motion (or change ; κίνησις), since time is an affection of motion. This is, roughly presented, Aristotle's argument attempting to show the necessity of the eternal existence of time and motion. As shown earlier by Aristotle, what is prior and posterior presupposes the existence of time, and time that of motion or change. In fact, if one admits that time is subject to generation, one is assuming that before time's generation there was no time ; but the word 'prior' is already presupposing time (cf. *Metaphysics* 1071 B 7-9). Aristotle had already proved that motion and change constitute necessary conditions for time (cf. *Phys.* IV) ; but they are also sufficient conditions, for it is enough to corroborate a motion of any kind in order to be aware that time has elapsed. Inversely, it suffices that some time has elapsed in order that some sort of motion can be noticed as well (*Phys.* 219 A 30 ff.). Now if time is everlasting (as it is in Aristotle's view),

motion must be everlasting too, since time is the number of motion or a kind of motion. But for motion to be eternal time should always have existed, and it is impossible to think about time without the now. The now is understood as a mid-point, being at once beginning and end : beginning for the motion following the mid-point, and end for the motion preceding it (*Phys.* 262 A 17-25). As is obvious from the above, this is applied to the now, the past, and the future time : insofar as it is a mid-point, the now is principle of the future time and end of the past time. It follows then that time is eternal, since 'the now' always contains time on each side.

Now this is the background underlying the Aristotelian passage quoted by Pseudo Justin in *Conf.* chapter 41. Interestingly he starts his objection to Aristotle by noting that this argument implies that heaven is everlasting (*Conf.* 138 B1-2). The bulk of his argument runs thus :

> 'If time is everlasting, motion – of which time is number – is by necessity everlasting as well. And if motion is everlasting, the moving body (τὸ κινούμενον σῶμα) [34] is also by necessity everlasting. However, [Aristotle] has absurdly established this coeternity (συναΐδιον) [between motion and time], and [his thesis] will be refuted in this manner : in fact, such as the future time will be generated, so too the past time has been generated. But the time that will be generated, such as it contains a future generation (τὴν μέλλουσαν γένεσιν ἔχει), so too [it contains] a beginning. And such as nothing of the past is in the future, so too nothing of the future is in the present. But if the now is an existent (ὄν) and is present (πάρεστι), and the future is neither an existent nor is present yet, therefore, the present now is not a beginning of the future time, but that now which is going to be is a beginning of the future, and such a now is neither a middle point of some kind having time on both sides (but it [refers] to another thing, i.e. to the same now), nor is a beginning and an end. That same now corresponds to one and another time ; for instance, beginning of the future and end of the past. But one now is beginning, and the other one is end, but of the same time. In other words, if it is impossible that the now is a now – i.e. if it is not before a future, that is, a non-existent (οὐκ ὄν) –, therefore, it is impossible that the now is coeternal. For, if everything which is prior is non-existent but posterior, this is generated ; and the now also is of such a sort. Thus the now is generated. But if the now [is generated], the whole time – of which the now is beginning and end – is by necessity also [generated]. And if time [is generated], motion – of which time is number – is by necessity also [generated].

(34) Ether.

And if motion [is generated], the moving body is by necessity also generated' (*Conf.* 138 B4-E6).

I think that Pseudo Justin is right in suggesting that Aristotle's main interest in the *DC* passage quoted at the beginning of *Conf.* chapter 41 is to reinforce, once again, the tenet that time is eternal in order to endorse the view that heaven (οὐρανός) is eternal as well. As Pseudo Justin rightly remarks, from the premise that the now is a mid-point always containing time on both sides, it follows that time is eternal (*Conf.* 138 B 2-4). Moreover, if time is eternal, movement should be eternal too ; and if movement is eternal, the moving body must also be eternal, i.e., ether, which is heaven's elemental component and endows heaven with eternity. To be sure, this is Aristotle's rationale, and this is also why Pseudo Justin concentrates his attack on the account of the now as being a beginning and mid-point (between past and future) having time on both sides of it. A significant part of his argument heavily depends upon the fact (already discussed in chapter 31) that if time as a whole is composed of generated parts, then time should be generated, too. Pseudo Justin intends to prove that the coeternity established by Aristotle between time and movement is not reasonable ; in order to do that he discusses the way in which the now is both beginning and end of time (beginning of the future and end of the past time), and stresses the generated character of the future as well as of the past time, thus undermining the supposed eternity of time as a whole.

The steps of Pseudo Justin's argument are as follows :

1. Aristotle states that if time is eternal (as he does), motion is eternal too (since he has proved that time is a kind of number ; *Phys.* 219 B5).
2. If motion is eternal, the 'moving body' is also eternal.
3. Now, the time-motion coeternity is absurd because
   3.1 : such as the future will be generated, so too the past has been generated,
   3.2 : and the time that will be generated, insofar as it will begin to exist, clearly involves a beginning.
   3.3 : Therefore, time is not eternal, since its parts are subject to generation, i.e. the future will be and the past has been generated (this is a first conclusion implicit in the first part of the argument. The other implicit conclusion is that if time is not eternal, movement cannot be eternal either, since time is number of movement).
4. Secondly, the argument focuses on attempting to prove that the now is generated. In fact, if it can be shown that the now is subject to generation, then, the whole time will be generated by necessity as well. The first premise is that nothing of the past time is in the future time and nothing of the future time is in the present.
   4.1 : If the now is an existent and is present while the future time is neither an existent nor is present yet (οὔπω), it follows that the now (which is present) is not a beginning of the future time, but the now which is going to be is the beginning of the future. But a now of this sort is neither a mid-point (having time on both sides) nor a beginning or an end.
   4.2 : So, if it is impossible that a now is a now (if it is not before a future, which is something non existent yet), hence it is impossible that the now is coeternal.
   4.3 : Therefore, if what is prior is non existent, it follows that it is generated, and if the now is generated, the whole time must be generated too ; the same applies to motion (inasmuch as time is a number of motion). And if motion is subject to generation, the 'moving body' should be subject to generation as well.

In proceeding this way Pseudo Justin believes to have proved that the now is not the beginning of the future, but a future that, at the very moment when it is actually being, is the (future) now of a future. Moreover, the future that some time will be a now regarding another future is not a mid-point containing time on both sides of itself ; this being so, it is not a beginning or an end in the sense pointed out by Aristotle. What Pseudo Justin thinks to have demonstrated, then, is that the now is not a now if it is not before a future ; but if the future is a non-existent item, it does follow that the now cannot be coeternal with movement, for the now should always be a 'future now'. In other words, the now is generated and, along with it, the whole time. Aristotle's tenet that time is everlasting has been rebutted, Pseudo Justin contends, with the effect that the movement is generated and hence the moving body is generated as well (*Quod erat demonstrandum*).

After having proved the non-eternity of time, Pseudo Justin turns now to the criticism of ether. In chapter 14 (*Conf.* 127 D-E) he cites Aristotle's *DC* 270 A 20-22 :

> 'it seems correct that nature rules out the contraries to what *is going to be* (τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι) ungenerated and indestructible, since generation and destruction take place among the contraries' (my translation).

Within the context, Aristotle's argument is the following : given that the generation of objects in the terrestrial domain is explained as the motion from a contrary to another contrary, and since there is no contrary to ether (since the circular motion which essentially belongs to it has no contrary, and if there were a contrary, it should be assumed that ether is generated), what is ungenerated and indestructible must be ruled out of the contraries or, rather, of the explicative scheme that accounts for generation and destruction as the motion from a contrary to another one. I have highlighted '*what is going to be*' in the quotation of Aristotle's *DC* 270a20-22 because Pseudo Justin tries to exploit that expression to address his criticism. In fact, he rightly understands that with that expression Aristotle refers to ether. Now, if it is said that ether is 'what *is going to be*" (τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι), it is because it is something that is not yet. But if this, in fact, is the case, ether cannot be ungenerated (and, therefore, it is not indestructible either), for what is eternal and ungenerated cannot be in the domain of what is possible, which can either be or not be. What can either be or not be must be something alien to what always is, and it can never be liable to a process of coming into being. Pseudo Justin's argument does not remove without qualification the existence of ether, but rather the thesis that ether is ungenerated, indestructible, and everlasting. Consequently, it also undermines the idea that those things whose elemental component is ether (the heavenly bodies) are eternal and ungenerated. In this chapter a serious objection to the Aristotelian tenet regarding the pre-eminence of the celestial realm (with regard to the terrestrial one) is introduced for the first time. No matter that the argument posits some doubts at the purely theoretical level; the upshot at the physical level is that the distinction between two substantially different realms is seriously questioned and, implicitly, it puts forward the unification of both domains (35).

To conclude this section, and before turning to the concluding remarks, I would like to briefly consider some further arguments concerned with both Pseudo Justin's objection to the eternity of heaven and ether, 'the fifth element'. His attack focuses on a *DC* passage where Aristotle intends to prove that, since there is no circular movement contrary to another circular movement, it should be investigated why there are many locative motions (φοραί; *DC* 286 A8-12). The problem

(35) Further on Pseudo Justin offers new arguments against the existence of ether (see chapters 46-49, 53-55 and 62).

raised by Aristotle is why these movements are not like the whole body of heaven, i.e. why the movements that are placed under the sphere of the moon are not eternal (*DC* 286 A10-13).

Conf. chapter 52 opens with a quotation of the just mentioned *DC* passage (286 A 8-12). Aristotle's argument runs thus:

> 'Each thing of which there is a function (ἔργον) is for the sake of its function. The activity of god is immortality, that is, eternal life. Hence the movement of the divine must be eternal. Since heaven is of that sort (for it is a kind of divine body), for this reason it has a circular body (ἐγκύκλιον σῶμα) which is always moving by nature in circle' (my translation).

Once again, Pseudo Justin is intent on attacking the hypothesis that heaven is eternally moving, i.e., that the world is eternal. His first objection contends that if there is not a cause of what is ungenerated and eternal, and if things having a function are for the sake of such a function (ἕνεκα τοῦ ἔργου), it follows that the causes of the existence of things having a function cannot be eternal. In other words, what is eternal or ungenerated cannot have a cause, for if it had it, there would be a cause or an explicative principle different from itself, i.e., a causal account from which what is eternal and ungenerated would derive, which is absurd (according to Aristotle's own indications regarding what is eternal and what is a causal account). That is, the function is the cause of a thing insofar as such a thing is what is for the sake of that function (*Conf.* 146 E1-3). But clearly this cannot be the case of heaven or god for, if it were, heaven and god would be neither ungenerated nor eternal.

The next objection by Pseudo Justin is worth citing in full:

> 'If actualising only by the presence activities according to nature belongs to the inanimate things, and actualising by the will (36) belongs to rational beings, how is heaven – which does not actualise its immortality by its will, but by its movement and change of its own parts – a god?' (*Conf.* 146 E 3-147 A 1) (37).

This objection concentrates on an assumption that, even though it is not explicit in Aristotle, it is at least implicit: the actualisation of heaven's movements depends upon heaven itself (this is interpreted by

(36) The Greek is βούλησις, on which see footnote 14 above. I translate 'will' because Pseudo Justin is clearly thinking of 'will', not of 'desire'.
(37) This criticism is repeated further on (cf. *Conf.* 147 B 4-6).

Pseudo Justin by saying that heaven, which is labelled by Aristotle as a divine being and thereby as a rational being, should actualise its activities by its own will). Pseudo Justin takes advantage of a point that is not very clear in Aristotle : it is arguably hard to find an entirely coherent view in *DC* regarding the reason why heaven moves like it does. In *DC* 1.2 Aristotle argues that the rotation of the heavenly element (i.e. the ether, the elemental component of heaven and, in general, of heavenly bodies) is due to its own nature (269 A5-7). However, in *DC* 2.2 Aristotle states that heaven is animate (i.e., it is endowed with a soul : ἔμψυχος) and possesses a principle of movement (285 A29-30). On the other hand, Aristotle also reminds us of the fact that there can not be anything more powerful (κρεῖττον) that is capable of setting heaven in motion, for if there were something like that, it would be more divine (*DC* 279 A33-34).

The next objection intends to prove the 'dependant feature' of heaven, an entity assumingly eternal and ungenerated that, by definition, should not depend upon another one. So Pseudo Justin wonders how it is possible that heaven needs earth (around which it moves) in order to be moving ; in fact, heaven's motion is circular and, according to Aristotle, it moves around earth, which is the centre (cf. *DC* 296 B21-297 A2 ; 286 A13-18). The argument runs thus :

> 'If what is ungenerated needs no cooperation of a thing or some things external either for existing or for acting, how is it possible that heaven – which needs earth, around which it moves, for being moving, and of the sun, the moon, and all the other celestial bodies (ἄστρα) for acting – is ungenerated ? If there is not a form (λόγος) of what is ungenerated in what is active (ἐν τῷ ποιοῦντι), and if heaven is ungenerated, how does it have an immaterial form (λόγος ἄϋλος) in what is active and a material form (λόγος ἔνυλος) in matter, a form in virtue of which 'being heaven' (τὸ οὐρανῷ εἶναι) is different from 'being heaven like a this' (τῷ τόδε οὐρανὸν εἶναι) ? [...] If what is constituted out of matter cannot be co-ungenerated with matter (συναγέννητον τῇ ὕλῃ), how is it possible that heaven, which is constituted out of matter, is ungenerated ? If what is constituted out of both things (e.g. matter and form) is posterior to these two things, how is heaven, which is constituted out of matter and form, coeternal to both of them ?' (*Conf.* 147 A1-B 4 ; 174C 5-8).

If the movement of heaven is circular, but in order to move in circle it needs a centre around which it moves, and if that centre is earth, a body that belongs to the corruptible domain in accordance with Aristotle, it is not clear how heaven, an assumingly eternal and hence

ungenerated item, can depend on earth, which is a destructible item. The next argument focuses on the fact that heaven is a composite, and it endeavours to exploit the (negative) consequences of the hylemorphic model when applied to the account of heaven. Pseudo Justin returns to an issue he had put forward in chapter 50 : one thing is the form by itself and another is the form in matter or in combination with matter. Namely, heaven is, as any other composite, the result of the combination of matter and form. But, like any other composite, it is not a true unity (insofar as it depends on the persistence of form and on its remote matter). Therefore, it appears to be doubtful that the composite is a true substance. But the fact that the composite is a true substratum of change legitimates the fact that it can be understood as a substance. The distinction mentioned by Pseudo Justin with regard to 'form by itself' (or 'immaterial form' : λόγος ἄϋλος), on the one hand, and 'material form', on the other hand, refers to Aristotle's *DC* (277 B 32-33) [38]. The idea underlying this distinction is that the essence of something singular ('this house') is 'the form in matter or a material form', i.e. a singular (cf. *DC* 278 A 9-10). Aristotle refers to the same singular essence as a composite and as a singular form, since it is both a 'material form' and a 'formal composite'. The passage of *DC* 278 A 23-28 (quoted and commented on in *Conf.* 144 E-145 A) can be compared to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* 1037 A29-33, where he describes the way in which it can be said that the composite of matter and form is substance (οὐσία) :

> 'Substance is the indwelling form (τὸ εἶδος τὸ ἐνόν), from which along with matter the so-called 'composite substance' (ἡ σύνολος οὐσία) is derived ; e.g. concavity is a form of this sort, for from this and the nose arise 'snub nose' and 'snubness' ' (transl. D.W. Ross, slightly modified).

So in the substance understood as a composite matter will be present as well, and given that for Aristotle to be a real entity – i.e. not a mere

(38) Aristotle speaks of 'form by itself' (καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ μορφή) and of 'form mixed with matter' (μεμιγμένη μετὰ τῆς ὕλης), respectively, but the idea is the same (cf. *DC* 277 B 32-33). To be sure, he never uses the expression λόγος ἄϋλος to refer to the immaterial form, although he does use λόγοι ἔνυλοι to state that emotions or affective states are 'material structures or forms' (see *De anima*, 403a25), and to stress that psychic states cannot be separated from body where they are realized (on this point see the still valuable comment by G. Rodier, *Aristote. Traité de l'âme. Commentaire*, Paris, 1900, pp. 34-35). See also *Metaphysics* 1033a5, where Aristotle favours the idea that 'the bronze circle contains matter in its form or structure'.

heap ; σωρός : *Metaphysics* 1040 B8-9 – is a distinctive feature of substance, and the material composite is not a real substance in its own (as long as it depends on the persistence of form and its remote matter), then the genuine character of substance said of composite can be liable to certain restrictions. Nevertheless, since the composite is a substratum of change, it can be substance to some extent. The Aristotelian theory of substance applied to the case Pseudo Justin is concerned with in this chapter can be seen in what follows : although the wholeness of matter available to make a nose has been employed to make a particular nose, 'being a nose' would not be the same as 'being *this* nose'. Similarly, if all the matter available is used to make heaven, 'being heaven' is not the same as 'being *this* heaven', and there would not exist or could not exist another heaven.

Now, if a material form (the one present in the composite) is distinguished from an immaterial form (the form by itself, independently of the composite), Pseudo Justin goes on to argue in *Conf.* 145 A-B, it should be admitted that the former is posterior to the latter. And if this is so, it cannot be understood how it is possible that heaven, which is a composite and hence posterior, is ungenerated. Now having this in mind, let us return to chapter 52. As we mentioned above, heaven, like any other composite, is a combination of matter and form. On this ground Pseudo Justin argues that if in what is active there is no form (*logos*) and if it is asserted that heaven is ungenerated, it is not understandable how heaven has an immaterial form in what acts upon and a material form in matter. According to this argument, 'being heaven' and 'being *this* heaven' are different ; the success of Pseudo Justin's objection depends, to some degree, upon the fact that the conditional 'if there is no form of that which is ungenerated in what is active' is true (it seems to me that the truth of the conditional would be plausible even for Aristotle, for what by definition is ungenerated does not require to presuppose any form accounting for its generation). The criticism is clearly based on the fact that the explicative scheme of matter and form mainly applies to what is generated, not to the ungenerated. As a matter of fact, Aristotle maintains that heaven is ungenerated ; in spite of this, he applies the hylomorphic model of generation to heaven. Pseudo Justin's contention at this point is that, if heaven were actually ungenerated, it would not be feasible to apply the distinction 'being heaven' and 'being this heaven' to it. To be sure, Aristotle might reply by arguing that, no matter how persuasive this objection looks like, he has stressed the fact

that the type of matter heaven consists of is a kind of matter essentially different from the one proper of the terrestrial realm. But, of course, Pseudo Justin might respond that there is not a conclusive proof to show that both kinds of matter are really different.

The last argument addressed against the eternity of heaven questions in its very heart the feasibility of the hylemorphic model when applied to heaven. The bulk of the criticism is, to some extent, supported by Aristotle's assumptions concerned with matter and form as the basic principles of any composite : what is constituted out of matter and form is posterior to matter and form. So Pseudo Justin argues that, once it is taken for granted that what is constituted out of matter and form is posterior to matter and form, it follows that the composite must be posterior to its constitutive principles. Heaven is constituted out of matter and form, so it is a composite. Therefore, heaven cannot be ungenerated and thereby it cannot be coeternal and co-ungenerated to matter and form, either.

4. *Concluding Remarks*

So far I have been exposing and explaining some of Pseudo Justin's criticisms to Aristotle's cosmology. It is time to assess their scope and to recall, once more, their background. As is obvious from the arguments I have given above, there are occasions in which Pseudo Justin seems to force Aristotle's text ; sometimes he omits, probably consciously, some Aristotelian passage that eventually would raise a problem to his critical reading. But in general he does that within some reasonable limits, and such as any philosopher interested in conducting a critical analysis of an earlier thinker would do. This being the case, one could conclude that Pseudo Justin mostly proceeds like a philosopher. To be sure, the very title of his treatise prevents from considering his commentary as mere paraphrases of the Aristotelian passages under consideration. He always proceeds critically and his analysis is designed to prove his own position which, even though it is never explicitly formulated, is quite evident : (*i*) time and motion are not eternal ; (*ii*) matter – both that belonging to the heavenly and to the terrestrial realms – is not eternal, either ; and (*iii*) there is therefore no eternal elemental component (ether), from which it follows that the heavenly bodies cannot be eternal, either. Pseudo Justin limits himself to trying to refute Aristotle's arguments by attacking the negation of (*i*), (*ii*), and (*iii*), and accordingly he rejects the basis of the Aristotelian cosmology as a whole. At the outset of this paper I suggested that from Pseudo Justin's objections to Aristotle's cosmological model a new approach to the cosmos emerges. The main assumption of such an approach is that there are no entities having ontological pre-eminences, and hence a picture of the cosmos arises where there are no significant differences between the heavenly and the terrestrial realms, either. Unfortunately, Pseudo Justin does not explicitly propose an alternative cosmology, inasmuch as he does not develop the foundations of his cosmology based on the rejection of Aristotle's criticised tenets. This would show that his interest was merely polemical and dialectical, and not intended to clearly establish a new picture of the cosmos. Nevertheless, such a cosmology is implicitly suggested, and it advances a crucial aspect of the Modern science of nature : the laws ruling over changes and movements of the terrestrial world rule over the heavenly changes and movements as well. Actually, Pseudo Justin does not speak of 'laws' of change and movement (as neither does Aristotle) ; he rather suggests that the explicative principles of both domains are equally valid, and that from an explicative point of view such levels should be united, insofar as the principles of each domain are not qualitatively different, as the objects dwelling both realms are not distinct, either.

Doubtless Pseudo Justin takes the Christian viewpoint on the universe to be the correct one ; he also clearly thinks that his own view surpasses Aristotle's and helps to solve what he presents as true unsolvable difficulties in the Aristotelian cosmology in general and in the hylemorphic model in particular (specially when such a model is applied to account for heaven). His position, however, cannot be described as a reliance only on faith rather than on philosophical reasoning ; in fact, Pseudo Justin does not dismiss Aristotle's theses and arguments due to the fact that he takes his Christian faith to excel the Aristotelian explanations. To be sure, the Christian views endorsing the stance that God has created the universe frequently foster Pseudo Justin's own viewpoints. The brief introduction to *Conf.* (110 D-112 D) makes it clear that its author thinks that the correct view is that of 'those who admitted the teaching coming from God himself' (111 A), that is, the teaching transmitted through the prophets, to whom God revealed his divine works and *the* truth. But one thing is to believe that the truth coming from God is the only legitimate truth and a different thing is, Pseudo Justin appears to suggest, to prove that such a revealed truth can be

rationally justified in the same domain where Greek philosophy presents and analyses the issue.

It is true that Pseudo Justin's position is polemic from the very beginning and that his goal is to show that Aristotle is simply wrong. In a typically conceited judgement proper to a philosopher who claims to have overcome a predecessor, Pseudo Justin maintains that 'Aristotle says nothing true about the matters he intended to define' (*Conf.* 11 A-B) (39). As a matter of fact, this is not what he really thinks, since he recognizes some of Aristotle's relevant achievements that he apparently incorporates into his own thought : (*a*) what is ungenerated cannot be derived from what is generated (insofar as what is generated is corruptible) (40) ; (*b*) time is an attribute of that which is subject to becoming (41). What is particularly interesting at this point is that Pseudo Justin, even admitting (*a*) and (*b*) and some other Aristotelian stances, is able to show that from such stances some incompatibilities within the same Aristotelian system do follow, or that one can arrive at some conclusions different from Aristotle's, undermining in this fashion some basic assumptions of the Aristotelian view of the world (42).

(39) Aristotle depicts a similar attitude with regard to his predecessors when he claims that the earliest philosophy is like one who lisps (ψελλιζομένη) on all matters (*Metaphysics* 993 A11-16).

(40) Cf. Aristotle, *DC* 279 B 20-21.

(41) Even though time cannot be identified with movement (in fact, time and movement do not share all their properties), time does not exist without movement ; so time and movement are inseparable (Aristotle, *Phys.* 218 B 9-220 A 26 ; cf. Pseudo Justin, *Conf.* 135 B-C).

(42) If my suggestion that Pseudo Justin, even rejecting some Aristotelian stances on the cosmos, continues to recognize some of Aristotle's assumptions (like the ones just listed in *a* and *b* and that follow from some passages of Aristotle's *DC* and *Phys.*) as reasonable, one should think that the Pseudo Justin of the *Cohortatio ad gentiles* is a different person. In fact, in stating that 'Aristotle establishes in his treatise *To the Macedonian Alexander* a concise definition of his own philosophy' (σύντομόν τινα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἐκτιθέμενος ὅρον; 6 B 2-4)' he appears to be endorsing the physical theory of *De mundo*, a physical approach that differs in some points of detail from the *DC* and *Phys.* approach discussed by Pseudo Justin in his *Conf.* In spite of the Reale-Bos renewed efforts to persuade us that *De mundo* belongs to Aristotle (see G. Reale and A. Bos, *Il trattato sul cosmo per Alessandro attribuito ad Aristotele*, Milano, 1995), one could have reasons for believing that the treatise is not Aristotle's. In fact, as the sceptical approach has argued, *De mundo* is full of Stoic, Neoplatonic, and Biblical influences. Even if the accepted Reale's suggestion that the assumingly Stoic pas-

Pseudo Justin's claim that Aristotle has said nothing true is obviously exaggerated ; indeed it is arguable that in some sections of his *Conf.* he fails to refute Aristotle. One might also note that his partial selection of the quoted passages is contentious and that his selections sometimes do not take into account the general context in which Aristotle develops his arguments. At any rate, the general impression one has after studying his *Conf.* is that its author does not attempt to completely remove Aristotle's account of the universe but rather to show that such an account is not valid without qualification, insofar as it is not able to account for certain phenomena or as long as certain inconsistencies follow from some basic Aristotelian principles. In the specific case of the movement of the celestial bodies it is plain that, even though Pseudo Justin's criticism ends up by implicitly positing the universal validity of the physical accounts for all the objects of the physical world (both the terrestrial and the celestial), his intention did not aim in that direction, but at rejecting the very possibility that the heavenly bodies are everlasting. On the other hand, he argues like a philosopher, making use of some Aristotelian metaphysical notions (such as actuality, potentiality, form, matter, privation, etc.), and none of his arguments or conclusions are supported by some form of experimental method able to give to his research a 'scientific character' in the sense of Modern physical science. His remarks and procedures are 'scientific' in so far as they display

sage of *De mundo* 2, 391b9-11 was taken by Chrysippus from *De mundo* (G. Reale, *Aristotele. Trattato sul cosmo per Alessandro.* Traduzione con testo Greco a fronte, introduzione, commento e indici [*Filosofi antichi*, 5], Napoli, 1974, 118-127), Reale still would need to explain the mention of a 'cohesive cause' (συνεκτικὴ αἰτία) referred to in *De mundo*, 6, 397b10, a typical Stoic way of causality that is entirely alien to Aristotle. Furthermore, the thesis that 'the divine by nature pervades the whole reality' does not sound very Aristotelian (*De mundo* 397b33 : ἐπὶ πᾶν διϊκνεῖσθαι πέφυκε τὸ θεῖον), a typically Stoic tenet that is alien to Aristotle as well. So, it seems to me that there are reasons to think that this treatise cannot be Aristotle's even on doctrinal grounds. For a fuller discussion of the Reale-Bos thesis see J. Barnes' review of G. Reale, *Aristotele. Trattato sul cosmo per Alessandro* (cited above) in *Classical Review*, 27 (1977), pp. 40-43, and more recently J. P. Martín, *Sobre el autor del tratado De mundo en la historia del aristotelismo*, in *Méthexis*, 11 (1998), pp. 103-111. Barnes thinks that the major objection to Reale's thesis is linguistic (see Barnes, p. 40) ; in fact, there are at least ninety words that are not attested in other works by Aristotle. If I am right, there are also some systematic reasons to reject Reale's thesis.

knowledge (ἐπιστήμη), but his own concern is not at all to contrast the Aristotelian assertions on the physical world with experience. His approaches in analysing the physical reality are as speculative as Aristotle's, but his conclusions are closer to what physical science started to maintain (in the XVII century) than to the Aristotelian ones.

In this paper I have limited myself to pointing out just some criticisms addressed by Pseudo Justin to Aristotle ; there are others (like the one conducted against the Aristotelian First Mover as the ultimate cause of movement) equally interesting. This study is just a modest contribution to begin explore this fascinating text.

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Summary

This paper focuses on Pseudo Justin's objections to Aristotle's cosmological doctrines, and aims to show that, as a result of his criticisms to Aristotle's viewpoints, an entirely new view of the natural world (with no ontological pre-eminences) bursts in. A few arguments (especially in section 3) by Pseudo Justin against the Aristotelian cosmology are analysed, and the author shows that Pseudo Justin makes use of conceptual tools and of some assumptions Aristotelian in character without resorting (at least explicitly) to the creationist argument. If what is suggested in this paper is sound, Pseudo Justin would have put forward and advanced for the first time some aspects of the physical model which turned out to be dominant from Modernity onwards several centuries before the new approach to nature starting in the XVII century.

SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΙΣ AT THE LATE ANTIQUE IMPERIAL COURT

Introduced as a formal way of expressing deference and subordination towards an Emperor, the so-called προσκύνησις became a part of an elaborate ritual at the late antique imperial court. The intentions of Diocletian, who is sometimes believed to have introduced this practice, are clear enough : to elevate the role of the Emperor above his subjects. Averil Cameron summerized the opinion of some fourth-century writers in this way : "...Diocletian is credited with transforming the Roman empire into a kind of 'oriental despotism' by importing court ceremonials and titles from Sassanian Persia." Cameron, however, rightly pointed out that some of Diocletian's predecessors had already either introduced such innovations at the court or recognized an existing trend (1). Alexander Demandt, too, noted that several ancient authors "haben Diocletian vorgeworfen, persische Rituale eingeführt und damit das Ideal des Bürgerkaisers zugunsten eines Gottkaisers verraten zu haben. Tatsächlich hat Diocletian lediglich Elemente ausgestaltet, die auch zuvor bei römischen Kaisern schon nachzuweisen sind (2)." There exists a comprehensive literature on the subject of changing habits at the Roman imperial court during the Late Antiquity, including the problem of introducing the προσκύνησις (3). Many questions, however, still

(1) Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire AD 284-430*, London, 1993, p. 42. For a somewhat different view, see K. L. Noethlichs, *Strukturen und Funktionen des spätantiken Kaiserhofes*, in A. Winterling (ed.), *Comitatus. Beiträge zur Erforschung des spätantiken Kaiserhofes*, Berlin, 1998, p. 18.

(2) A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike : römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian, 284-565 n. Chr.* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 3, 6), München, 1989, p. 221.

(3) Of the most important, cf. O. Treitinger, *Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, Darmstadt, 1956[2] ; A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt, 1970[3] ; J. Bleicken, *Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte des Römischen Kaiserreiches*, I-II, Paderborn, 1978 ; F. Kolb, *Diocletian und*

need to be answered. For example, the exact nature of προσκύνησις at the Achaemenid court is still a matter of debate. Also, the way and time of its introduction at various Hellenistic royal courts is unknown. As for its development, Franz Altheim believed that this ritual in Hellenistic kingdoms involved only a kiss, but not a prostration (4). On the other hand, J. R. Hamilton was convinced that by Alexander's time, it must have involved a prostration (5). And we do not even know whether in Parthia the προσκύνησις remained a common part of the culture, as it seems to have been the case in the Achaemenid Persia.

In this article I will merely confine myself to the interesting question of the possibility of Eastern influence on the development of the προσκύνησις in the Roman environment. The question is simple : was this custom imported from Parthia (or Sassanid Persia), or did it rather originate within the Empire ?

But first of all, a definition of the term προσκύνησις is needed. Originally, as will be noted below, προσκύνησις may indeed refer to the Persian custom of prostrating oneself before a person of higher social rank. However, it is a Greek word. The verb προσκυνεῖν means "greet", "welcome respectfully" or even "kiss". In relation with the gods or their images, it also means "make obeisance", or more specifically, "fall down and worship." The meaning "to kiss" is contained in the original verb κυνεῖν and this is why the verb προσκυνεῖν also means "to kiss a person" (as a sign of respect) (6).

It seems that προσκύνησις (in all aforementioned meanings) was quite common in the Achaemenid Persia. According to Herodotus, a Persian, when meeting another Persian of equal rank, would kiss him

die erste Tetrarchie : Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft ? (*Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte*, 27), Berlin - New York, 1987 ; W. Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie. Das römische Reich zwischen Krisenbewältigung und Neuaufbau (284-313 n. Chr.)*, Frankfurt am Main, 2001 ; Idem, *Aktuelle Perspektiven der Diokletianforschung*, in : A. Demandt - A. Goltz - H. Schlange-Schöningen (ed.), *Diokletian und die Tetrarchie. Aspekte einer Zeitenwende* (*Millennium-Studien*, 1), Berlin, 2004, pp. 10-26.

(4) F. Altheim, *Proskynesis*, in *Paideia*, 5 (1950), p. 307.

(5) J. R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great*, London, 1973, p. 105.

(6) See H. G. Liddell - R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, with a Revised Supplement, Oxford, 1996, p. 1518, *s.v.* προσκυνεῖν. Cf. also the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. F. W. Sturz, Leipzig, 1818 (= Hildesheim, 1973), *s.v.* κυνεῖν: φιλεῖν, καὶ κυνεῖν διαφέρει· φιλεῖν μὲν τὸ ἀγαπᾶν· κυνεῖν δὲ τὸ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἀσπάζειν.

on the lips, whereas from someone of a slightly lower rank he would receive a kiss on the cheek, and someone of a very inferior social standing had to bow down before a nobleman completely (προσκυνέω) (7). Throughout this article, this social behaviour will, for the sake of clarity, be named "προσκύνησις type 1". Obviously, this type would also include prostrations made by the Persians before their kings – provided there actually *were* such prostrations. To be sure, the cases of προσκύνησις made before kings were not accurately described by our sources and therefore are open to speculations (8).

The Persians – just as the Greeks did – worshipped their gods and divine beings such as the sun (9). This adoration will be labelled as "προσκύνησις type 2". However, the Greek authors were far more interested in mentioning the type 1, which they confusingly considered to be of the same kind as type 2 of προσκύνησις. This notion of the Greeks about the behaviour of the Persians was partly responsible for mutual misunderstandings between the two cultures and for despisement and contempt of the Persians by the Greeks.

Perhaps most famously, Herodotus and Xenophon, both describing the Persian culture, often mentioned prostrations of the Persians before their kings (10). Similar behaviour, albeit differently motivated, was described by another Greek historian in an account of the battle of Marathon. A Persian, begging for mercy, allegedly made a suppliant προσκύνησις before an Athenian, whom he regarded to be a Greek king because of his splendid appearance : "Some barbarian, it seems, made obeisance to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the headband that he wore. He took him by the hand in suppliant

(7) Herodotus 1, 134.
(8) Cf. Plutarchus, *Aristides* 15, 7 = Ctesias, fr. 26, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 688 (τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνοῦντες).
(9) We can take for example king Artaxerxes II bowing to Hera and promising to make obeisance to her only (Plutarchus, *Artaxerxes* 23, 7 : εὐχόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τῇ Ἥρᾳ προσκυνῆσαι μόνην θεῶν ἐκείνην, ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς γῆς ἁψάμενος, δῶρά τε τῇ θεῷ τοσαῦτα πέμψαι. For the sun, see Plutarchus, *Artaxerxes* 29, 12 (εἶτ᾽ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν προελθόντα τὸν Ἥλιον προσκυνῆσαι). Less specifically : Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7, 5, 32 (θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον προσεκύνουν).
(10) Herodotus 1, 119 ; 1, 134 ; 3, 86 ; 7, 136 and elsewhere ; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5, 3, 18 ; 8, 3, 14 and elsewhere. Especially remarkable is Xenophon's description in *Cyropaedia* 7, 5, 32, where two nobles, out of gratefulness, even kiss the king's hands and feet (κατεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας).

fashion and showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit (11)". In making the obeisance there was very clearly a prostration (προσέπεσεν) involved, which is quite remarkable and supports the idea of an actual prostration before Persian kings.

There can be no doubt, however, that any forms of humble personal submission before a ruler had no tradition in the Greek world whatsoever. Therefore, προσκύνησις type 1 seemed totally inappropriate and unacceptable to the Greeks, who reserved any forms of submission, such as kneeling down or falling onto the ground, only for the relationships with their gods (12), or perhaps heroes (13). The proud reply of the Spartan envoys to the Xerxes is sufficiently illustrative : they said that it was not their custom to bow down before a man.[14] Xenophon in his *Anabasis* confirms the dislike of προσκύνησις by the Greeks ; he addresses the Greek soldiers as follows : "You recognize no man to be your master (δεσπότην), venerating (προσκυνεῖτε) only the gods (15)".

And yet Homer frequently mentions a Greek, often of a high social rank, grasping the knees and kissing the hands of a person whom he beseeches (16). It may also be relevant to mention here that the famous miracle-worker Apollonius of Tyana, according to his biographer Philostratus, let himself to be worshipped (17). Of course, Apollonius was considered to have a personal shortcut to the gods and therefore could be worshipped accordingly. Much the same can be said about Pythagoras and perhaps Empedocles (18).

(11) Plutarchus, *Aristides* 5, 7 (τούτῳ γάρ τις ὡς ἔοικε τῶν βαρβάρων προσέπεσεν, οἰηθεὶς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ στρόφιον εἶναι· προσκυνήσας δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἔδειξε πολὺ χρυσίον ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ κατορωρυγμένον).
(12) Hence the early Christian usage of the word προσκυνεῖν "to worship God" (see *John* 4, 21-24) ; in this precise meaning the word appears in the works of the Greek church historians and other late antique writers.
(13) Lucianus, *Verae historiae* 1, 7 (the travellers bow to a monument of Heracles).
(14) Herodotus 7, 136 (οὔτε γάρ σφι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνέειν).
(15) Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3, 2, 13. See Plutarchus, *Themistocles* 27 and *Alexander* 54, for a similar argument.
(16) See Homerus, *Ilias* 24, 478, where Priamus begs Achilles for the body of Hector.
(17) See Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 7, 21, where a Roman tribune reproaches this behaviour of Apollonius, saying that "τὸ γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαί σε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαβέβληκεν ὡς ἴσων ἀξιούμενον τοῖς θεοῖς" ; cf. also *ibidem*, 7, 22.
(18) Diogenes Laertius 8, 11 and 8, 68-69, respectively.

It may also be noteworthy that according to Xenophon, the Greeks living in Asia Minor around 400 BCE were allegedly forced to bow before their Persian masters. The Spartan king Agesilaus put an end to it after completing his successful campaign here in 396-394 BCE (19). Even the emissaries from the free Greece were, about the same time, required to make προσκύνησις at the Persian royal court, whenever they requested an audience. The Athenian commander Conon, intending to avoid such a contumely, chose instead to send a letter to the king (20).

An interesting projection of this practice can be found in the fictitious novel *Aethiopica*, written in the third century CE by a Greek sophist Heliodorus, who made his protagonist Theagenes brave enough as to reject making προσκύνησις in front of the Persian queen, or sister of the ruling king. The Persian courtiers were, obviously, stupefied, but the queen chose not to reproach him. She smiled instead and told the courtiers : "Forgive him, for he is not acquainted with our customs, being a foreigner ; for he, being a pure Greek, suffers from the disease of despising us Persians (21)".

We encounter here another open question, namely, whether the Persians regarded their kings to be divine beings. Josef Wiesehöfer claimed that this was not the case ; the Persians made obeisance to their kings as proof of their own deference, but they did not worship them (22). Wiesehöfer admits that various Greek authors explicitly main-

(19) Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1, 34 : τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν Ἕλληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ' ὧν ὑβρίζοντο.

(20) According to Cornelius Nepos, *Conon* 3, 3-4, he was warned by a Persian by following words : "*necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem*" (*quod* προσκύνησιν *illi vocant*). "*nemo enim sine hoc admittitur. hoc si tibi grave est, per me nihilo setius editis mandatis conficies quod studes.*" *tum Conon* "*mihi vero*" *inquit* "*non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi, sed vereor ne civitati meae sit opprobrio, si, cum ex ea sim profectus, quae ceteris gentibus imperare consuerit, potius barbarorum quam illius more fungar.*" *itaque huic quae volebat scripta tradidit.*

(21) Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 7, 19, 2 (οὔτε προσκυνήσας ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς "Χαῖρε" ἔφη "βασίλειον αἷμα Ἀρσάκη". Τῶν δὲ παρόντων ἀγανακτούντων καὶ θροῦν τινα ὅτι μὴ προσεκύνησε καταστασιαστικὸν τοῦ Θεαγένους ὡς τολμηροῦ καὶ θρασέως ἀφιέντων, ἡ Ἀρσάκη μειδιάσασα "Σύγγνωτε" εἶπεν "ὡς ἀπείρῳ καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ὅλον Ἕλληνι καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ὑπεροψίαν καθ' ἡμῶν νοσοῦντι").

(22) See J. Wiesehöfer, "*Denn ihr huldigt nicht einem Menschen als eurem Herrscher, sondern nur den Göttern. Bemerkungen zur Proskynese in Iran*", in C. G. Cereti - M. Maggi - E. Provasi (ed.), *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Gh. Gnoli on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 447-452.

tained that the Persians indeed did take their kings for their gods (23), some of the Greeks expressing a strong dislike of this custom (24). Although we can agree that these authors claimed so either by mistake or with a deliberate intention to deceive their readers or hearers, that is not the point. The point is that many Greeks failed to differentiate between the type 1 and 2 of the Persian προσκύνησις. They were convinced that the reverence of the Persians to their kings was not substantially different from the veneration of the gods in the Greek world. The Persians revered their kings in a way that was – from the Greek point of view – identical with, or at any rate not very far from, the god-related προσκύνησις type 2.

Having conquered the Persian Empire and seeking to adopt Persian habits, Alexander the Great inevitably failed to change the behavioural patterns of the Greeks and Macedonians and to enforce such practices. Arrianus reports that Callisthenes of Olynthus, a professional historian in Alexander's retinue, acted as a speaker of the disconcerted Macedonians, who obviously rejected any form of submission before their king. Callisthenes consequently fell out of favour with the king and was probably executed (25). Although these plans of Alexander were thwarted, there were to come other, more successful attempts to implant this type of προσκύνησις in the West. As with the Greek culture, we should examine the background of the Roman culture first.

In the Roman culture, there was an analogous (although not tantamount) expression to the word προσκυνεῖν – the verb (*se*) *prosternere* (26). In its literal meaning "to cast (oneself) facedown" it was commonly used already by the Roman writers during the republican peri-

(23) Cf. Aeschylus, *Persae* 157 (θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφυς) and Pseudo-Aristoteles, *De mundo* 398a22 (ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, δεσπότης καὶ θεὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, πάντα μὲν βλέποι, πάντα δὲ ἀκούοι).

(24) Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 151 (θνητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνοῦντες) ; cf. Demosthenes, *Meidias* 106 (προσκυνεῖν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις).

(25) Arrianus, *Anabasis* 4, 11 ; cf. Curtius Rufus 8, 5, 6 (*iussitque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora*).

(26) From *prosternere* (to spread), especially from its reflexive variant *se prosternere* "to kneel down before someone or to lay prostrate on the ground", see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1968, p. 1502, *s.v. prosterno*.

od (27). There was also an alternative expression with a similar meaning, the noun *adoratio*, which implied a more religious approach, signifying a display of reverence or even a demonstration of awe to a person. Obviously, it often indicated a worshipper's approach to a god (28). The original meaning of the verb *adorare* was "to plead with, appeal to, address", shifting afterwards to "beg, entreat a person" and consequently also to "pay divine honours to (kings)" or "do homage or obeisance to (29)". If the verb could signify a religious or quasi-religious veneration of a person (as it could), then, of course, the word *adoratio* could bear much the same meaning as προσκύνησις (30).

Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* accurately describes such an *adoratio*. In one of his digressions from the main tale, he inserted a story about a beautiful princess, whom common people admired in an affectional way and indeed worshipped, regarding her to be an incarnation of Venus. They would stand before her in awe, "raising the right hand to the mouth" and inflecting the thumb and forefinger, "just like they were wont to do when worshipping Venus (31)". Several Roman authors

(27) In the literal meaning "to fall imploringly to someone's feet" see Cicero, *Philippicae* 2, 45 or Livius 45, 20, 9 ; metaphorically, "to submit to someone's will" see Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 50 or Velleius Paterculus 2, 114, 4. An example of how the verb *prosternere* could be used for the act of προσκύνησις can be found in the work of Curtius Rufus (8, 5, 12) : one of Alexander's courtiers tried to persuade other Macedonians at court to pay homage to Alexander and proffered himself to set an example : upon the king's entering the room, where a banquet should take place, he will cast himself facedown before him (*Quodsi ceteri dubitent, semetipsum, cum rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus*). Similarly, Propertius 4, 8, 69 (*geniumque meum prostratus adorat*) or *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Aeli Spartiani Severus* 18, 10 (*omnibus ante tribunal prostratis*).

(28) For example, Livius 21, 17, 4 (*adorati di*).

(29) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, p. 53, *s.v. adoro*. According to T. G. Tucker, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin*, Chicago, 1985, p. 6, *s.v. adoro*, it comes from the words *ad* and *os* (literally "to" and "mouth") suggesting "putting the hand to the mouth".

(30) Noethlichs, *Strukturen*, p. 18 : "Das äussere Kennzeichen der neuen Herrschaftsauffassung ab Diokletian ist die *adoratio*, die die frühere *salutatio* ablöste. Schon ab Diokletian wurde diese *adoratio* religiös begründet (...)."

(31) Apuleius, *Metamorposes* 4, 28 (*admoventes oribus suis dexteram primore digito in erectum pollicem residente ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem religiosis venerabantur adorationibus*).

support indirectly this description (32). What is important, however, is the striking resemblance to several Greek erotic novels, where the theme is also echoed (33).

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Diocletian was the first of all Emperors (*omnium primus*) who let himself to be venerated by the "barbarous ritual and in royal fashion (*extero ritu et regio more*), whereas all the previous Emperors were contented to be simply greeted, just like the judges (34)". Actually, we do not know exactly when such practices were introduced at the imperial court, but even if Diocletian actually was the person who had formally established those customs, it still does not mean that προσκύνησις was anything new to the Roman society (35). In reality, it can be traced to much earlier times. During the Principate there are several cases of an adoration or prostration attested ; obviously, it seems logical that those Emperors who claimed godlike status for themselves also required some kind of προσκύνησις or *adoratio*. For example, Suetonius tells us that a Roman senator named Vitellius spontaneously started to do obeisance to Emperor Caligula (*adorare ut deum instituit*) (36). The way Vitellius did it is especially remarkable : *capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens*. Interestingly, Vitellius introduced this practice after his arrival from Syria (*reversus ex Syria*). Could this remark of Suetonius, together with the described manner of προσκύνησις, possibly indicate an Parthian origin of the Roman προσκύνησις ?

In the year 205, during the rule of Septimius Severus, there was an attempt of Gaius Fulvius Plautianus, one of the two *praefecti praetorio*, to

(32) More or less metaphorically, Lucanus 6, 243 (*adorato summittat Caesare signa*) and 8, 594-595 (*sed ne summissis precibus Pompeius adoret / sceptra sua donata manu*) or Iuvenalis 10, 62.

(33) We can take for example Chariton, *De Chaerea et Callirhoe* 3, 2, 14 (βαδίζουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδόντες οἱ ναῦται δείματι κατεσχέθησαν, ὡς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης αὐτῆς ἐρχομένης ἵνα ἐμβῇ, καὶ ὥρμησαν ἀθρόοι προσκυνῆσαι) ; 3, 9, 1 (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ σὲ ὡς θεὰν οἱ ξένοι προσκυνοῦσι) and elsewhere, or Xenophon Ephesius, *Ephesiaca* 1, 1, 3 ; 1, 2, 7 and 1, 12, 1.

(34) Ammianus Marcellinus 15, 5, 18 (*cum semper antea ad similitudinem iudicum salutatos principes legerimus*).

(35) Cf. Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum* 6, 3, 11, speaking of an existing trend or tradition in the time of Constantius II (ὥσπερ νομίζουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλέα προσκυνεῖν).

(36) Suetonius, *Vitellius* 2, 5.

seize the imperial power for himself. As Herodian tells us, he ordered one military tribune to kill the Emperor and his two sons. The tribune must have been a smart and prudent man ; he feigned willingness to do what he was ordered and even performed προσκύνησις before Plautianus "just as if he was already the Emperor" (προσκυνήσας τε ὡς ἤδη βασιλέα), only to reveal the plot to the Emperor afterwards (37). The tribune was a Syrian (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῷ γένει Σύρος) – again, could this be of any relevance when the origin of προσκύνησις is considered (38) ?

Frank Kolb raised the issue of the possibility of a frequent use of προσκύνησις during the reign of Septimius Severus, concluding that this was probably not the case ; a mere *Regierungsantritt* of an Emperor seems to be the only standard occasion to perform it (39). Truly, when Herodian speaks of the funeral of Septimius Severus, he describes people bowing not only to the new Emperors, Caracalla and Geta, but even to the urn with the ashes of the deceased Emperor (καὶ τὴν κάλπιν προσεκύνουν) (40). The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, although grossly unreliable a source, tells us about an usurper, by name Saturninus, who rebelled in the reign of Probus and *militibus circumstantibus amictus et adoratus est* (41). This "adoration", in the mind of the author at least, seems to have been some kind of προσκύνησις, as a different reference from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* seems to confirm : the famous queen Zenobia was venerated as an Empress, but "rather in a Persian fashion (42)". Regardless of any unreliability of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, is this not a clear expression of belief of the author that the queen of Palmyra demanded from her subjects the very type of προσκύνησις that was common in his own time at the court of the Sassanid kings ?

Let us now look closely at this custom at the Parthian and Sassanid royal courts, respectively, starting in the time of the first contacts

(37) Herodianus 3, 11, 8.
(38) It is embarrassing that Dio Cassius (76, 3) knows nothing about this plot and tells us a quite different version of the Plautianus' downfall (with no *proskynesis* involved).
(39) F. Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*, Berlin, 2001, p. 40.
(40) Herodianus 4.1.3.
(41) *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Quadrigae tyrannorum* 9, 3.
(42) *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Tyranni triginta* 30, 13 : *more magis Persico adorata est.*

between the Parthians and Romans. Already in 66 BCE, the king of Armenia Tigranes the Great, having been defeated by the Romans, paid homage to the victorious Pompey (43). Crassus, too, was given this proof of subordination from barbarians (44). Much later, in 37 CE, the Parthian king Artabanus II paid homage to images of Roman Emperors, thus expressing his subordination to Rome (45). This theme is echoed in Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*, where the reverence towards the image of the Parthian king Vardanes I (ruling ca 40-47) is described. According to this fictional story, Apollonius was to make obeisance towards the image of the king (χρυσῆν εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως) in order to enter the city of Babylon (ἣν εἰ μὴ προσκυνήσειέ τις, οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν ἐσφοιτᾶν ἔσω). Apollonius protested, arguing that such a demand was not required at the court of the Roman Emperor (παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη τούτου) (46).

Perhaps most notably, in 66 CE, Nero accepted a formal προσκύνησις from the Armenian prince Tiridates, who paid a visit to him in Rome to be crowned the king of Armenia. Cassius Dio accurately describes both of their meetings. The first one took place in Naples, on the prince's journey to Rome. Tiridates fell onto his knees before the Emperor and, with his arms crossed, called Nero his master. Then he made the προσκύνησις (Cassius is not very specific here) (47). Nero then took the prince to Rome, where the coronation took place. It was, in fact, a very ceremonial event, intended for general public, during which Tiridates received his crown, in exchange for his public submission to the Emperor. Cassius Dio supplies details of the ceremony. In the morning, the Emperor left the Palace, wearing a triumphal mantle and flanked by senators and guards. He entered the *forum*, ascended the *rostra* and seated himself upon a chair. The prince with his following walked through the ranks of the Roman soldiers, approached the Emperor and

(43) See Appianus, *Mithridates* 489 : ὁ δὲ Τιγράνης ἦλθε καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς κρείττονα βαρβαρικῶς προσεκύνησεν.
(44) Plutarchus, *Crassus* 31, 1.
(45) Suetonius, *Caligula* 14, 3 : *venitque ad colloquium legati consularis et transgressus Euphraten aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit.*
(46) Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 1, 27.
(47) Dio Cassius 63, 2, 4 : καίτοι καὶ ἐς γῆν τὸ γόνυ καθεὶς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαλλάξας, δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας καὶ προσκυνήσας.

did obeisance to him, "just like he did the first time (48)". Upon this, Tiridates addressed the Emperor by a speech appropriate to the occasion: "Master, I am the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologaesus and Pacorus, and your slave. And I have come to you, who are my god, to worship you as I worship Mithras (49)".

Josef Wiesehöfer asserts that such behaviour was scandalous in Rome at those times and quotes Tacitus, according to whom the divine honours could have been offered to an Emperor no sooner than after his death (50). However, προσκύνησις of Tiridates before Nero in Rome was not unprecedented and was soon followed by many other examples of deference of the Romans before their imperial masters during the Principate, as noted above. Or how should we interpret the information we possess about Caligula, who required to be treated as a god during his lifetime (51) ? And he was by no means the one to exact such excessive worship. Well before Diocletian, Commodus posed as a god already (52) and the title *dominus et deus* was undoubtedly assumed by Aurelianus (53). Moreover, the traditional appellations as *princeps*, *caesar* or *imperator*, deemed by many Emperors as unsatisfactory, began to be supplemented with the word *dominus*, meaning "Lord". Martialis in the preface to his eighth book of *Epigrammata* addresses Emperor Domitian "*domine*" and in one of his epigrams he even refers to him as to "our Lord and God (54)". Perhaps even more important is his allusion to the

(48) Dio Cassius 63, 4, 3 : καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὅ τε Τιριδάτης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ διά τε στοίχων ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν παρατεταγμένων διῆλθον καὶ πρὸς τῷ βήματι προσστάντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον.

(49) Dio Cassius 63, 5, 2 : ἐγώ, δέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἔκγονος, Οὐολογαίσου δὲ καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφός, σὸς δὲ δοῦλός εἰμι. καὶ ἦλθόν τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν.

(50) Tacitus, *Annales* 15.74 (*nam deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit*). See Wiesehöfer, *Bemerkungen*, p. 452, n. 29.

(51) Suetonius, *Caligula* 22, 2-4, see also under 31.

(52) Herodianus 1, 14, 8. Herodianus also supplies an interesting piece of information about how Emperor Commodus was addressed by his senior officers – they called him ὦ δέσποτα, i.e. "Lord" (Herodianus 1, 6, 4).

(53) It is true that we know so far of only one instance of this title for Aurelian. In a local mint in Serdica (today Sofia) there was a series of coins struck in 274, see P. H. Webb - H. Mattingly, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, 1, London, 1927 (= 1998), p. 299, no. 305-306, with the inscription *deus et dominus natus* ("god and lord by birth").

(54) Martialis 5, 8, 1 (*edictum domini deique nostri*).

contemporary coins, which were commonly called *domini* (because they bore the Emperor's image) (55). Some of the Emperors of the third century seem to have required of their subjects to address them formally by the appellation *dominus* (56). Accordingly, the appearance of the Emperors began to change. This is how one source described such an appearance in the person of Emperor Aurelian : "He put on his head, being the first Roman to do so, a diadem and also put on clothes, adorned by gold and precious stones. These manners were almost unknown to the Romans until his time (57)". Yet other sources already describe such eccentricity in the behaviour of Gallienus and Elagabalus, respectively (58).

But before arriving at any conclusions, let us briefly examine the situation at the court in the Sassanid Empire. There can be no doubt that προσκύνησις was at least at the courts of the Great Kings a common habit, required from both subjects and client kings as a sign of submission (59). It even applied to the Christian bishops : Symeon, the bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon once refused to make obeisance (προσκύνησις) before the king Sapor II., though he used to do so formerly (πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν). When the angry king asked him why he did not make προσκύνησις this time, although he had not objected to it previously, the bishop replied : "Formerly I was not forced to renounce my belief in God, and therefore I did not then object to pay the customary respect to royalty (μηδὲν διαφερόμενος τὰ νενομισμένα περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπλήρουν) ; but now it would be improper for me to do so ; for I am here to defend godliness and our creed (60)". After this, the king ordered him to bow to the sun at least (τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα παρεκελεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς

(55) Martialis 4, 28, 5 (*centum dominos novae monetae*). He probably refers to gold *aurei*.

(56) According to *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Aurelianus* 14, 2, it was Emperor Valerianus.

(57) *Epitome de caesaribus* 35, 5.

(58) *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Gallienus* 16, 4 ; Herodianus 5, 5, 3 : "He (Elagabal) wore the most splendorous robes (σχήμασί τε ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστάτοις χρώμενος), made of purple fabric and gold... He used to wear a wreath, resembling a tiara, but decorated with gold and precious stones" (ἐς εἶδος δὲ τιάρας στεφάνην ἐπικείμενος χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλην τιμίοις).

(59) For example, the king of the Lazi Gubazes, see Procopius, *De bellis* 8, 16, 27.

(60) Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2, 9, 3-5.

προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἥλιον), which the bishop declined, too. In yet another story, the solar cult plays a notable role at the court of Sassanid rulers : when the king Perozes was captured by the Hephthalites in the sixties of the 5th century [61], he was forced to perform προσκύνησις before the ruler of Hephthalites as a symbol of submission [62]. After consultation with the Magi, Perozes decided, to avoid ignominy, to cheat the ruler by prostrating himself before him *and* the rising sun. Such behaviour was quite acceptable even for the Great King [63].

It is clear, therefore, that in the East the προσκύνησις remained at least in relation to the rulers a common habit, practised at the court of both the Parthian and Sassanid kings. Our sources allow us to conclude that προσκύνησις could have been somehow imported from the East – from Parthia more probably than from Sassanid Persia. The Roman and Oriental worlds were always open to possibilities of mutual cultural tranfers of ideas and concepts. The influence from the East was felt considerably in the Roman world (it concerned, perhaps most notably, the tactics and weaponry in the Roman army). Thus, the possibility of a transfer of ceremonial habits such as προσκύνησις from Parthia or Persia to the Roman Empire seems to be plausible. Indeed, it could have had its parallel in the Hunnic Empire : Franz Altheim was convinced that προσκύνησις was in use also at the court of Attila, concluding that "auch die Hunnen hatten demnach den Brauch der Proskynesis ihrer iranischen Umgebung entlehnt [64]". The Roman world, too, was fully prepared to adopt such habits right from the beginning of the Empire.

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(61) According to R. N. Frye, *The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, III, 1, Cambridge, 1983, p. 147, it was in 469, whereas R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, II, Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 148, gives the year 465.

(62) Procopius, *De bellis* 1, 3, 17-22.

(63) Another example of *proskynesis* performed by a Sassanid king is Isdigerdes I. bowing to the everlasting fire in a temple (Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7, 8 : οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ πῦρ σέβουσιν, εἰώθει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν οἴκῳ τινὶ διηνεκῶς καιόμενον πῦρ προσκυνεῖν).

(64) F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, IV, Berlin, 1975², p. 66.

Summary

The institution of the προσκύνησις at the Roman imperial court seems to have its roots in the world of Iranian peoples, be it the Parthian Empire or Sassanid Persia. Many hints in our sources point eastwards when we consider the origin of this custom. The contacts between the Graeco-Roman and Persian world had a long tradition by the time of Diocletian. For several reasons, it is hard to imagine that the προσκύνησις, as an act of obeisance before the late antique Emperors, evolved purely within the Empire and unaffected by Eastern influences.

UNE LETTRE LATINE DE L'EMPEREUR FRÉDÉRIC II À JEAN III VATATZÈS DÉSATTRIBUÉE : À PROPOS DE LA MISSIVE *EX ILLA FIDELITATIS REGULA-BACULO TE CASTIGET* (1).

Le dossier de la correspondance grecque et latine entre l'empereur et roi de Sicile Frédéric II (1194-1250) et l'empereur de Nicée Jean III Vatatzès (1221-1254) a fait l'objet d'investigations répétées, dues à l'exceptionnel intérêt des quelques pièces conservées pour l'histoire des relations entre le royaume de Sicile et l'Empire frédéricien d'une part et les États héritiers de l'Empire byzantin d'autre part, et surtout à l'importance du contenu idéologique de certaines d'entre elles, révélateur supposé des idées frédériciennes sur les différents modèles de cohabitation entre les pouvoirs civils et religieux, et sur la vision sicilienne des avantages du «césaro-papisme» byzantin (2).

I. Un dossier fragile et difficilement contextualisable

Dans ce dossier, les trois lettres latines qui s'ajoutent aux lettres grecques, elles-mêmes sujets à débat, forment l'élément le moins solide. Elles ont été conservées dans des collections de lettres ou recueils épistolaires assimilés aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles à des *summe dictaminis* pratiques, manuscrits charriant les correspondances de Frédéric II, ses suc-

(1) Je remercie Gian Luca Borghese pour ses précieuses indications bibliographiques.

(2) Voir en dernier lieu, après la discussion des lettres grecques et latines dans M. B. Wellas, *Griechisches aus dem Umkreis Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung*, 33), München, 1983, pp. 24-25 et pp. 133-137 ; J.-M. Martin, *O felix Asia ! Frédéric II, l'empire de Nicée et le «Césaro-papisme»*, dans *Mélanges G. Dagron* (*TM*, 14), Paris, 2002, pp. 473-483 ; A. Kiesewetter, *Grecia*, dans *Federico II. Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, I, Roma, 2005, pp. 780-786 ; G. L. Borghese, *Impero bizantino*, *Ibidem*, II, pp. 32-40 avec bibliographie complète jusqu'à cette date dans les deux dernières références.

cesseurs ou ses adversaires papaux et de leurs notaires. Ces recueils, en grande partie confondus avec les différents rameaux de ce qu'on appelle traditionnellement la collection des *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne (3), étaient confectionnés pour servir de base d'exploitation à de futurs notaires dans leur travail de composition rhétorique, et les documents qu'ils présentaient ont subi les altérations caractéristiques de ces ensembles textuels, où les marqueurs d'authenticité du protocole et de l'eschatocole sont généralement supprimés, et les indications externes au corps même du document bien souvent réduites à une rubrique approximative et à une *salutatio* abrégée (4).

(3) Les *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne sont un recueil de *dictamina* officiels, officieux et récréatifs réunis dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle par les héritiers de ces pratiques stylistiques à partir de différents dossiers représentatifs de l'activité des notaires et *dictatores* de la cour de Sicile sous Frédéric II, Conrad IV et Manfred. À une collection classique, la plus diffusée au cours du Moyen Âge, et à quatre autres variantes dites «ordonnées», s'ajoute un ensemble de manuscrits hybridant les documents de cette tradition avec d'autres *dictamina* d'origine papale, antérieure ou postérieure. L'ensemble a été comptabilisé sur la base du plus petit dénominateur commun (présence d'au moins une lettre de la collection classique de Pierre de la Vigne) dans le catalogue de H. M. Schaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vinea*, Hannover, 2002. La collection sous sa forme classique n'est pour l'instant éditée que dans Petrus de Vinea, *Friderici II Imperatoris epistulae*, Novam editionem curavit Johannes Rudolphus Iselius, 2 tomes, réimpression anastatique de l'édition de 1740 avec une introduction de H. M. Schaller, Hildesheim, 1991 (dorénavant abrégé en PdV). La plupart des lettres officielles et des actes de la collection classique ou des autres collections qu'il connaissait ont été jadis édités par J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles dans sa monumentale édition des actes et lettres de Frédéric II, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II*, 6 tomes, Paris, 1852-1861 (dorénavant abrégé en HB). Les documents concernant l'histoire de Frédéric II et de ses successeurs souabes sont discutés dans les registres peu à peu élaborés et complétés par la recherche de langue allemande : J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, Abt. V, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrichs II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard, 1198-1272*, neu hg. und ergänzt von J. Ficker und E. Winkelmann, 1-3 (1881-1901) ; *Nachträge und Ergänzungen*, bearb. von P. Zinsmaier, 1983, et dorénavant abrégés en BF(Z).

(4) Sur la forme textuelle de ces recueils de *dictamina* reflétant l'activité d'une chancellerie, souvent appelés *summe dictaminis* (et donc en partie confondues avec les *artes dictaminis* qui prennent parfois le même nom dans la tradition manuscrite), son incidence sur la transmission des documents, et leur rôle dans la culture rhétorique des chancelleries à la fin du Moyen Âge, *cf.* à présent B. Grévin, *Rhétorique du pouvoir médiéval. Les* Lettres *de Pierre de la Vigne et la formation du langage politique européen*, Rome, 2008.

Il est donc impossible de dater sûrement les trois lettres latines *Si quantum-iam prestolamur* [5], *Ex illa fidelitatis regula-te castiget* [6] et *Scire potest-gratiam revocetis* [7], qu'on suppose sur la foi de leurs *salutationes* avoir été envoyées par Frédéric II à Jean III Vatatzès, et l'on ne peut guère que s'appuyer sur des indices internes pour en préciser le contexte de rédaction possible et en discuter l'authenticité. La datation est problématique dans les trois cas : la troisième lettre du dossier (dorénavant lettre 3, par ordre d'édition dans l'*Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*), *Scire potest-gratiam revocetis*, est une recommandation pour un *fidelis* de Frédéric II qui a été incluse dans la collection classique des *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne et ses variantes principales, au sein d'une section proposant des modèles typologiquement analogues. Le nom du bénéficiaire de la lettre n'apparaissant pas dans le texte tel qu'il nous a été transmis, aucun indice ne permet de préciser la date de rédaction d'un document de facture et de contenu relativement banals [8].

Les deux autres lettres (1 et 2) ont été transmises dans quatre manuscrits du XIV^e^ siècle (ensemble dans deux d'entre eux, chacune d'elle séparément dans les deux autres), compilations mêlant des lettres qui se retrouvent dans la collection classique de Pierre de la Vigne à des documents d'origine diverse [9]. La première, la plus célèbre, contient une

longue diatribe de Frédéric II contre les empiètements du clergé et des pontifes romains sur les droits des empereurs, accompagnée d'une célèbre *laudatio* des vertus du gouvernement asiatique (« *O felix Asia !* » [10]).

(5) HB VI/2, pp. 685-686, registre BF 3600.

(6) HB VI/2, pp. 921-922, registre BF 3405.

(7) HB VI/2, p. 937, correspondant à PdV III, 29, registre 3601.

(8) Voici le texte d'après l'édition de HB (supra note 7) : *Scire potest vestre sinceritatis integritas quod, cum inter nos et vos vigeat devotionis affectus, et vestri honoris augmenta non minus quam propria totis semper desideriis appetamus, ad nullius unquam supplicis movemur instantiam vobis preces vel scripta dirigere, per que forsitan vel fame vestre minorari preconia vel honoris vestri fastigio detrahi crederemus, utpote qui nostris auspiciis adjici ratione probabili reputamus quicquid de vestris eventibus de gremio prospere fortune succedit. Credentes igitur ... fidelem nostrum dignum nostris apud vos precibus adiuvari, dum satis dudum vestris se asserit vacasse servitiis et vestram meruisse gratiam, rogati nuper attente pro eo, affectionem vestram requirimus fiducialiter et rogamus quatenus, si eius penes vos merita nostro rogatui non obsistant, uxorem et filios quos in partibus ipsis habet, ad ipsum ad presens sine impedimento transfretare vestra serenitas patiatur ; vel si forsan id exigente qualitate negocii voluntati vestre non consonat, eundem paratum vestris inherere servitiis, ne culpe sue gravitas aditum precludat venie et reconciliationis unguenta respuat post reatum, presentis nostre hortationis obtentu et nostri amoris intuitu, ad vestri favoris gratiam revocetis.*

(9) Manuscrits contenant les deux lettres : *Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, n° 590 (SCHALLER, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, n° 221 pp. 399-408) respectivement lettre 1 (ff. 128^{v}-129^{r}) et lettre 2 (ff. 102^{v}-103^{r}), c'est le manuscrit qui a servi de base à leur édition dans HB ; *Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek*, n° 60 (SCHALLER, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, n° 233 pp. 419-428), respectivement lettre 1 (ff. 167^{v}-168^{v}) et lettre 2 (f. 134^{b} (*Ex illa fidelitatis castiget*)). Manuscrit contenant uniquement la lettre 1 (*Si quantum-prestolamur*), *Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, n° 409 (SCHALLER, n° 217, pp. 384-386), f. 76^{rb-va}. Manuscrit contenant uniquement la lettre 2 (*Ex illa fidelitatis-castiget*), *Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale*, n° 1482 (SCHALLER, n° 212, pp. 353-375), f. 91^{va-vb}. Les deux manuscrits qui contiennent les deux documents sont du début du XIV^e^ siècle, et appartiennent à la tradition de récupération des *dictamina* de Frédéric II et Conrad IV par les premiers souverains allemands après le grand interrègne. Les deux autres sont un peu plus tardifs.

(10) D'après l'édition dans HB VI/2, pp. 685-686 : *Fridericus Battacio, etc. Si quantum votis nostris applauditis in vestrorum magnifica nuntiatione successuum industria vestra sentiret, profecto palparet nostrarum aurium sepius insinuatio vestra ... ad extremas usque virtutis et potentie metas currentis fortune calcaribus intaxetis (sic) adhuc etiam grandiora magnalibus inculcantes, ut ad nos felicitatis vestre fecundius et vestre iocunditatis hilarius pagina noticie perveniret. Huius expectationis et desiderii nostri causam non sola precordialis affectio quam ad personam vestram habemus inducit, sed generalis et purus magnificentie nostre zelus quo secularium omnium potestatum, quorumlibet regum et principum, incrementa diligimus et libenter audimus, adeo quod non solum ad eos quos nobis antiqua noticia vel dilectio specialis innuit, sed ad quoslibet nobiles generosa preditos dignitate, nobis etiam prorsus ignotos, votum huiusmodi propagemus et generaliter affectemus eosdem progenitorum suorum antiquis honoribus perfrui et votivis prosperitatibus exaltari. Nec facit hoc tantum Cesaree fortune fastigium, quod velut supreme felicitatis et proprie sortis contentum vite non invidet aliene, sed quedam occulta necessitas quam attenderent necessariam alii, sicut nos ipsi prospicimus et sentimus. Habemus enim omnes reges orbis et principes, presertim orthodoxe religionis et fidei zelatores, odium publicum et commune cum prelatis et cum Ecclesie nostre primatibus speciale dissidium, sed occultum. Illi quidem pestifere libertatis abusum ambiunt, isti per latentes insidias bonis nostris et titulis detrahentes a vice devocionis nostre beneficiis abutuntur, et dum in nostra dispendia per se forte quorumlibet nocumenta non prosunt, arma communia capiunt et occulte coniurant ut in ipsius vite nostre naufragium sacra sacrilegia misceantur, utque seditiones et calliditates ipsorum noceant, dominis et devotis nos ab invicem separant, mutato dominio veterem dominum abicit et novum assumit fidei nostre ... ut alterum perimant, alteri blandiuntur ; nec nos ista perspicimus, non vitamus. Hec autem tantum apud Occidentalem plagam et in Europa nostra potissime committuntur. O felix Asia, o felices orientalium potestates que subditorum arma non metuunt et adinventiones pontificum non verentur ! Vobis igitur in acquisita iam gloria demanii de optenta victoria de*

Un passage semblant faire écho à un voyage de Vatatzès en Italie, supposé sur la foi de divers indices avoir été projeté autour de 1238 ([11]), et l'absence d'allusion dans la *salutatio* des lettres 1 et 2 aux liens de famille entre les deux empereurs, scellés par le mariage en 1241 d'une fille naturelle de Frédéric II à Vatatzès, avait conduit Wellas, suivi par Martin, a proposer une datation relativement haute, avec une préférence pour 1238. Cette date semble toutefois peu crédible si l'on tient compte du fait que la seconde excommunication de Frédéric II n'intervient qu'au printemps 1239 ([12]).

En effet, à moins d'admettre que la logique change du tout au tout en fonction d'une distance supposée de l'empire de Nicée par rapport à l'Occident, il est impensable que Frédéric II ait usé de la rhétorique extrêmement violente qu'il déploie dans ce texte contre le clergé en général et la papauté en particulier avant son excommunication dans une correspondance officielle entre souverains, à un moment où malgré les tensions diplomatiques, il était encore officiellement le fils chéri de l'Église, et devait se présenter comme tel. Sa correspondance avec les souverains occidentaux concernant les démêlés avec l'Église change radicalement de ton en fonction des trois étapes dans la dégradation des relations entre l'empereur et la papauté que furent le conflit larvé d'avant 1239, l'excommunication, puis la déposition par Innocent IV en

Achivis, nobilitate communi dignum suadente tripudium, congaudemus et affectione precipua quam ad vos gerimus augente leticiam dignas magnificentie vestre grates offerimus quod figurative per litteras nuntiationis indiciis non contenti, corporalis aspectus vestri presentiam nobis hylariter obtulistis. De triumphalibus vero nostris ut imperialium apicum tenor vota vestra letificet, scire vos cupimus quod quanquam victorie nostre cursum huc usque tardaverit quorumdam furiosa rebellio et versuta calliditas aliquorum, faciente exercituum Domino qui per iustitie gladios vias aperit regum, circa partes Ausonie commorantes gloriosum ceptorum finem deditione Ligurie iam [imminente] prestolamur.

(11) Wellas, *Griechisches*, pp. 133-134. Il faut noter à quel point cette supposition est dépendante de l'authenticité de la lettre 1 dans la démonstration de Wellas.

(12) Cf. Wellas, *Griechisches*, pp. 24-25 et 133-137, suivi pour la reconstitution chronologique et le raisonnement qui l'induit par Martin, *O felix Asia*, pp. 476-477. Sur le mariage de Constance et de l'empereur de Nicée, cf. A. Kiesewetter, *Die Heirat zwischen Konstanze-Anna von Hohenstaufen und Kaiser Johannes III. Batatzes von Nikaia (Ende 1240 oder Anfang 1241) und der Angriff des Johannes Batatzes auf Konstantinopel im Mai oder Juni 1241*, dans *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 41 (1999), pp. 239-250.

1245. Il faudrait donc plutôt penser, si la lettre correspondait réellement à une missive envoyée à l'empereur de Nicée, à une datation basse, au minimum après la seconde excommunication (le 20 mars 1239), voire après la sentence de déposition (1245), qui conduisit effectivement les *dictatores* de Frédéric II à faire généralement emploi d'une rhétorique antipapale de plus en plus violente tant contre le pape que le clergé ([13]). Toutefois, la seule hypothèse cadrant avec les restrictions imposées par le raisonnement de Wellas (date antécédant le mariage) serait l'espace courant du printemps 1239 à courant 1241, qui voit l'empereur germanique déjà excommunié, sans être encore le beau-père du souverain de Nicée. Mais comme le note Jean-Marie Martin, l'argument du manque de référence au mariage dans la *salutatio* est par ailleurs faible, dans la mesure où celle-ci a pu être abrégée ou modifiée ([14]). On verra effectivement plus loin quel crédit il faut apporter à ces *salutationes* mutilées des recueils de *dictamina*.

Enfin, la seconde lettre du dossier a été datée en son temps par Huillard-Bréholles de 1247 ([15]), alors que Jean-Marie Martin, reprenant la logique de Wellas concernant son antériorité supposée par rapport au mariage de Constance et Jean Vatatzès, propose une datation antérieure à 1241/1242 ([16]). Elle évoque une rupture dans une relation amicale qui aurait correspondu, en cas d'authenticité, à un coup de froid diplomatique entre les deux puissances, mais les termes sont bien trop vagues pour préciser le contexte de cet accrochage diplomatique, qu'on pourrait tout aussi bien imaginer lié aux tensions entre les deux empereurs dans les derniers mois avant la mort de Frédéric II ([17]).

(13) Cf. par exemple la célèbre lettre *Illos felices describit antiquitas-adhibere* (PdV I, 2) écrite en 1246 et exhortant les pouvoirs laïcs à réduire le clergé à sa pauvreté première. Pour l'effet de cette lettre dans les mois suivants, cf. Grévin, *Rhétorique*, pp. 491-504.

(14) *O felix Asia*, p. 476.

(15) HB VI, pp. 921-922, mais avec de nombreuses hésitations (p. 921, n. 1). Le texte de la lettre est donné *infra*, cf. tableau p. xxx.

(16) *O felix Asia*, pp. 476-477, qui postule son authenticité contre les doutes de Wellas. Sur ces derniers, voir infra note 19. Wellas, *Griechisches*, pp. 23-24 propose avec beaucoup d'hésitation avant 1241 en cas d'authenticité, en envisageant éventuellement 1234. Mais ces suppositions sont sans grand intérêt puisqu'il penche très fortement pour l'inauthenticité.

(17) Sur ces tensions, cf. Borghese, *Impero bizantino*, pp. 38-39 et Kiesewetter, *Grecia*, p. 782, soulignant la contradiction entre la date théorique des lettres

Seule l'authenticité de la troisième lettre semble pleinement assurée, non tant par le contexte de diffusion (les collections classiques des *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne contiennent des pièces récréationnelles et fictives, même si leur inclusion dans les sections concernant la correspondance officielle est rarissime) que par son contenu : une simple lettre de recommandation, obéissant en tout aux habitudes de rédaction des notaires de la chancellerie impériale-sicilienne, n'a aucune raison particulière d'avoir été imaginée ou placée sous un patronage particulier pour des raisons d'exotisme. En revanche, la lettre 1 exaltant le césaro-papisme et la lettre 2 reprochant à Vatatzès son infidélité sont d'authenticité plus douteuse. L'attribution de la première à la chancellerie de Frédéric II ne serait pas rigoureusement impossible, sans doute à condition d'en réserver la rédaction à la dernière partie du règne (1239-1250, et plus probablement 1245-1250), où des missives aussi violentes contre la papauté sont envoyées à de nombreuses entités politiques d'Occident. Il faudrait alors imaginer un contexte de rédaction semblable à celui des lettres grecques, datées de l'année 1250, qui semble mal cadrer avec ce que l'on sait de la profonde dégradation des rapports entre les deux empereurs à cette époque [18].

Du point de vue de la critique interne, certaines particularités attirent par ailleurs l'attention. Ainsi, alors que l'emploi de «Ligures» pour désigner les Lombards fait partie des habitudes stylistiques de la chancellerie impériale, celui du terme «Ausonie» pour qualifier le royaume d'Italie est à ma connaissance unique [19].

Quant à la seconde lettre latine, elle a fait l'objet de la forte suspicion de M. Wellas [20] à cause de sa différence de ton par rapport aux autres

grecques de Frédéric à Vatatzès en 1250 et la profonde dégradation de leurs relations d'après les autres sources dans ces mêmes mois.

(18) Cf. supra note 17.

(19) Le terme *Ausonia* n'apparaît en tout cas pas dans les multiples lettres conservées dans la collection classique (édition, cf. supra note 2) évoquant les expéditions militaires ou les affaires politiques de Frédéric II en Italie du nord. On peut se demander quelle aurait été la logique de ce surenchérissement apparemment contreproductif dans la complexité déjà grande du latin de la chancellerie à travers le choix de ce terme encodé dans une lettre à destination de la cour byzantine.

(20) *Griechisches*, p. 23 : «Der Brief HB VI, 921 (BF 3405), in dem Vatatzes heftig getadelt wird, weil er ohne Grund vom Freundschaftsbündnis mit dem Kaiser abgewichen ist, ist stark verdächtig. Der brüske Ton ist an sich kein

documents. Contrairement à ce qu'affirme Jean-Marie Martin, les trois lettres latines n'emploient pas également le pluriel de majesté pour les deux empereurs [21]. L'expéditeur de la lettre 2 (*Ex illa fidelitatis regula baculo te castiget*) utilise uniquement, et longuement, la seconde personne du singulier pour s'adresser à son destinataire qu'il qualifie à plusieurs reprises de «frère» et d'ami (*frater, amicus* [22]). Jean-Marie Martin, qui considère que l'historien allemand a été trop sévère en émettant des doutes sur son authenticité, a supposé que cette qualification rentrait dans un jeu d'échos rhétoriques qui ferait passer Frédéric II du statut de frère (et donc d'égal plus ou moins avoué) de l'empereur nicéen à celui de beau-père (et de supérieur), avant et après le mariage de 1241, et dont l'évolution entre la rhétorique de la lettre 2 et celle des lettres grecques de 1250 serait le témoin [23].

Du reste, cette seconde lettre latine, si elle semble bien commenter une rupture de contrat ou de foi entre deux personnages liés par une relation amicale, développe une rhétorique qui serait pour le moins étrange (et qui n'a pas toujours été bien comprise, c'est le moins que l'on puisse dire [24]) si elle correspondait réellement à une tentative

Argument gegen die Echtheit, es wurden aber in den Brief bekannte Motive des zu dieser Zeit schon jahrhundertealten Topos der 'perfidia Graecorum' in einer Weise eingewoben, dass man an eine Übung oder an ein Muster denken könnte».

(21) *O felix Asia*, p. 479 : «Alors que, dans les lettres latines le pluriel (de majesté) est de rigueur pour l'un et l'autre empereur, dans les lettres grecques, Frédéric II continue à l'utiliser pour lui-même...» Cf. le texte de la seconde lettre latine, infra tableau pp. 160-161, employant systématiquement le singulier.

(22) ... *recogita, frater, et pensa quid feceris*; *cogita*... (cf. texte complet *infra*, tableau pp. 160-161).

(23) *O felix Asia*, pp. 479-480.

(24) *O felix Asia*, pp. 482-483 : «... même dans la lettre 2 (sans doute antérieure à 1241/1242), dans laquelle il reproche à Vatatzès un acte inamical, il le traite de frère et prend l'exact contrepied de l'image du Grec perfide qui court en occident : il évoque la 'règle de fidélité qu'on remarque d'ordinaire dans les actions des Grecs' [...] l' 'antique et louable franchise des Grecs'...». Les deux passages traduits, début de la lettre (*Ex illa fidelitatis regula que de Grecorum actibus vulgo depromitur, ut tunicam induas veritatis, tuorum munimenta processuum argumentum tam efficax prebuerunt, dum de Grecorum stirpe progenitus, ne specialiter pereat quod generaliter predicatur, dilectionis fedus quod cum in instantia fratris inhereat, sine causa rationabili violans, roborate fidei mysterium, quod inter utrumque caritas communicata coniunxerat, variasti*... et plus loin *hos forsan vetusta Grecorum*

d'un souverain pour restaurer une alliance ébranlée, puisque Frédéric commencerait par y reprocher ironiquement à Vatatzès de suivre à la lettre le proverbial manque de foi des Grecs en ne tenant pas sa parole, avant de l'adjurer, après une nouvelle allusion à la proverbiale tromperie des Grecs, d'entamer une réconciliation dont le défaut provoquerait le châtiment d'une domination symbolisée d'après le texte donné par Huillard-Bréholles par une verge d'airain (25). Même si l'Empire de Nicée pouvait sembler un pion de l'échiquier stratégique méditerranéen moins important que d'autres entités telles que le royaume de France qu'il fallait ménager, Frédéric n'avait aucune raison d'user de menaces aussi pesantes, d'ordinaires réservées aux communes rebelles du nord de l'Italie, dans un échange destiné à restaurer une alliance fragilisée avec un pouvoir hors de portée des vengeances impériales et qu'il s'agissait de ramener à son alliance.

et approbata sinceritas de arbore fidei fructus legavit ad posteros, ut tu, quem tanquam successor ydoneus stipitem dediscere nescimus, eiusdem legis semitas imiteris ?) sont en fait à prendre dans un sens ironique, absolument contraire à l'analyse citée. Dans le premier, le rédacteur accuse son correspondant grec de démontrer dans son cas personnel ce qui est généralement admis, c'est-à-dire le caractère variable et traître des Grecs, et dans le second, il reprend le même jeu rhétorique pour souligner que le correspondant ne manque pas de suivre la vieille tradition. On peut souligner à ce propos, exactement comme dans le passage concernant l'Ausonie, que cette rhétorique qui se laisse aisément déchiffrer avec un peu d'habitude du style complexe des maîtres de *l'ars dictaminis* sud-italienne est très loin d'être adaptée dans le cas d'une correspondance diplomatique avec un pouvoir hellénophone, ne manquant certes pas d'interprètes latins à cette époque, mais pour laquelle on attendrait un langage un peu moins torturé. Le problème de l'adéquation de la complexité stylistique à une correspondance avec un pouvoir hors de la sphère latinophone se pose.

(25) D'après l'édition de HB VI/2, p. 922, la lettre se termine par la conclusion : *sic hactenus gessisse te pudeat, ac novum induas hominem qui reconciliationis virga te corrigat, et cum per ingratitudinis vicium in fratrem peccaveris, eneo dominationis baculo te castiget*, formule pour le moins surprenante et qui va dans le sens souhaité par tous les commentateurs de cette documentation qui tendent à privilégier l'idée d'un complexe de supériorité frédéricien face à Nicée, et d'une sorte de relation vassalique de l'empire de Nicée, en position d'infériorité face à la puissance souabe. On verra plus bas que la leçon donnée par Huillard-Bréholles, reposant sur une simple conjecture, ne correspond pas à la conclusion originale du texte.

II. De la correspondance entre souverains à l'échange épistolaire «privé», où les mésaventures d'une *salutatio*

Un nouvel élément vient à présent pleinement confirmer les suspicions de Wellas, dans un sens quelque peu inattendu. Ce trait de la perfidie grecque associée au thème du manquement à l'amitié apparaît dans une lettre entre deux particuliers contenue dans le ms. Paris BnF lat. 8567, précieuse anthologie précoce (fin du XIIIe siècle) de *dictamina*, contenant une minorité de lettres officielles, et une grande majorité de lettres de correspondances particulières échangées entre différents notaires, *dictatores* et autres lettrés du milieu culturel campanien et plus généralement sud-italien entre les dernières années du règne de Frédéric II et les premières années de celui de Charles II d'Anjou, jusqu'en 1290. La partie centrale de cette collection correspond à un dossier de correspondances centré autour de la famille da Rocca, héritière sur deux générations des pratiques stylistiques élaborées par Pierre de la Vigne dans le cadre de la chancellerie de Frédéric II (26).

Ce trait rhétorique correspondant à un stéréotype présent dans le monde latin, mais peu banal dans une correspondance entre clercs,

(26) Sur le manuscrit *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567 et son importance dans la tradition du *dictamen* sud-italien et de la création des collections de *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne, cf. Schaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, n° 241-262 (le manuscrit, contenant quelques lettres présentes dans la collection classique de Pierre de la Vigne, est donc inclus dans le catalogue) et Grévin, *Rhétorique*, première partie. Son contenu a été intégralement édité en deux volumes par F. Delle Donne, *Nicola da Rocca, Epistolae*, Florence, 2003, et *Una silloge epistolare della seconda metà del XIII secolo*, Florence, 2007. La première édition concerne les dossiers directement réductibles aux activités de la famille da Rocca (Nicola da Rocca *senior*, notaire de Frédéric II, Conrad IV et Manfred, et disciple de Pierre de la Vigne ; son neveu Nicola da Rocca *junior*, clerc du cardinal Simone de Monselice ; Domenico da Rocca). La seconde édition (*Una silloge*) concerne tous les autres dossiers présents dans le manuscrit (à la réserve des lettres extraites de la *summa* de Bérard de Naples), et en particulier la volumineuse correspondance de Stefano da San Giorgio, diplomate et *dictator* actif entre la Curie, la cour de Sicile et l'Angleterre dans les années 1280. L'ensemble forme l'un des plus riches fonds de correspondance de haute rhétorique entre notaires représentatifs des traditions du sud italien (essentiellement de la Campanie) issus de la chancellerie sicilienne, de l'école de Capoue et du Mont-Cassin dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle (les pièces qui sont datables sont essentiellement échelonnées entre 1245 et 1290).

semble refléter un préjugé de type culturel à l'encontre des populations d'origine et de culture grecque présentes dans le royaume ([27]). Ayant jadis transcrit une grande partie de ce manuscrit, j'avais un vague souvenir de ce passage. Une comparaison entre les deux textes sur la base de la récente édition de F. Delle Donne pour vérifier si la concordance des motifs pouvait faire pencher la balance dans la désauthentification de la lettre latine à Vatatzès a conduit à un résultat radical : à quelques variantes minimes près, la lettre entre particuliers du manuscrit Paris, BnF lat. 8567, qui contient ce jeu sur la perfidie grecque et que Fulvio Delle Donne donne pour jusqu'à présent inédite ([28]), est en fait identique à la soi-disant lettre de Frédéric II à Vatatzès. La seule différence notable concerne d'une part le début de l'incipit, changé de *Ex illa fidelitatis regula* en *Quod illa fidelitatis regula*, ce qui explique l'absence d'identification des deux textes par F. Delle Donne, et surtout la *salutatio*, qui devient dans le ms. Paris BnF lat. 8567, un simple *amicus... amico.*

Texte de l'édition de HB VI/2, pp. 921-922	Texte de l'édition de F. Delle Donne, *Una silloge*, n° 237, pp. 265-266
Fredericus, etc., Battacio Grecie, etc.	... amicus ... amico.
Ex illa fidelitatis regula que de Grecorum actibus vulgo depromitur, ut tunicam induas veritatis, tuorum munimenta processuum argumentum tam efficax prebuerunt, dum de Grecorum stirpe progenitus, ne specialiter pereat quod generaliter predicatur, dilectionis fedus quod cum in instantia fratris inhereat, sine causa rationabili violans, roborate fidei mysterium, quod inter utrumque caritas communicata coniunxerat, variasti. Qualia ergo dilectionis indicia de te sumet extraneus, quod amicorum puritas fiducie sumat exemplum, si dilectio confisa confunditur, si processus contempnitur in amore continuus, si caritas aret solito viridis, si amicus amico ([29]) loquitur, si amor fervidus perpenditur viciatus ? Suntne ista insignia que requiruntur in fratribus ? Suntne ista misteria que puritas exigit in amicis ? Hos forsan vetusta Grecorum et approbata sinceritas de arbore fidei fructus legavit ad posteros, ut tu, quem tanquam ([30]) successor ydoneus stipitem dediscere nescimus, eiusdem legis semitas imiteris. Recogita ergo, frater, et pensa quid feceris ; cogita si gerere sic cum amico te decuit, si de fratris amplexu sine iusta causa sinum discutere civile vel utile videatur, ubi fratris presertim incorrupta serenitas ex amoris odore, quem caritas (?) in fratrem inseruit, eque dilectionis meritum expectabat. Revertere ergo ad primeve caritatis interulas, et cum satis per hujus semitas erroris incesseris, amplius ambulare desipias. Sic hactenus gessisse te pudeat, ac novum induas hominem qui reconciliationis virga ([31]) te corrigat, et cum per ingratitudinis ([32]) vicium in fratrem peccaveris, eneo dominationis ([33]) baculo te castiget.	*Quod illa fidelitatis regula, que de Grecorum actibus vulgo depromitur, amicum induat veritatis tuorum munimenta processuum argumentum mihi iam efficax prebuerunt, dum de grecorum stirpe progenitus : ne specialiter pereat quod generaliter predicatur. Dilectionis fedus, quod cum instantia fratris inieras sine causa rationabili, violans robuste fidei meritum, quam inter utrumque caritas communicata coniunxerat variasti. Qualia ergo dilectionis indicia de te sumet extraneus ? Quod amicorum puritas fiducie sumet exemplum si dilectio confusa confunditur ? Si processus contempnitur in amore continuus ? Si caritas aret solito viridis ? Si amicus amico non loquitur ? Si amor fraternus perpenditur violatus ? Suntne ista dilectionis insignia, que requiruntur in fratribus ? Suntne ista misteria que puritas exigit in amicis ? Hos forsitan vetustas Grecorum et approbata sinceritas de arbore fidei fructus legavit ad posteros, ut tu tamquam successor ydoneus, stipitem dediscere nescius, eiusdem legis semitas immiteris. Recogita igitur, frater, pensa quid feceris, cogita si gerere sic cum amico te decuit, si de fratris amplexibus sine iusta causa sinum excutere civile vel utile videbatur, ubi fratris presertim incorrupta sinceritas ex amoris odore quem in fratre gratus inseruit, eque dilectionis meritum reportabat. Revertere igitur ad primitive caritatis interulas, et cum satis per huius semitas erroris incesseris, amplius ambulare desipias, sic hactenus gessisse te pudeat, et novum induas hominem, qui reconciliationis virga te corrigat, et, cum per ingratitudinis vitium in fratre peccaveris, emendationis baculo te castiget.*

(27) Les stéréotypes négatifs sur les Grecs se retrouvent par exemple dans les listes des défauts des peuples et nations circulant en Italie au début du XIII[e] siècle, cf. par exemple Boncompagno da Signa, *Palma*, ed. C. Sutter, Berlin, 1894, pp. 121-122, sur leur apparence physique (la barbe) et leurs défauts moraux (astuce, traîtrise). Sous la plume de Boncompagno, ces derniers sont d'ailleurs partagés par les Siciliens (*Siculi*).

(28) *Una silloge*, n° 237, pp. 265-266, 'inedita'.

Au vu de la meilleure qualité d'ensemble du texte porté par le manuscrit parisien, la comparaison avec la nouvelle édition – impeccable – fait honneur au travail d'éditeur de Huillard-Bréholles, qui a parfaitement

(29) Commentaire de HB : sic, rectius tamen ut videtur, *inimico.*

(30) Correction de HB pour *tutam quam.*

(31) Correction de HB pour *iuga.*

(32) Correction de HB pour *magnitudinis.*

(33) Correction de HB pour *eneum donationis*, leçon aberrante.

restitué en son temps, à partir du seul manuscrit 590 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne ([34]), *tanquam*, *virga* et *ingratitudinis* derrière les leçons *tutam quam*, *iuga* et *magnitudinis*, et correctement supposé un problème dans le dernier *caritas*, effectivement sans parallèle dans le texte du ms. Paris BnF lat. 8567 ([35]). Ses deux propositions de corrections restantes (l'*amicus amico* du milieu du texte changé en *amicus inimico*, et le *eneo dominationis baculo* qu'il restitue à partir d'un problématique *eneum donationis baculo*, en fait altération ou mauvaise lecture de *emendationis baculo*) ont en revanche été conditionnées par l'admission *a priori* du caractère diplomatique de l'échange sur la foi de la *salutatio Fredericus... Battaccio...*, qui l'avait conduit à interpréter toute la rhétorique de la lettre comme une protestation pour manquement à l'esprit ou à la lettre d'une alliance entre les deux souverains.

Or, si le manuscrit de Vienne, compilation de formulaires autrichiens et de lettres papales et impériales, est relativement ancien (début du XIV^e siècle ([36])), l'importance dans la tradition de la documentation d'époque souabe du ms. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567, datable de la fin du XIII^e siècle, ne laisse pas de doute sur la priorité à donner à sa version de la lettre dans l'histoire de sa transmission. Elle y a d'ailleurs été recopiée à deux reprises, au f. 85^{r-v}, puis au f. 127^{v} du manuscrit (dans une partie conclusive ultérieurement ajoutée à la partie centrale, mais provenant du même dossier textuel que certaines lettres de celui-ci ([37])),

(34) Cf. sur ce manuscrit supra note 9.

(35) On peut tout de même se demander pour le passage *...ubi fratris presertim incorrupta sinceritas ex amoris odore quem in fratre gratus inseruit, eque dilectionis meritum reportabat*, si la leçon *caritas* qui étonne tant Huillard-Bréholles, à cause du contexte supposé, n'est pas meilleure que la leçon *gratus* proposée par le ms. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567, puisque c'est la seconde fois que *caritas* revient dans le texte. L'état globalement plus satisfaisant du ms. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567 n'exclut pas que le texte du ms. 509 de la *Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne* propose occasionnellement de meilleures leçons.

(36) Cf. SCHALLER, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, n° 221, p. 399.

(37) Sur la division du manuscrit et l'addition d'un fascicule baptisé P2 par Delle Donne et reprenant une partie des lettres du dossier Da Rocca contenues dans la première partie du manuscrit, cf. NICOLA DA ROCCA, *Epistolae*, pp. LVII-LVII. Les cas de copie répétée de lettres à l'intérieur de la même compilation de *dictamina* par inadvertance sont fréquents (*cf.* pour les *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne sous leur forme classique, la lettre III, 84 identique à la lettre V, 102.

les deux fois dans un contexte où elle est étroitement associée à des lettres amicales expédiées en son simple nom par le notaire Nicola da Rocca (le jeune) à des amis ou collègues ([38]). Quand bien même cette contextualisation différente n'indiquerait pas le sens à donner aux termes employés dans la lettre, il faudrait de toute manière donner la priorité à la version contenue dans le ms. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567, qui se trouve très près de la source de diffusion des *dictamina* qu'ils contient, puisqu'il a été composé directement à partir de dossiers rassemblés par des *dictatores* dont le parcours personnel s'enracine dans l'histoire de la chancellerie de Frédéric II et de ses successeurs immédiats (en particulier la dynastie notariale des Da Rocca), alors que le manuscrit de Vienne (et les deux autres manuscrits contenant la lettre) sont des compilations plus tardives exécutées par des notaires d'Allemagne du sud ou de France au début ou au cours du XIV^e siècle ([39]).

Surtout, la recontextualisation de cette lettre dans un cadre d'échanges personnels entre des lettrés participant de la tradition du *dictamen* cultivé entre le Mont-Cassin, l'université de Naples et la chancellerie sicilienne dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, supprime tous les problèmes d'analyse rhétorique du texte en changeant les données de son interprétation d'une manière définitive. La rhétorique d'un ami et d'un frère corrigeant un frère et ami en employant la seconde personne du singulier, utilisée par l'expéditeur, n'est pas celle d'un souverain qui reproche à l'autre ses manquements, mais celle d'un clerc qui tance un ami, collègue (dans une activité de chancellerie ?) ou peut-être un frère ou fils en religion (comme le vocabulaire de *caritas* qui avait tant étonné Huillard-Bréholles peut le laisser supposer) pour un manquement à l'amitié (monastique, confraternelle ?), non pour une rupture d'alliance. Le rédacteur a un statut social ou institutionnel peut-être supérieur, et menace en tout cas son correspondant du bâton d'une correction fraternelle (*emendationis baculo*) bien différente de la verge de fer d'une

(38) Cf. les deux occurrences de la lettre dans le ms. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567, f. 85^{r-v} et f. 127^{v}. Dans le premier cas, elle succède à une lettre officielle du fils de Frédéric II, Enzio, au roi d'Angleterre datée de 1247, mais précède une lettre particulière de Nicola da Rocca *junior* à Nicola da Porta, novice – contexte intéressant. Dans la seconde occurrence, elle fait suite à une lettre de Nicola da Rocca *senior* recommandant à un parent la garde de ses neveux, et précédant une lettre d'oncle à neveu concernant des biens matériels.

(39) Cf. supra, note 9.

domination (*eneo dominationis baculo* !) enregistrée par les historiens des relations entre Frédéric II et Vatatzès à la suite de la reconstruction de Huillard-Bréholles, elle-même orientée par le présupposé que la correspondance concernait bien Frédéric II et Vatatzès. Les formules impératives invitant à la résipiscence s'expliquent également parfaitement dans ce nouveau contexte (*recogita ergo, frater, et pensa quid feceris* ; *cogita si gerere sic cum amico te decuit, si de fratris amplexu sine justa causa sinum discutere civile vel utile videatur, ubi fratris presertim incorrupta serenitas ex amoris odore, quem caritas* [dans l'édition de HB, *gratus* dans l'édition d'*Una silloge*] *in fratrem inseruit, eque dilectionis meritum expectabat...*). Enfin et surtout, les allusions à la mauvaise foi grecque liée à l'origine du destinataire sur lesquelles le rédacteur ironise lourdement prennent un sens beaucoup plus naturel dans le contexte d'un échange entre lettrés sud-italiens du XIIIe siècle, peut-être actifs dans un centre monastique comme le Mont-Cassin, ou ailleurs.

Que reste-t-il de «grec» dans la missive ? Sans être Jean III Vatatzès, le destinataire de la lettre a, comme bon nombre des habitants du royaume de Sicile, une origine, sans doute un nom, peut-être encore certaines références culturelles grecques, mais il vit dans un environnement (monastique, curial, professionnel) majoritairement latin, et de culture écrite essentiellement latine. Sans se livrer trop avant au petit jeu de l'identification, rendu quasiment impossible par l'anonymat de la *salutatio* simplement réduite à un ... *amicus* ... *amico*, on peut souligner que l'un des destinataires des missives conservées dans cette partie du ms. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.* 8567 se nomme Calcedonius, et semble correspondre au profil du Grec latinisé désiré (40), tandis que le rédacteur de notre lettre, s'il n'est pas le Benedictus qui adresse deux lettres à ce personnage dans le manuscrit (41), pourrait être un membre de la famille Rocca (peut-être Nicolas de Rocca *junior*) ou San Giorgio (par ordre de probabilité des fréquences d'attribution sûres des lettres dans cette zone du manuscrit), ou l'un de ces nombreux autres clercs auteurs de missives recueillies dans le manuscrit (42). La plupart de ces

(40) *Una silloge*, introduction p. XLII, et lettres n° 158 et 159, pp. 169-170 : *Calcedonio Benedictus hominis utriusque salutem et Calcedonio Benedictus*. Une identification précise de ces personnages n'est pas encore possible.

(41) Cf. *supra* note 40.

(42) La proximité de lettres concernant les deux Nicola de Rocca dans le manuscrit (cf. supra note 38) renforce évidemment la possibilité qu'un Da Rocca soit le rédacteur de la missive, mais ce n'est qu'une supposition.

derniers vécurent la transition entre la Sicile des derniers Souabes et des premiers Angevins sous le signe d'une culture partagée du *dictamen*, s'épanouissant surtout, après la chute de Manfred, dans des correspondances à dominante ecclésiastique et privée centrées autour des grands évêchés et monastères, quand ils ne trouvaient pas à s'employer auprès de la Curie ou dans la diplomatie internationale pour les plus fortunés d'entre eux.

Il faut donc définitivement rendre la soi-disant seconde lettre du dossier de correspondance latine entre Frédéric II et Vatatzès au contexte plus modeste des échanges entre lettrés sud-italiens de la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle. Dans ce cas, il n'y a pas eu création fantasmagorique d'un échange spectaculaire qui n'a jamais existé par un clerc de chancellerie, comme il arrive parfois dans la tradition du *dictamen*, où l'on fantasme souvent sur les correspondances entre souverains, particulièrement quand l'un d'entre eux est ressenti comme exotique (43). C'est ici plus prosaïquement la substitution à la *salutatio* originale d'une *salutatio* de fantaisie qui a provoqué le glissement (un phénomène du reste bien documenté dans la transmission des *dictamina* siciliens (44)). Cette trans-

(43) Voir par exemple le cas de la lettre proprement fantaisiste soi-disant envoyée par le Vieux de la Montagne, chef des Ismaélites, à Manfred, et éditée comme authentique par H. M. SCHALLER, *König Manfred und die Assassinen*, dans *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 21 (1965), pp. 173-193, repris dans IDEM, *Stauferzeit. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Hannover, 1993, pp. 535-556. Il suffit de citer un passage de la lettre pour voir ce qu'on peut penser de son authenticité : ... *Quod circa volumus, quod universis terre finibus innotescat, quod nisi memorati attemptatores infra kalendas Februarii temeritati sue predicte finem imponent colla sua tuis pedibus supponentes, nos Bucifalum filium nostrum iuniorem, rebellium debellatorem in nostra curia deputatum, adversum memoratos vermiculos vitam eorundem brevem apocopaturum destinabimus indilate... Datum in suburbio Babilonis Montis regni Eleazar patris anno ducentesimo quarto ac Cleopatre filii nostri regni sexagesimo octavo* ! Schaller était un excellent spécialiste des correspondances des derniers souverains Souabes de Sicile, et il ne s'agit pas ici de jeter le discrédit sur une œuvre solide. *A contrario*, cette étrange erreur d'interprétation prouve combien les instruments de la critique ordinaire cèdent facilement leurs droits dès que les documents envisagés s'éloignent par leur contexte de réception ou de rédaction, que ce soit en direction de Byzance ou de l'Islam.

(44) Il existe plusieurs exemples de lettres tantôt attribuées à Frédéric II, tantôt à Conrad IV dans la tradition des *Lettres* de Pierre de la Vigne, et ces hésitations remontent apparemment fort avant dans la tradition manuscrite. Elles peuvent s'expliquer en partie par la reprise des mêmes formulaires, mais aussi par des permutations volontaires ou involontaires.

ition aura été opérée d'autant plus naturellement que la lettre a circulé dans les mêmes manuscrits que la première lettre latine du dossier : le copiste responsable, lisant les reproches sur la perfidie grecque de la lettre L2 dans le même temps qu'il avait sous les yeux la lettre L1, aura logiquement substitué au mystérieux et insatisfaisant *amicus ... amico* le plus logique (ou plus suggestif) *Fridericus Battaccio* (45).

Conclusion

Il est toujours mélancolique de réduire l'épaisseur d'un dossier déjà ténu en en «déclassant» les principales pièces. Le premier pas effectué, la tentation est grande de continuer, en mettant en danger le statut de la « première lettre latine », avec sa pompeuse rhétorique anti-papale et son exaltation du césaro-papisme, d'autant plus que les lettres grecques de contenu relativement équivalent inspirent de leur côté bien des suspicions à certains spécialistes de la culture grecque à la cour de Frédéric II ou de ses relations avec l'Orient byzantin (46). Tout en soulevant la question, on se gardera de franchir trop rapidement le pas de la désauthentification dans ce second cas. La «fraude» aurait du reste relevé d'une logique différente : celle de la création assumée d'une lettre diplomatique fictive par des membres de la chancellerie impériale, ou au contraire par des notaires pro-papaux qui auraient cherché à lui nuire en divulguant cette lettre de ton particulièrement dur entre 1239 et 1250.

(45) Sur la présence des deux lettres dans deux manuscrits, cf. supra note 9.

(46) Cf. Kiesewetter, *Grecia*, p. 782, contre la plus grande partie de la bibliographie précédente (renvois exhaustifs). Il est toujours difficile d'émettre un avis de désattribution radicale en l'absence de preuve positive, mais on ne peut qu'abonder dans le sens de Kiesewetter quand il demande un peu plus de prudence dans le maniement de cette documentation si particulière. Entre les lettres dont le contexte est artificiellement modifié par substitution des *salutationes* et titulatures, et celles qui ont été écrites à titre de jeux littéraires, de pamphlets officieux, de brouillon dans la chancellerie sicilienne, ou parmi les clercs héritiers de ses traditions qui en imitaient le style et la documentation et formèrent les recueils où la documentation est conservée, il n'est jamais totalement sûr que les lettres spectaculaires et détonantes par leur contenu soient authentiques. On pourrait même paradoxalement avancer que les lettres grecques destinées à Vatatzès éveillent au moins la suspicion à cause de leur caractère «exotique» dans la production majoritairement latine de la chancellerie de Frédéric II, tandis que mainte lettre latine considérée comme authentique pourrait en fait voir son statut remis en question. Cf. sur ce point B. Grévin, *Rhétorique, diplomatie et construction historiographique : les métamorphoses dionysiennes d'un échange de lettres entre Louis IX et Frédéric II (Pierre de la Vigne, I, 12-13)*, dans *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à J.-M. Martin* (*Monographies du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance*, 30), Paris, 2008, pp. 333-344.

Le doute est permis, particulièrement en raison du caractère très général de la lettre 1, qui semble plus programmatique que porteuse d'un message précis, et dont le seul élément concret, la mention de la visite anticipée de Vatatzès, n'est pas sans poser de considérables problèmes d'interprétation. Mais la violence de cette rhétorique, et son contenu, ne semblent pas strictement contradictoires avec la teneur des lettres grecques conservées, et c'est donc l'ensemble du reste du dossier qu'il faudrait, à l'exception de l'anodine troisième lettre latine (lettre 3), déclassifier ou réhabiliter. On se contentera ici, jusqu'à plus ample informé, de rendre à son anonymat la lettre où Frédéric II tançait «fraternellement» Vatatzès, en soulignant encore une fois combien la réflexion sur les pièces extraites de collections de *dictamina* ne peut, pour être solide, être dissociée d'une prise en compte la plus complète possible de leur contexte et de leur logique de transmission.

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Résumé

L'authenticité du maigre dossier de correspondance documentant les relations entre l'empereur Frédéric II Hohenstaufen et la cour impériale de Nicée est un sujet de débats constants, tant pour les pièces grecques que latines. L'édition récente d'un nouveau témoin de l'une de ces dernières, en permettant d'en préciser le contexte de rédaction – probablement privé – incite à désattribuer définitivement une lettre qui ne fut sans doute jamais envoyée par Frédéric II à Jean III Vatatzès, et dont le sens véritable n'est même pas celui d'un pastiche. Cette désattribution met sur la piste d'une réflexion sur les contextes de transmission et de rédaction des *dictamina* politiques latins du XIII[e] siècle. Elle incite à réfléchir sur la nécessité de développer des critères méthodologiques tenant compte de ceux-ci pour contourner les apories de la critique interne dans l'examen de dossiers de traitement particulièrement délicat, tels que des correspondances diplomatiques uniquement transmises dans des recueils épistolaires.

BEING, SEEMING AND BECOMING: PATRIARCH METHODIUS ON DIVINE IMPERSONATION OF ANGELS AND SOULS AND THE ORIGENIST ALTERNATIVE

During the eighth and ninth centuries the Byzantine Empire went through a phase of intense religious controversy. The issue that had the greatest impact on society was without doubt the question whether or not images have a place in religious life. Here the involvement of emperors and patriarchs forced the secular and ecclesiastical elites to take sides, and failure to conform to the orthodoxy of the day could result in severe penalties. However, this does not mean that the cult of images was the only topic on which members of the elite disagreed among themselves. At least two other contentious issues can be identified, namely, whether or not the saints are active after death, and whether or not they can appear to the faithful in dreams and visions. Our most important witness for the debate about these topics is Patriarch Methodius of Constantinople who discussed them in his *Lives* of the iconophile saints Theophanes Confessor and Euthymius of Sardes and in his *Encomium* of the Sicilian martyr Agatha. In this article I will focus on an episode in the last-named text where Agatha's mutilated breasts are miraculously restored through a figure that appears to her in her prison cell. In his account of this event Methodius first identifies this figure as the Apostle Peter but then considers the possibility that it was not Peter at all but an angel who had assumed Peter's outward appearance. This is a clear reference to the concept of angelic impersonation, which had first been proposed in the sixth century and which had become more wide-spread in the seventh and early eighth centuries. Since this feature is not found in the Late Antique *Passio* of Agatha, from which Methodius drew his information about the saint and which he otherwise followed quite closely, there can be no doubt that he deliberately added it to the narrative.

In a recent article I have argued that Methodius himself firmly believed in the real presence of saints and that he introduced the alternative as a concession to his intended audience (1). However, further study of the text has led me to modify this interpretation considerably. In this article I will set out the results of my new research. I will first show that Methodius developed the theme of angelic impersonation out of data that he found in his model and that he did so in order to address epistemological problems raised by attempts to make inferences about the identity of agents from their outward appearances. Then I will demonstrate that the ambiguity does not stop at the alternative 'angel or apostle' but that the text contains a passage which suggests an identification of Peter with Christ in his role as 'angel of great counsel'. And lastly I will seek to explain the reasons for this further ambiguity through analysis of a slightly later debate between Arethas of Caesarea, Nicetas the Paphlagonian, Leo Choirosphaktes and Anastasius Traulos. This debate not only provides additional evidence for the view that just as saints are impersonated by angels so are angels impersonated by God, but also reveals the existence of an alternative 'Origenist' position according to which particularly virtuous human beings are posthumously transformed into angels and eventually also into 'gods'. Having shown that Methodius also subscribed to such an 'Origenist' position, I will conclude that he could accept the concepts of angelic and divine impersonation without jeopardising the real presence of the saints in dreams and visions because he thought that by becoming 'angels' and 'gods' saints could act as their own impersonators. At the end of this article I hope to have demonstrated that the Byzantine religious discourse of the ninth century was much more complex and sophisticated than has previously been recognised.

Before we can delve into the discussion, however, it is necessary to make a few remarks about Methodius' biography and his literary production. Methodius was born around the year 787 in the Sicilian city of Syracuse, but spent most of his adult life in or near the capital, first as a monk and then as a member of the clergy of St Sophia. Under Emperor Leo V he lost this position and later suffered torture and imprisonment,

(1) D. Krausmüller, *Denying Mary's Real Presence in Apparitions and Icons: Divine Impersonation in the Tenth-Century Life of Constantine the Ex-Jew*, in Byz., 78 (2008), pp. 281-303.

but after the end of Iconoclasm he was rehabilitated and eventually he became patriarch of Constantinople (2). It is chiefly for these reasons that he was remembered by later generations but his contemporaries would also have known him as an author of hagiographical texts. Two of his writings, the *Lives* of Theophanes Confessor and Euthymius of Sardes (3), are devoted to contemporary figures whereas the remaining three, the *Encomia* of Nicholas of Myra, Denys of Paris and Agatha of Catania (4), are reworkings of already existing texts. Comparison reveals that in his *metaphrases* Methodius faithfully preserved the original narratives and often also the original wording. This approach, which distinguishes him from other Byzantine authors, suggests that he regarded *Lives* and *Passiones* as authoritative texts, an attitude that finds its most likely explanation in the contemporary debate about religious imagery : at the Second Council of Nicaea hagiographical narratives had been used as proof-texts, which meant that their exact wording was of crucial importance (5). However, this does not mean that Methodius does not tinker with his models because in each case he has introduced a host of slight modifications. At first glance most of these interventions seem to be of a cosmetic nature but detailed study invariably reveals

(2) For Methodius' biography and writings, cf. R.-J. Lilie, Claudia Ludwig, Th. Pratsch, Ilse Rochow, F. Winkelmann, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, I, 3, *Leon - Placentius*, Berlin and New York, 2000, pp. 233-239, no. 4977, with literature.

(3) V. V. Latyšev, *Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris* (*Zapiski rossijkoj akademii nauk, VIII ser. po istoriko-filologičeskomu otdeleniju*, 13, 4), Petrograd, 1918, text on pp. 1-40 (*BHG* 1787z) ; J. Gouillard, *La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes († 831), une œuvre du patriarche Méthode*, in *TM*, 10 (1987), pp. 1-101, text on pp. 21-89 (*BHG* 2145). See, however, also D. Krausmüller, *Patriarch Methodius, the Author of the Lost First Life of Theodore of Stoudios*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 81 (2006), pp. 144-150.

(4) G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche, Texte und Untersuchungen*, I, *Die Texte*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1913, text on pp. 140-150 (*BHG* 1352y) ; J. C. Westerbrink, *Passio S. Dionysii Areopagitae Rustici et Eleutherii uitgegeven naar het Leidse Handschrift Vulcanianus 52*, Alphen, 1937, text on pp. 44-63, a new edition by St. Efthymiadis is in preparation (*BHG* 554d) ; E. Mioni, *L'encomio di S. Agata di Metodio patriarcha di Costantinopoli*, in *AB*, 68 (1950), pp. 58-93, text on pp. 76-93 (*BHG* 38).

(5) Cf. P. van den Ven, *La patristique et l'hagiographie au Concile de Nicée de 787*, in *Byz.*, 25-27 (1955-1957), pp. 325-362.

that the modified texts make complex statements about theological, anthropological and cosmological issues (6).

After this introduction I will now focus on Methodius' *Encomium* of Agatha (*BHG* 38), a reworking of an older *Passio* that appears to be lost but can be reconstructed from a Latin and a later Greek version (7). This text narrates how during the Decian persecution the Christian virgin Agatha is apprehended and dragged to the tribunal of the pagan governor Quintianus who first attempts to win her over through blandishments and then when she remains steadfast has her breasts cut off. After this violation of her body the martyr is thrown into prison and left without the medical treatment she would require. However, in the same night she has a visitor who miraculously heals her wounds and thus enables her to face another day of trials and tribulations (8). Episodes such as this are very common in the highly standardised genre of martyrdoms where the heroes and heroines are often the recipients of supernatural visitations and miraculous cures (9). What is unparalleled, however, is the way in which Methodius identifies Agatha's visitor. At

(6) For a discussion of Methodius' anthropology, cf. D. Krausmüller, *Exegeting the Passio of St Agatha : Patriarch Methodius of Constantinople on Sexual Differentiation and the Perfect "Man"*, in *BMGS*, 33.1 (2009), pp. 1-16 ; and for the theological dimension, cf. D. Krausmüller, *From Homoousion to Homohypostaton : Patriarch Methodius of Constantinople and Post-Patristic Trinitarian Theology*, forthcoming in *Journal in Late Antique Religion and Culture*, 2 (2008).

(7) The Greek version of the *Passio* can be found in *PG* 114, 1332-1345 (*BHG* 36) ; the Latin version is edited in *AASS Februarii*, I (3rd edition, Paris, 1863), pp. 621-624. In addition there is also an abbreviated version in the so-called *Menologium Imperiale*, ed. V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi saeculi X quae supersunt*, I, St Petersburg, 1911, pp. 14-18 (*BHG* 37e). Comparison shows that Methodius' text is usually closest to the extant Greek *Passio*. Occasionally, however, it has features in common with the Latin *Passio* that are not found there, which suggests that he drew on a further now lost Greek version of the *Passio*. Cf. D. Krausmüller, *Some Observations on the Cult and Hagiographical Dossier of St Agatha in ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium*, forthcoming in *Basilissa*, 2 (2008), with literature.

(8) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 20-24, ed. Mioni, p. 86, 37-88, 33.

(9) Cf. e.g. F. Scorza Barcellona, *Sogni e visioni nella letteratura martirologica africana posteriore al III secolo*, in *Augustinianum*, 29 (1989), pp. 193-212, esp. p. 210 : 'si tratta ... di sogni o apparizioni notturne ... a confortare i martiri.' Cf. also F. E. Consolino, *Sogni e visioni nell'agiografia tardoantica : modelli e variazioni sul tema*, in *Augustinianum*, 29 (1989), pp. 237-256.

the beginning of the episode he tells his audience that Christ 'sends the chief (sc. apostle) Peter' (τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐξαποστέλλει Πέτρον) (10), and this statement seems to be corroborated by the visitor's response to Agatha's assertion that she will only accept a cure from Christ himself : 'Me, too, – he said – he has sent : for I am – he says – his apostle' (κἀμὲ αὐτὸς ἀπέσταλκεν – ἔφησεν. Ἀπόστολος γὰρ αὐτοῦ – φησιν – εἰμί) (11). However, the immediate context of this self-identification shows that matters are not quite so straightforward : in the preceding sentence the speaker is introduced as 'the one who appeared as Peter or truly was Peter' (ὁ φαινόμενος εἰς Πέτρον, ἢ ὡς ἀληθῶς τυγχάνων Πέτρος) (12), and the same distinction is made after the miraculous healing when Agatha 'thanks the Lord Jesus Christ who had sent his apostle or an angel as apostle' (τῷ πεπομφότι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπόστολον, ἢ ὡς ἀπόστολον ἄγγελον, Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχαριστήσασα) (13). In each case Methodius thus presents an alternative interpretation of supernatural agency, namely that Peter was impersonated by an angel. Significantly, this alternative is not mentioned in the Latin and Greek versions of Agatha's Late Antique *Passio* where Peter's personal involvement is taken for granted and where Agatha simply states : 'I thank you, Lord Jesus Christ, that you have remembered me and have sent me your apostle' (εὐχαριστῶ σοι, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὅτι ἐμνήσθης μου καὶ ἀπέστειλας πρός με τὸν ἀπόστολόν σου) (14). This leaves no doubt that Methodius deliberately inserted the alternative into his model, an intervention that is all the more striking since he otherwise remained very close to the original wording.

This raises the question : why would Methodius have taken such a step ? The evidence suggests that he himself was in favour of the real presence of saints. In the *Encomium* of Agatha the option that the visitor was indeed Peter is followed by the comment 'for everything is possible for God, both to shape <and> to resurrect whatever he wills' (πάντα

(10) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 20, ed. Mioni, p. 87, 9.
(11) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 23, ed. Mioni, p. 88, 8-9.
(12) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 23, ed. Mioni, p. 88, 1-2.
(13) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 23, ed. Mioni, p. 88, 12-14.
(14) *Passio Graeca* 13, *PG* 114, 1341B1-3. Cf. *Passio Latina* 10, *AASS Feb.*, I, p. 623A15-16 : *Gratias tibi ago, Domine Jesu Christe, quia memor es mei et misisti ad me Apostolum tuum.*

γὰρ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πλάττειν <καὶ> ἀνιστᾶν ὅσα βούλεται) (15), which appears to make the case for this option against doubters : the champions of the concept of impersonation had argued that saints could not appear after death because they did not have bodies, which would only be given back to them at the Last Judgement, and one way to deflect this argument was to explain such apparitions as proleptic resurrections (16). A similar impression is given by a marginal gloss that Methodius added to his copy of the *Passio* of Marina. There he claims 'that to the churches, which are named after saints, angels are sent out to work wonders but where the bodies of the saints are, grace operates through the relics themselves' (ὅτι εἰς τὰς ἐπωνύμους τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησίας ἄγγελοι ἀποστέλλονται θαυματουργεῖν· ὅπου δὲ τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἁγίων, ἡ χάρις δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λειψάνων ἐνεργεῖ) (17). It is evident that this distinction only makes sense if Methodius was confronted with the view that in all cases it is angels who effect cures, and then looked for ways to secure at least some involvement of the saints. That such a situation could arise is not surprising since the concept of angelic impersonation appears to have been widely accepted at the time : in the seventh and eighth centuries it made its appearance in the popular collections of *Questions and Answers* by Anastasius of Sinai and Pseudo-Athanasius and around the year 900 it was still discussed in the *Encomium* of Agathonicus by the imperial official Anastasius Traulos (18). Therefore one could argue that

(15) *Encomium of Agatha* 23, ed. Mioni, p. 88, 1-4 : ὁ φαινόμενος εἰς Πέτρον, ἢ ὡς ἀληθῶς τυγχάνων Πέτρος· πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πλάττειν ἀνιστᾶν ὅσα βούλεται. I have inserted the copula καί into Mioni's text since the context seems to imply juxtaposition between creation and resurrection.
(16) Cf. *Eustratii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani De statu animarum post mortem (CPG 7522)*, ed. P. Van Deun (*CCSG*, 60), Turnhout - Leuven, 2006, esp. p. 83, ll. 2005-2021.
(17) *Scholion* n. XVIII, ed. H. Usener, *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori*, Bonn, 1886, p. 53, 4-7 (*BHG* 1167m).
(18) Anastasius of Sinai, *Quaestio* 19, 8, ed. M. Richard (†) and J. Munitiz, *Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et Responsiones* (*CCSG*, 59), Turnhout - Leuven, 2006, p. 33, 64-75 (*CPG* 7746) ; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem* 26, *PG* 28, 613B14-21 (*CPG* 2257) ; G. van Hoof, *Encomium in s. Agathonicum Nicomediensem martyrem*, in *AB*, 5 (1886), pp. 369-415, esp. p. 414 (*BHG* 42). For a discussion cf. G. Dagron, *L'ombre d'un doute : L'hagiographie en question, VIe-XIe siècle*, in *Homo Byzantinus. Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* (*DOP*, 46 [1992]), pp. 59-68 ; and Idem, *Décrire et peindre. Essai sur le portrait iconique* (*Bibliothèque illustrée des his-*

Methodius introduced this concept into his *Encomium* of Agatha as a grudging concession to an audience which held it to be true and which might therefore have questioned whether Agatha was at all cured through supernatural agency if he had insisted on Peter's real presence ([19]).

Despite this evidence, however, the case is not as clear cut as it first seems because it can be shown that the ambiguity which Methodius introduces into the narrative is an elaboration of themes that were already present in his model, the Late Antique *Passio* of Agatha. We have already seen that in Methodius' *Encomium* Peter eventually identifies himself with the words : 'Me, too, – he said – he has sent : for I am – he says – his apostle' (κἀμὲ αὐτὸς ἀπέσταλκεν - ἔφησεν. Ἀπόστολος γὰρ αὐτοῦ - φησιν - εἰμί) ([20]). Comparison shows that this is an almost literal borrowing from the *Passio* where we read : 'Me, too, he has sent, for I am his apostle' (Κἀμὲ αὐτὸς ἀπέστειλεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπόστολος αὐτοῦ εἰμι) ([21]). There can be little doubt that the author of the *Passio* inserted the noun ἀπόστολος as a reference to Peter's status as one of the twelve apostles of Christ. However, taken by itself the statement can be considered ambiguous : Peter does not identify himself with his name and the combination of ἀπόστολος with the verb ἀποστέλλειν emphasises the fact that this noun also denotes a function, which can be fulfilled by other beings such as angels who in the Bible are indeed called 'serving spirits that are sent out on ministry' (λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα) ([22]). Therefore one can argue that this ambiguity served Methodius as a starting point for introducing the topos of angelic impersonation into his *metaphrasis* ([23]).

toires), Paris, 2007, esp. pp. 211-214. Cf. also Krausmüller, *Denying Mary's Real Presence*, pp. 296-297.

(19) It is not impossible that some of these doubters were iconoclasts, cf. J. Gouillard, *Léthargie des âmes et culte des saints : un plaidoyer inédit de Jean diacre et maïstor*, in *TM*, 8 (1981), pp. 171-186, esp. p. 182, n. 53.

(20) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 23, ed. Mioni, p. 88, 8-9.

(21) *Passio Graeca* 12, *PG* 114, 1341A13. Cf. *Passio Latina* 9, *AASS Feb.*, I, p. 623A10-11 : *Et me ipse misit ad te : nam et ego apostolus eius sum*. As we have already seen Methodius adopts this phrase with only minor changes.

(22) *Hebrews* 1, 14.

(23) In his *Encomium* Methodius creates a similar ambiguity at the beginning of the episode in the statement that 'Christ ... sends out the chief Peter' (ὁ ... Χριστός ... τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐξαποστέλλει Πέτρον), which has no direct counter-

Of even greater significance is the fact that the topos of impersonation is already present in the *Passio*. There we are told that Agatha's visitor came to her 'in the likeness of an old man' (ἐν ὁμοιώματι πρεσβυτέρου) ([24]), who 'had many medicines in his hand and said that he was a physician' (πλεῖστα φάρμακα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχων καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἰατρὸν εἶναι λέγων) ([25]). Thus we have an outward appearance that is misleading and a self-identification that is untrue for as the audience already knows and as Agatha will find out in due course the visitor is in reality the Apostle Peter. It is obvious that both these features provide exact parallels for the concept of angelic impersonation in Methodius' text and for the view that notwithstanding his self-identification as an apostle the visitor may be an angel. Therefore one can argue that Methodius merely adds another layer of ambiguity to the text : instead of an apostle who pretends to be an elderly physician we now have an angel who pretends to be an apostle who pretends to be an elderly physician ([26]). Indeed, a closer look at the text reveals that Methodius deliberately emphasises the parallels between the two layers because

part in the *Passio*. This statement is a clear reference to Peter's traditional title as 'the chief of the apostles' (ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων). However, in the actual text the noun is substituted with the verb ἐξαποστέλλειν, which again links it back to an activity. Moreover, the whole phrase has a close parallel in the story of Peter's own liberation from prison where Peter affirms that 'the Lord has sent his angel' (ἐξαπέστειλεν κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ), cf. *Acts* 12, 11. Methodius who repeatedly refers to this story in his text undoubtedly expected his readers to identify *Acts* as a reference text. Cf. Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 23, ed. Mioni, p. 88, 10-11 : τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ φαινομένου τὸ ἔσχατον ὅραμα, which is clearly a reference to *Acts* 12, 9 : οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἐδόκει δὲ ὅραμα βλέπειν, and thus appears to cast further doubt on the reality of the appearance.

(24) *Passio Graeca* 12, *PG* 114, 1340C5. In this case the extant Latin and Greek versions of the *Passio* diverge : whereas in the Greek version Peter's identity is revealed to the audience right from the start, in the Latin version Peter is at first referred to as 'some old man' (*senex quidam*) and the audience is enlightened at the same time as Agatha herself, *Passio Latina* 9, *AASS Feb.*, I, p. 622F8. Given the fact that Methodius, too, identifies Peter at the beginning of the episode, it seems likely that in this case he followed a model that was closer to the extant Greek version.

(25) *Greek Passio* 12, *PG* 114, 1340C-8. Cf. *Passio Latina* 9, *AASS Feb.*, I, p. 622F9-10 : *ferens diversa medicamenta in manu sua ... se medicum esse commemorans*.

(26) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 21, ed. Mioni, p. 87, 24-25.

the sentence 'she replied ... to him who appeared as if he were a physician' (ἀπεκρίθη ... ὡς δῆθεν ἰατρῷ τῷ φαινομένῳ) is very similar to the phrase 'he who appeared as Peter' (ὁ φαινόμενος εἰς Πέτρον), which introduces the theme of angelic impersonation ([27]).

I would therefore argue that Methodius' modifications cannot be explained as a simple concession to the audience but must be regarded as indications of a genuine engagement with problems arising from the interpretation of data furnished by sense perception ([28]). The significance of his approach reveals itself when we consider that at the Second Council of Nicaea recognisable appearance and verbal self-identification had been considered proof for the real presence of saints and that the same view was expressed in numerous saints' lives ([29]). By linking

(27) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 21, ed. Mioni, p. 87, 24-25.

(28) One can argue that he highlights the epistemological crux when he rephrases 'having many medicines in his hand and saying that he is a physician' (πλεῖστα φάρμακα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχων καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἰατρὸν εἶναι λέγων) as 'carrying many medicines and through these together with the speech certifying himself as a healer' (ἐπιφερόμενον πολλὰ φάρμακα, καὶ τούτοις ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἑαυτὸν πιστούμενον ἰητῆρα καθίστασθαι), and 'I can cure you/I know medicine' (δύναμαί σε θεραπεῦσαι) as 'he certified for himself the ability to heal on the basis of his knowledge' (τὸ δύνασθαι ἰατρεύειν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι μαρτυρούμενος). These two phrases allude to the concepts of πίστωσις and μαρτυρία and thus emphasize the fact that the witness of one person does not constitute sufficient proof. Cf. e.g. *Numbers* 35, 30 : μάρτυς εἷς οὐ μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ ψυχῆς, and *Matthew* 18, 16 : ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα. Methodius makes this concept explicit at the beginning of his *Life of Theophanes* where he states that the story of the saint cannot be doubted because both author and addressee knew him well, cf. Methodius, *Life of Theophanes* 2, ed. Latyšev, p. 2, 16-18 : ὅπως ἄμφω τὰ μέρη, ἐγὼ καὶ αὐτοί, διαδησαίμεθα τὴν δόξαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ κεφαλὴν ἀλληλομαρτύρως εἰλικρινέστατα· καθ' ὃ οὐκ ἐμποδίζει τὸν νοῦν διασταγμὸς πώποτε.

(29) Cf. e.g. the story about an icon of Nicholas in the Constantinopolitan monastery of Moliboton, which is attacked and starts to bleed, ed. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, pp. 415-416. Here the saint appears to the emperor looking like his bloodied icon and introducing himself with the words : 'I am Nicholas from the monastery of Moliboton' (ἐγώ εἰμι - φησίν - Νικόλαος ὁ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μολιβωτοῦ μονῆς), which is evidently taken as proof that it was the saint himself who appeared to the emperor. The issue of self-identification in Byzantine hagiography is discussed in Dagron, *L'ombre d' un doute*, passim. However, it needs to be stressed that not all hagiographers were equally prepared to accept the validity of such self-identification. A notable exception is the *Life* of Constantine the Ex-Jew, cf. Krausmüller, *Denying Mary's Real Presence*.

the concept of angelic impersonation so closely to Peter's misleading appearance and his false claim to be a physician Methodius indicates that the same problem arises here as well and that the two criteria cannot be regarded as beyond suspicion. This suggests strongly that the iconophile discourse was much more sophisticated than the Acts of Nicaea II would have us believe ([30]).

Indeed, Methodius' acknowledgement of angelic impersonation as an alternative interpretation is only one facet of a more general recognition of the ambiguity of signs. This can be concluded from a discussion of the supposed physician's statement that Agatha 'should not blush over the touch of imposition by him, which would work as an antidote' (μὴ κατερυθριᾶσαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἁφὴν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως) ([31]). This extremely convoluted sentence, which is developed out of the simple phrase 'do not be ashamed of me' (μὴ αἰδεσθῇς με) in the *Passio* ([32]), contains with the adjective ἀλεξιφάρμακος an element that has a parallel in the preceding statement 'carrying many drugs' (ἐπιφερόμενον πολλὰ φάρμακα). However, whereas there the meaning of φάρμακον appears to be 'medicine', in the compound ἀλεξιφάρμακος it signifies something quite different, namely 'poison' ([33]). This suggests that Methodius introduces this compound in order to make ambiguous the earlier statement about Peter as carrier of drugs, which he had taken from the *Passio*. This hypothesis can be substantiated through comparison with an earlier episode. There Agatha is handed over by the pagan governor to a morally suspect woman who attempts to corrupt her. Again Methodius generally follows the original narrative quite closely but occasionally adds new features such as the characterisation of the woman as 'poison-carrying crone' (ἰοφόρος γραῦς) where the *Passio* only mentions her name ([34]). At first sight the addition of the epi-

(30) Cf. Marie-France Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin. Le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*, 5), Aldershot, 1999, pp. 247-248. Cf. also G. Dagron, *Holy Images and Likeness*, in *DOP*, 45 (1991), pp. 23-31.

(31) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 22, ed. Mioni, p. 87, 31-32.

(32) *Passio Graeca* 12, *PG* 114, 1340D9. Cf. *Passio Latina* 9, *AASS Feb.*, I, p. 622F23 : *nolo me verecunderis*.

(33) A literal translation of ἀλεξιφάρμακος would be 'warding off poison'. Cf. *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, ed. Ch. Theodoridis, I, Berlin and New York, 1982, p. 99 : A 925 : ἀλεξιφάρμακα· ἀλεξητήρια φαρμάκων.

(34) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 10, ed. Mioni, p. 82, 17.

thet ἰοφόρος seems to be entirely gratuitous since no actual poison is involved. However, when one compares it with the description of Peter as a physician one detects a striking similarity : as we have seen before, Peter is characterised as an 'old man' (πρεσβύτερος) and as 'carrying many drugs' (ἐπιφερόμενον πολλὰ φάρμακα), which as Methodius reminds his readers through his use of ἀλεξιφάρμακος can not only be understood as 'carrier of medicines' but also as 'carrier of poisons'. In the latter sense, however, φάρμακον is synonymous with ἰός (35). This suggests that Methodius deliberately created a parallel between the woman as 'poison-carrying crone' (ἰοφόρος γραῦς) and Agatha's visitor as 'drug-carrying old man' (φαρμακοφόρος πρεσβύτερος) in order to bring out the similarity between the two stories – both figures attempt to persuade Agatha that it would be in her interest to accept what they have to offer – and thus to highlight how difficult it is for the martyr to ascertain the real intentions of the man who suddenly appears in her prison.

The extreme caution that Methodius shows in evaluating data furnished by sense perception goes some way to explaining why he offers his audience the choice between real presence and angelic impersonation (36). But can we therefore conclude that he genuinely leaves the

(35) U. C. Bussemaker, *Scholia in Theocritum, Nicandrum et Oppianum* (*Bibliotheca graeca*), Paris, 1849, *scholion* II, 422 : ἰοφόροι· φαρμακοφόροι.

(36) At first sight Methodius' approach seems to be highly unusual : other authors either mention only one possibility or attack the opposite view. In the late ninth century Anastasius Traulos ends his *Encomium* of Agathonicus with an invective against people who believe that saints are impersonated by angels and Michael 'the Synkellos' in his '*Encomium*' of Patriarch Ignatius anathematises the same group, cf. Krausmüller, *Denying Mary's Real Presence*, pp. 296-297. However, rejection of the alternative of angelic impersonation cannot be taken as evidence that an author was not aware of the problems involved or even that he rejected the concept of impersonation in principle. Sophronius of Jerusalem, for example, states that he once saw in a dream a figure that looked like the Apostle Thomas and then leaves it open whether it was the apostle himself or the martyr Cyrus who had taken on his appearance, cf. *Miracle 70 of Cyrus and John*, 18 and 20, ed. N. Fernández Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio. Contribución al estudio de la* Incubatio *Cristiana* (*Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Manuales y Anejos de Emerita*, 31), Madrid, 1975, p. 398 (*CPG* 7646) : καὶ γνωρίσας τὸν ἅγιον (sc. Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπόστολον) ἔκ τε τῆς στολῆς, ἔκ τε τῆς μορφῆς, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν μορφὴν ἰδιώματος, ... εἴτε Κύρου τοῦ μάρτυρος ... εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον ἑαυτὸν σχηματίσαντος, εἴτε Θωμᾶ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀποστόλου

question open despite any personal preferences he may have had ? Before we can answer this question we need to extend the discussion to a passage at the beginning of the episode. Whereas the author of the *Passio* simply states that Peter appears in Agatha's prison, Methodius starts with the following elaboration :

> Τί δὲ ὁ μνηστὴρ αὐτῆς Χριστός, δι' ὃν ταῦτα ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ἐξ οὗ τὰ τοσαῦτα καρτερεῖν ἐδεδυνάμωτο, ἆρα ἐβράδυνεν ἐπισκέψασθαι; ἆρα ὁ τὸν Ἠλίαν ἑνὶ τῷ ὀλυρίτῃ ἄρτῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πορείαν διανῦσαι ἐνδυναμώσας, καὶ τὸν Μωϋσῆν πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Σινά, καὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ ἐν λάκκῳ, τὸν μὲν βουλήσει ὑψηλοτέρᾳ λόγου, τὸν δὲ συνπροφήτῃ δαιτυμόνι ἐκθρέψας ἤργησεν, ἢ ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν; Οὐμενοῦν· Ἀλλ' ἄρτῳ κορακιδότως οὐκ †ἔστρεψεν† οὔτε μὴν συμμάρτυρος ἐπισκέψει παρεμυθήσατο· βουλῇ δὲ κρείττονι ἐννοήσεως διακρατῶν τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν, τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐξαποστέλλει Πέτρον σὺν τῷ συνήθει καὶ ἐγνωσμένῳ αὐτῷ ἀγγέλῳ ... (37).
>
> What then ? Did her suitor Christ, for whom she suffered this and by whom she was empowered to endure so much, tarry to visit her ? Did he who empowered Elijah to make a journey of forty days with a single barley bread and Moses previously on Sinai and Daniel in the den, the former through an act of will that was higher than speech and the latter being fed through a fellow-prophet as his guest, be idle or postpone the visitation ? By no means! But he did not †turn† through bread given by a raven nor indeed did he comfort through the visitation of a fellow-martyr but through a counsel that was stronger than thought supporting the weakness of nature he sent out the chief (sc. apostle) Peter together with the angel that was familiar and known to him (38).

τυγχάνοντος. Even the explanation for Cyrus' appearance in the guise of Thomas is the same as for angelic impersonation : it is presented as a concession to Sophronius' fervent devotion to the Apostle.

(37) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 20, ed. Mioni, pp. 86, 37-87, 10. I have changed Mioni's text in two instances : I have replaced σὺν προφήτῃ with συνπροφήτῃ, cf. below note 44, and κόρακι δότος with κορακιδότως. In his *apparatus criticus* Mioni suggested an emendation of ἔστρεψεν to ἔθρεψεν. This is possible but by no means certain.

(38) The position of the elliptic statement τὸν Μωϋσῆν πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Σινά within the sentence is ambiguous. Since it is linked to the previous statement through πρότερον, one can argue that it must be completed through addition of the participle ἐνδυναμώσας. However, the following juxtaposition τὸν μέν ... τὸν δέ seems to suggest instead that the statement must be completed through the addition of ἐκθρέψας. This ambiguity is reflected in the translation.

Here Methodius not only affirms that Christ helped Agatha but also seeks to establish what kind of help he gave her. He does so by first mentioning various examples of divine assistance and then assessing which of them can be regarded as an appropriate parallel for the specific case of Agatha. When first confronted with passages such as this, one is tempted to dismiss them as mere rhetorical flourishes and it is certainly true that comparisons of this kind are stock elements that appear in many encomiastic texts (39). However, when one analyses them in detail one soon realises that they are of crucial importance for the understanding of Methodius' way of thinking (40). In this case Methodius takes his comparisons from the Old Testament : he mentions Elijah's encounter with an angel before he travelled to Mt Horeb and his manner of life during the drought that he had requested from God (41), Moses' sojourn on Mt Sinai (42), and Daniel's second stay in the lions' den in Babylon when he was fed by his fellow-prophet Habbacuc who had been 'flown in' from Jerusalem by an angel (43).

It is immediately obvious that of these three cases the last one resembles most closely the situation in which Agatha finds herself : both saints are imprisoned and both are visited by a human being in the company of an angel. The parallel becomes even more obvious when Methodius makes this example fit Agatha's specific case by rephrasing 'he who fed ... Daniel in the den ... through a fellow-prophet as guest' (ὁ ... Δανιὴλ ἐν λάκκῳ ... συνπροφήτῃ δαιτυμόνι ἐκθρέψας) as 'he provided comfort through the visitation of a fellow-martyr' (συμμάρτυρος ἐπισκέψει παρεμυθήσατο). Not only does the term 'fellow-martyr' (σύμμαρτυς) highlight the fact that both Agatha and Peter are martyrs

(39) Cf. e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Laudatio funebris in patrem*, *PG* 35, 1021C10-1024A4 (*CPG* 3010) : Πῶς οὖν τρέφει ταύτην θεός; Οὐ μάννα βρέξας, ὡς τὸ πάλαι τῷ Ἰσραήλ· ἢ πέτραν ῥήξας, ἵνα πηγάσῃ λαῷ διψῶντι· ἢ κόραξιν ἑστιάσας, ὡς τὸν Ἠλίαν ἐκεῖνον· ἢ προφήτῃ μεταρσίῳ κορέσας, ὡς τὸν Δανιὴλ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ λιμώττοντα. Cf. also below note 51.

(40) Cf. D. Krausmüller, *Divine Sex : Patriarch Methodios's Concept of Virginity*, in Liz James (ed.), *Desire and Denial in Byzantium* (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications*, 6), Aldershot, 1999, pp. 57-65, esp. pp. 58-59.

(41) Cf. III *Kings* 19, 6-8 and 17, 6.

(42) For an identification of the Biblical episode that Methodius alludes to here see the discussion below.

(43) Cf. *Bel et Draco* 33-39.

in the same way as Daniel and Habbacuc are prophets (44), but at the end of the episode Methodius explicitly calls Peter's intervention a 'visitation' (ἐπίσκεψις) and further characterises the apostle as Agatha's 'comforter' (παρακλήτωρ) (45). Thus there can be no doubt that contemporary audiences would have seen this similarity and would have expected Methodius to make the equation, in particular since they would have been familiar with similar elaborations from other hagiographical texts : Ignatius the Deacon, for example, uses the examples of the miraculously fed Elijah and Daniel twice in his oeuvre in order to illustrate how God provided help through a human intermediary, in the *Life* of Gregory the Decapolite where God feeds the saint 'through a woman' (διὰ γυναίου), and in the *Life* of George of Amastris where once when the saint celebrates the liturgy the faithful are miraculously provided by God with the Eucharistic bread 'through him' (δι' αὐτοῦ) (46).

(44) Cf. e.g. *Passio of Arethas*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, V, Paris, 1833, pp. 27-28 (*BHG* 166) : καὶ στραφεὶς ἐκραύγασε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις συμμάρτυσιν αὐτοῦ, and Theodore of Stoudios, *In sanctos angelos* 7, *PG* 99, 740B7-8 (*BHG* 125) : ἐπιφερόμενος ὁ προφήτης τῷ συμπροφήτῃ Δανιὴλ τροφήν, λάκκου φρουρᾷ τότε ὑπάρχοντι.

(45) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 24, ed. Mioni, p. 89, 26-29 : ὢ θαύματος τοῦ Πέτρου τῆς φυλακῆς διπλασιασθεῖσαν δεξαμένης τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν. Αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον, τὸν ... πρωταπόστολον, ... ἡ θεοπόθητος διασώστην καὶ παρακλήτορα εὕρηκεν. The two words παραμυθία and παράκλησις are synonymous ; cf. e.g. Pseudo-Chrysostom, *De iis qui in ieiunio continenter vivunt*, *PG* 64, 16, 29-31 (*CPG* 4695) : ἵνα μὴ ἀπαραμύθητον ἐάσῃ τὸν μετὰ θηρίων οἰκοῦντα, ἀποστέλλει τὸν συμπροφήτην παρακαλοῦντα τὴν θλῖψιν.

(46) Ignatius the Deacon, *Life of George of Amastris* 32, ed. V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-Vizantijskija izledovanija. Žitija svv. Georgija Amastridkago i Stefana Surožkago*, Petrograd, 1915, p. 51 (*BHG* 668) : καιρὸς δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν τῆς μυστικῆς λειτουργίας ἀπάρξασθαι, μήπω δὲ παρόντων τῶν πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς λέλεκται, θαυματουργεῖ τι ὁ ἅγιος, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ Θεός, ὁ προφήτην διὰ προφήτου θρέψας ἐν λάκκῳ, καὶ Ἡλίαν διὰ κόρακος ; *Life of Gregory the Decapolite* 36, ed. G. Makris, *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des Hl. Gregorios Dekapolites* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 17), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997, p. 100, 11-15 (*BHG* 711) : Ὁ δὲ τὸ θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ποιῶν καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν ἐπακούων ὡς Ἡλίᾳ πάλαι τράπεζαν ὑπὸ πτηνοῦ δαψιλευσάμενος καὶ δι' ἀγγέλου προφήτην ἄλλον λάκκῳ κατακριθέντα τροφῆς κορέσας καὶ τῷ ὁσίῳ διὰ γυναίου τὴν ἐφήμερον βρῶσιν παρήρτυσεν. This is, of course, already the case in Late Antiquity, cf. Gregory of Nazianzus' *Laudatio funebris in patrem*, quoted in note 39, where it is Gregory himself who appears with food in a dream.

However, the text confounds such expectations : through the emphatic negation 'nor indeed did he provide comfort through the visitation of a fellow-martyr' (οὔτε μὴν συμμάρτυρος ἐπισκέψει παρεμυθήσατο) Methodius denies that what happened to Daniel is an appropriate parallel for the situation Agatha finds herself in [47]. This raises the question : why would he have taken such a step ? In order to find an answer we need to turn to the option that Methodius does consider applicable, namely Moses' sojourn on Mt Sinai. The phrase 'he who ... Moses previously on Sinai' (ὁ ... τὸν Μωϋσῆν πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Σινά) is elliptic and it is not immediately clear whether it refers to Moses' earlier visit to the mountain when he encountered God in the Burning Bush or to his later stay there when he was given the Ten Commandments. In order to identify the correct reference text we need to see this phrase in conjunction with the preceding statement 'he who empowered Elijah to make a journey of forty days through a single barley bread' (ὁ τὸν Ἠλίαν ἑνὶ τῷ ὀλυρίτῃ ἄρτῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πορείαν διανῦσαι ἐνδυναμώσας). This is a clear reference to III Kings 19:6-8 where it is said that an angel left Elijah with 'a barley-bread baked on the coals and a cruse of water' (ἐγκρυφίας ὀλυρίτης καὶ καμψάκης ὕδατος) and that the prophet then 'travelled on the strength of that food forty days and forty nights as far as Mt Horeb' (καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ τῆς βρώσεως ἐκείνης τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας ἕως ὄρους Χωρήβ). This last verse has a close parallel in Exodus 34:28 where we are told that when receiving the Ten Commandments 'Moses was there before the Lord forty days and forty nights : he did not eat bread and did not drink water' (ἦν ἐκεῖ Μωυσῆς ἐναντίον κυρίου τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας· ἄρτον οὐκ ἔφαγεν καὶ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔπιεν), which leaves no doubt that it is this latter episode that Methodius refers to.

What is the significance of this story ? One point can immediately be made : there is no involvement of human beings or angels as intermediaries. According to Methodius Moses is empowered directly through the divine 'will' (βούλησις), and this assertion is in keeping with both the Biblical text and the Christian tradition. The narrative in Exodus emphasises that Moses was not accompanied by another person, and Patristic and Byzantine religious texts do not consider a possible intervention by an angel : in the *Encomium* of the Archangels and Angels by Methodius' contemporary Michael the Syncellus, where all conceivable angelophanies are listed, Moses' stay on Mt Sinai is not mentioned [48], and in a similar text by Theodore of Stoudios angels are made responsible for the sounding of trumpets and the production of fire and smoke but not for the events taking place at the summit of the mountain [49]. Thus there can be no doubt that Methodius' contemporaries would have understood this story as an example of direct divine intervention [50], in particular since this interpretation is also suggested by the context : Byzantine authors who refer to the stories of Daniel and Habbacuc, and Elijah and the raven, often juxtapose them with miracles that were performed by God himself [51].

It is obvious that a scenario where God intervenes directly does not square with the following story that has Agatha visited by the Apostle Peter in the company of an angel. At this point one might therefore consider the possibility that Methodius is simply a bad writer incapable of expressing his ideas coherently [52]. However, a closer look at the pas-

(47) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 20, ed. Mioni, p. 87, 7.

(48) Unlike Moses' encounter with the burning bush, the circumcision-episode, the angel preceding Israel, Bileam, and Moses' death, cf. Codex *Halki Panagias* 1b, f. 241-141v (*BHG* 127).

(49) Theodore of Stoudios, *In Sanctos Angelos* 3, *PG* 99, 733D2-8.

(50) Visual representations of this scene give the same impression : an illumination in the Paris Psalter, for example, represents Moses and God's hand appearing from a segment of heaven. Cf. Ioli Kalavrezou, *163. The Paris Psalter*, in Helen C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (ed.), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843-1261*, New York, 1997, pp. 240-242, with a reproduction of Codex *Parisinus gr.* 139, f. 422v, on p. 241, and commentary on p. 240.

(51) Cf. e.g. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In decollationem sancti Joannis*, *PG* 59, 489, 1-6 (*CPG* 4570) : ἐπειδὰν δὲ μὴ ὦσί τινες οἱ ὀφείλοντες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέξασθαι, ἢ δι' ὀρνέων τρέφει, ὡς τὸν Ἠλίαν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἢ διὰ προφήτου ξένου, ὡς τὸν Δανιὴλ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ, ἢ διὰ θαλαττίου ζῴου, ὡς τὸν Ἰωνᾶν διὰ τοῦ κήτους, ἢ αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἐπώμβρισεν ὡς τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐν ἐρήμῳ. This pattern is quite common. Apart from the passage in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Laudatio funebris in patrem* that has been quoted in note 37, cf. also Eusebius of Caesarea, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, *PG* 24, 64C2-6 (*CPG* 3467) : αἰσθητῶς τροφὴν ἐν ἐρήμῳ τοῖς πεινῶσι τὸ μάννα παρέσχε, καὶ πέντε χιλιάδας διέθρεψε, καὶ διὰ κοράκων Ἠλίαν, καὶ δι' Ἀββακοὺμ τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Δανιήλ.

(52) Methodius has been harshly criticised by Gouillard, *Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes*, pp. 15-16, and by J. O. Rosenqvist, *Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453*, tr. J. O. Rosenqvist and D. R. Reinsch,

sage dispels such a notion. It is noticeable that in the case of Elijah Methodius refers to two different episodes, one where he is fed by an angel and one where he is fed by ravens, whereas in the cases of Moses and Daniel he only mentions one event. The reason for this oddity becomes obvious when we consider the literary tradition. There we find that the former of these stories is usually linked to Moses' sojourn on Mt Sinai whereas the latter is compared with God's help for Daniel through Habbacuc (53). By contrast, the stories of Moses and Daniel are never compared directly (54). This is hardly surprising since they have

Berlin and New York, 2006, p. 66, who deplores Methodius' 'Mangel an Interesse für Logik, Konsequenz und chronologische Fakten'. However, cf. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Divine Sex*, pp. 58-59.

(53) For the juxtaposition of Elijah and Moses cf. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* 1, 32, *PG* 30, 184C8-14 (*CPG* 2911) : Μωϋσῆς πρὸς θεωρίαν Θεοῦ ἀναβαίνων διὰ τοῦ νοῦ, ἄσιτος καὶ ἄποτος ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα διετέλεσεν· ἀθόλωτον διαμένει αὐτῷ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν διοικούμενος· Ἡλίας τε ὁμοίως, ὅτε ἔμελλεν ἐκζητεῖν τὸν Θεόν, ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ τῶν τροφῶν ὑπερεῖδεν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν τῷ νῷ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν τροφῶν ἐπισκότησιν. The vision of God is clearly the main point of comparison and is often alone mentioned. Cf. e.g. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Contra Judaeos*, *PG* 48, 1076, 32-33 (*CPG* 4506) : οὐχὶ Μωϋσῇ ὁ Θεὸς ὡμίλει ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἠλίᾳ Θεὸς ὡμίλει ; THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, *Epistula* 393, ed. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, II (*CFHB*, 31), Berlin and New York, 1991, p. 545, 19-20 : Μωσῆς ἐν ὄρει τῷ Σιναίῳ θεῷ συνωμίλει, Ἠλίας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Χωρὴβ θεὸν ἰδεῖν ὡς δυνατὸν ἠξίωται. This is hardly surprising given that both Moses and Elijah were present during another theophany on a mountain, Christ's transfiguration on Mt Thabor, a parallel that is often explicitly drawn. Cf. e.g. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Catechesis* 12, 16, *PG* 33, 744B1-3 (*CPG* 3585) : μάρτυρας δύο παρέχομεν, τοὺς ἐν ὄρει Σινᾶ τῷ Κυρίῳ παραστάντας· Μωσῆς ... καὶ Ἠλίας, who were also on Mt Thabor. Cyril identifies Mt Horeb with Mt Sinai, an equation that is common in Patristic literature. For the juxtaposition of Daniel and Elijah cf. the passages that have already been quoted and also THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, *Epistula* 152, ed. FATOUROS, II, p. 271, 26-30 : ὁ ἀγαθὸς κύριος ἐν παντὶ τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν ὑπεροριζομένους προφθάζει, φυλάττει, προνοεῖται, φροντίζει ὑπὲρ ὃ ἐλπίζει τις· οὕτως τὸν Ἠλίαν ὑπὸ κόρακος πεινῶντα ἔθρεψεν, οὕτως τὸν Δανιὴλ διὰ τοῦ Ἀμβακοὺμ ἀεροπορήσας καὶ ὅντινα ἄλλον τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ.

(54) When Daniel is mentioned in the same context Late Antique and Byzantine authors invariably refer to different episodes in his life, either Daniel's fasting for three weeks in Daniel 10, 2-3 or the 'testing' of Daniel and his companions by the arch-eunuch in Daniel 1, 11-15. Cf. e.g. *Constitutiones Apostolorum* V, 20, ed. M. METZGER, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, II, *Livres III-VI* (*SC*, 239), Paris, 1986, p. 282, 96-99 (*CPG* 1730) : καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐνήστευσαν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ Δανιὴλ τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας ἡμερῶν ἄρτον ἐπιθυμιῶν οὐκ ἔφαγεν, καὶ κρέας καὶ οἶνος οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ; and METHODIUS, *Canon on the Prophet Daniel*, ode 4, ed. A. KOMINIS, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, IV, *Canones Decembris*, Rome, 1976, p. 345, 49-50 : σπέρμα πρόπειραν ἰσχύος βεβρωκότες θεότροφοι τρεῖς σὺν προφήτῃ τῷ φίλῳ, where σπέρμα πρόπειραν refers to *Daniel* 1, 12 : πείρασον δὴ τοὺς παῖδάς σου ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ δότωσαν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ φαγόμεθα καὶ ὕδωρ πιόμεθα, and ἰσχύος βεβρωκότες refers to III *Kings* 19, 8 : ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ τῆς βρώσεως.

little in common : in the first case there is neither mention of a mediator nor indeed of food whereas in the second case there is no reference to protracted fasting and 'empowerment'. It is evident that Methodius has forced together two distinct sets of comparisons by introducing two cases of divine assistance for Elijah, which could then function as the necessary link, in particular since the story of Elijah's trip to Mt Horeb contains a reference to food and is therefore occasionally also mentioned alongside the ravens (55). This shows clearly that Methodius went to some length to create a context where he could juxtapose two scenarios, 'feeding through a fellow-martyr (or fellow-prophet)' and 'sustaining through divine will', without straying from established tradition, and thus permits the conclusion that he constructed this juxtaposition quite deliberately.

Having excluded incompetence as a possible explanation we now need to explore how the opening paragraph relates to the following episode. Methodius states clearly that a 'visitation' (ἐπίσκεψις) takes place since the questions 'did he tarry with the visit ?' (ἆρα ἐβράδυνεν ἐπισκέψασθαι) and 'did he postpone the visit ?' (ἆρα ... ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν) are negated through the emphatic 'by no means' (οὐμενοῦν), and he further identifies the subject of these actions as 'her bridegroom Christ' (ὁ μνηστὴρ αὐτῆς Χριστός). This suggests that it was Christ himself who visited Agatha in prison. In itself there is nothing extraordinary about such a scenario, which is frequently found in Late Antique *Passiones* (56). However, in the *Encomium* of Agatha it clashes

(55) The only example I have been able to find is ORIGEN, *Fragmenta in evangelium Joannis* (*e catenis*), n. 59, ed. E. PREUSCHEN, *Origenes, Werke*, IV (*GCS*, 10), Leipzig, 1903, pp. 531, 23-532, 2 (*CPG* 1452) : ὡς τῷ Δανιὴλ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα προστάξει θεοῦ ἄριστον προκεκόμιστο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀββακούμ, καὶ τῷ Ἠλίᾳ ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τροφὴ ἐδίδοτο ὑπ' ἀγγέλου καὶ ὑπὸ κοράκων, οὕτω καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ τροφὴ ἠνέχθη, i.e. through the apostles.

(56) Cf. e.g. the *Passio* of Cyriacus and Paula where the imprisoned martyrs are visited at midnight by a 'iubenis' who identifies himself as Christ, ed. B. DE

with the immediately following statement that Christ sent the apostle Peter. How then are we to reconcile these apparently contradictory statements ? Since mediation through a 'fellow-martyr' or through another agent is explicitly excluded I would argue that the only way of resolving the problem is to conclude that Christ sent himself in the guise of Peter (57).

This hypothesis, however, results in a further oddity : as we have already seen Methodius introduces the theme of impersonation into the following narrative but when he does so he only considers angels as impersonators. This raises the question : why does he not mention the further possibility that Christ may have impersonated Peter ? To find a solution to this quandary we need to turn to an earlier part of the text. When during the first day of her interrogation by the governor Quintianus Agatha is threatened with tortures if she does not sacrifice to the pagan gods, she reacts with the defiant claim :

> ἐάν – φησι – θηρία μοι προσάξῃς, ἢ πῦρ, ἢ στρεβλωτήρια – τύραννε, – ἐπονομασίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ ἀποστολῇ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιβοηθείᾳ τοῦ παναγίου αὐτοῦ πνεύματος, ἡμερωθήσεται καὶ καταψυχήσεται καὶ τῶν χειρῶν σου τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ συνήθει ἀντιλήψει λυτρωθήσεται (58).

> If – she said – you bring to me wild beasts or fire or torture implements, tyrant, they will through the invocation of God and the sending of his angel and the help of his holy spirit be calmed or cooled or liberated from your hands through the usual help for his servants.

The model for this passage is found in the Greek *Passio* where Agatha is made to say :

> Ἐάν μοι θηρία προσαγάγῃς, ἀκούσαντα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμερωθήσεται· εἰ δὲ πῦρ προσαγάγῃς, ἄγγελοι ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίων χορηγοῦσίν μοι δρόσον. Ἐὰν δὲ πληγὰς καὶ μάστιγας, ἔχω τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ὅ με ῥύσεται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου (59).

Gaiffier, *La passio des saints Cyriaque et Paule*, in *AB*, 60 (1942), pp. 1-15, esp. p. 13. Cf. also Anastasius Protasecretis, *Encomium of Catherine* 20, ed. G. D. Metallenos, *Ἀναστασίου πρωτασεκρῆτις ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Αἰκατερίνην*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 54 (1972), pp. 237-274, esp. p. 265, 8 (*BHG* 32b) : φαίνεται μὲν θεὸς ἐν εἱρκτῇ ἐπικρατύνων τὴν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα.

(57) See below note 66.

(58) *Encomium of Agatha* 14, ed. Mioni, p. 84, 3-7.

(59) *Greek Passio* 9, *PG* 114, 1337B11-14. Here the Latin version is virtually identical, cf. *Passio Latina* 6, *AASS Feb.* I, p. 622B18-23 : *Si feras mihi promittas, audi-*

> If you bring to me wild beasts, they will hear the name of Christ and will be calmed, if you bring fire, angels from heaven give me dew, and if beatings and lashings, I have the spirit of truth, which will save me from your hands.

Comparison shows that on the whole Methodius has remained very close to his model but that he has again introduced several modifications. He has integrated into one sentence three statements that in the original are presented separately and he has made some changes to the content : τοῦ Χριστοῦ is replaced with θεοῦ, the plural ἄγγελοι is changed to the singular τοῦ ἀγγέλου, and a possessive pronoun is added in this case and in the following reference to the spirit. At first sight these modifications seem to be cosmetic but a closer look reveals that they radically change the meaning of the sentence : the resulting series of 'God', '*his* angel' and '*his* holy spirit' can only be understood as a Trinitarian statement where God is identified with the Father, in particular since the three persons are mentioned right next to each other and their respective activities are linked through the prefixes ἐπι-/ἀπο-.

There is nothing odd about the characterisation of the second person of the Trinity as God's angel : Christian authors when interpreting the phrase 'angel of great counsel' (μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος) in *Isaiah* 9, 5 had long equated this 'angel' with Christ and the 'great counsel' with the Father (60). Indeed, Methodius himself appeals to this verse in a Trinitarian excursus in his *Life* of Euthymius of Sardes where he states that 'the Son and Word of God announced and brought to us the paternal counsel and will' (τὴν πατρικὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸ θέλημα ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν ἀνήγγειλεν καὶ ἐκόμισεν) (61). However, this does not yet explain why he would have wished to make such a statement at this point. I would argue that the function of the passage only reveals itself if it is seen in conjunction with the later episode of Peter's visit of Agatha in prison, which can be regarded as a vindication of the martyr's earlier declaration. There can be no doubt that the two passages are linked : the phrase 'through the sending of his angel ... will it be cooled'

to Christo nomine mansuescunt ; si ignem adhibeas, de coelo mihi rorem salvificum angeli ministrabunt ; si plagas et verbera, habeo intra me spiritum sanctum per quem universa tua tormenta despiciam. Only the last part differs slightly.

(60) For Christ as angel cf. J. Michl, *Engel IV (christlich)*, in *RAC*, V (1962), pp. 109-200, esp. p. 148.

(61) Methodius, *Life of Euthymius* 33, ed. Gouillard, p. 71, 714-715.

(ἀποστολῇ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ ... καταψυχήσεται) is clearly very similar to the phrase 'to him who had sent his apostle or an angel as apostle' (τῷ πεπομφότι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπόστολον, ἢ ὡς ἀπόστολον ἄγγελον) in the episode about Agatha's miraculous cure since τῷ πεπομφότι ... ἄγγελον is synonymous with τῷ ἀπεσταλκότι ... ἄγγελον ([62]). The consequences of this link are evident : once readers have recognised it they realise that here, too, the angel may be identified as Christ. This process may seem rather laborious to us but here we need to remember that Byzantine audiences were used to thinking associatively. The sixth-century preacher Leontius of Constantinople, for example, states once that 'the Lord who is the angel of the great counsel of the Father sent an angel from on high and made light the prison of Peter' (ὁ κύριος ὑψόθεν ἄγγελον πέμψας, ὁ μεγάλης βουλῆς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἄγγελος, τοῦ Πέτρου τὴν φυλακὴν ἐφώτισεν) ([63]). Moreover, one can argue that there is a reference to *Isaiah* 9, 5 in the context of the *Encomium* of Agatha because the episode begins with the statement that Christ acted 'through a counsel greater than thought' (βουλῇ ... κρείττονι ἐννοήσεως) where κρείττων βουλή can be considered a paraphrase of μεγάλη βουλή ([64]). This implies a scenario where Christ sends out himself but where the Father is nevertheless involved ([65]). Indeed, it is possible that the third

(62) Indeed Methodius' model, the Greek *Passio*, has in this instance ἀπέστειλας πρός με τὸν ἀπόστολόν σου, cf. *Passio Graeca* 13, *PG* 114, 1341B2-3. This can be confirmed when we take into consideration another later episode where we find the phrase 'the angel of God who even before had been sent in her honour' (ὁ καὶ πρὶν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῆς ἀποσταλεὶς ἄγγελος θεοῦ), cf. *Encomium of Agatha* 28, ed. MIONI, p. 90, 10-11. For a discussion of this passage see below.

(63) LEONTIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Homilia X in Mesopentecosten*, ed. C. DATEMA and Pauline ALLEN, *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani homiliae* (*CCSG*, 17), Turnhout - Leuven, 1987, p. 331, 376-377 (*CPG* 7888). Cf. also THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, *In sanctos angelos*, *PG* 99, 741D6-7 : καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ὄντως ἀληθὴς τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχάγγελος, where Christ is called 'archangel' in order to distinguish him from angels as his ministers.

(64) In a very similar context Methodius replaces κρείττων with μείζων. Cf. METHODIUS, *Encomium of Agatha* 2, ed. MIONI, p. 77, 6-8 : Σῶμα μὲν γὰρ δίδωσι καὶ προαίρεσιν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς θεοῦ δυναμωθέντα παρευθὺ τῆς βουλήσεως, λαμβάνει δὲ ὄνομα καὶ βασίλειον, μεῖζον υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων καὶ πάσης φθορᾶς ὑψηλότερα, which is based on Isaiah 56, 3-5 : ὄνομα αἰώνιον καὶ ... τόπον ... κρείττω υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων.

(65) This is not an impossible scenario, cf. *Life of Constantine the Ex-Jew* 34, ed. DELEHAYE, *AASS Nov.*, IV, p. 637D5-9 (*BHG* 370) : ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπίκουρος

person of the Trinity also takes a part in the interaction because the accompanying angel could well be identified as the Holy Spirit ([66]).

The characterisation of Christ as an angel is possible because the term ἄγγελος is ambiguous : it can denote not only a class of beings but also a function. Indeed, Methodius goes out of his way to emphasise this functional aspect in his *Life* of Euthymius where he not only reformulates the Biblical phrase βουλῆς ἄγγελος as βουλὴν ... ἀνήγγειλεν but also refers to Christ as 'messenger or angel' (ἀπαγγελεὺς ἤτοι ἄγγελος) ([67]). We have already come across a similar shift in Peter's self-identification 'I am his apostle' (ἀπόστολος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ... εἰμι) where the preceding statement 'me, too, he has sent' (κἀμὲ αὐτὸς ἀπέσταλκεν) implies that in this context ἀπόστολος also denotes an activity rather than a status. In the previous discussion I pointed out that in this sense the term can be applied to angels. However, this is not the only possible alternative because Christ, too, is sometimes called 'apostle of the Father' ([68]). As a consequence we have a case where one and the same term can refer to human, angelic and divine beings.

In the preceding paragraphs we have focused on ambiguities arising at the semantic level. Yet we must not forget that we are dealing with a story that involves repeated disjunction between appearance and identity. Therefore one can argue that yet another layer of deception is added and conclude that Agatha's visitor is Christ impersonating an angel who in turn impersonates the Apostle Peter in the guise of an elderly physician ([69]). This substantiates our previous hypothesis that

οὐδ' οὕτως καταλιμπάνει τὸν κεκλημένον· ὀπτάνεται δὲ τῷ παριόντι (sc. ποιμένι) δι' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ἄγγελος καὶ πληροῖ τὸ λεῖπον τοῦ ἐκλιπόντος. This refers to a Cypriot saint by the name of Palamo who has invited Constantine to his sanctuary and who rescues him with the help of a shepherd when he gets lost on the way.

(66) Just as Christ himself, the Holy Spirit can be called 'angel', cf. MICHL, *Engel*, pp. 149-150. Moreover, at the end of the episode in the *Encomium of Agatha* characterises as παρακλήτωρ not only Peter himself but also the accompanying angel, which reminds one of *John* 14, 16, where Christ refers to himself and to the Spirit as παράκλητος.

(67) METHODIUS, *Life of Euthymius* 33, ed. GOUILLARD, p. 71, 716.

(68) Cf. e.g. *Hebrews* 3, 1 : ἀπόστολος τῆς ὁμολογίας, and PSEUDO-ATHANASIUS, *Sermo major de fide* 18, *PG* 26, 1272C8-10 : πιστὸς ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῷ ποιήσαντι.

(69) It is hard not to think of *Isaiah* 63, 9 : οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.

Methodius is acutely aware of the ambivalence of signs and that he goes out of his way to show how misleading they can be. At the beginning of this article we saw that Methodius leaves it open whether it is Peter himself who appears or whether Peter is impersonated by an angel, and the same might now be said about Christ as the third alternative. However, we have also noted that he attempts to support the real presence of Peter with further arguments, which suggests that his sympathies lay in that direction. This raises the question : why did he then proceed to introduce another layer of impersonation, which only seems to cast further doubt on such a belief ? In order to answer this question we need to place Methodius within the Byzantine religious discourse. Then it will become clear that he was reacting to authors who had radicalised the concept of impersonation by cutting out angels as intermediaries in interactions between God and living human beings and that he developed a conceptual framework, which permitted him to accept their position without jeopardising the real presence of saints.

In order to show how Methodius achieved this aim we first need to reconstruct the discussion about the impersonation of saints. When one studies the positions of the champions of impersonation one finds that they propose two different models : the adversaries of Eustratius of Constantinople and the author of the ninth-century *Life* of Constantine the Ex-Jew claim that the saints are impersonated by God's grace whereas Anastasius of Sinai in his *Questions and Answers* and the anonymous adversaries of Anastasius Traulos argue that they are impersonated by angels (70). This obviously raises the question of the relationship between the angels and God. Here the texts are not very helpful because they usually only mention one possibility without considering the alternative. However, there are some exceptions to this rule. Eustratius of Constantinople once supports his claim that the saints must appear themselves and cannot be impersonated by divine grace with the argument that angels 'when they are sent forth to minister appear as angels and it is not that the grace of God assumes the appearance of angels and is thus transfigured and shown to those who are worthy' (εἰς διακονίαν

(70) D. Krausmüller, *God or Angels as Impersonators of Saints. A Belief and its Contexts in the Refutation of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the Writings of Anastasius of Sinai*, in *Gouden Hoorn*, 6.2 (1998-1999), pp. 5-16 ; cf. also D. Krausmüller, *God as Impersonator of Saints in Late Antique Hagiography : the Case of the Life of John bar Aphtonia († 537)*, forthcoming in *Basilissa*, 2 (2009).

ἀποστελλόμενοι, ὡς ἄγγελοι φαίνονται, καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ μετασχηματιζομένη εἰς ἀγγέλους μεταμορφοῦται καὶ φαίνεται τοῖς ἀξίοις) (71). In this statement Eustratius draws a parallel between two cases of impersonation. At first sight this parallel seems to be of limited significance since the argument is only valid if the real presence of angels is agreed by both parties, which suggests that God's impersonation of them is merely a hypothetical case. However, there are indications that by the time when Methodius wrote his *Encomium* of Agatha such impersonation was seen as a real alternative.

At this point we need to turn to a text from the late ninth or early tenth century, the so-called 'Wizard-hater' (Μισογόης) by the churchman and scholar Arethas of Caesarea, in which the Byzantine court official Leo Choirosphaktes is branded as a heretic (72). Having briefly criticised Leo for his erroneous views on the Trinity and the incarnation, Arethas mentions as a third point that Leo 'forces the whole intellectual ministry around God into inexistence' (πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ θεὸν νοερὰν λειτουργίαν εἰς ἀνυπαρξίαν ἐκβιαζόμενος), as if begrudging God his servants (73). If we trust Arethas, Leo would indeed have held the view that angels are no separate class of beings. This position has obvious consequences for the interpretation of Biblical stories such as the annunciation of Christ's birth by the archangel Gabriel and of angelophanies mentioned in hagiographical texts as they must now be explained as the activity of divine grace, which impersonates not only saints but also angels.

(71) Eustratius of Constantinople, *Refutation*, ed. Van Deun, p. 39, 936-943. On Eustratius cf. N. Constas, *An Apology for the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity. Eustratius Presbyter of Constantinople "On the State of the Souls after Death" (CPG 7522)*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 10 (2002), pp. 267-285.

(72) Arethas of Caesarea, *Opusculum* 21 : *Χοιροσφάκτης ἢ Μισογόης*, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, I (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1968, pp. 200-212, esp. p. 202, 23-24 : τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων χειλέων, and p. 203, 4-5 : δυσσεβείᾳ τυφλώττων. On Arethas and Leo, cf. S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886-912) : Politics and People* (*The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, 15), Leiden, 1997, pp. 11-13.

(73) Arethas of Caesarea, *Opusculum* 21, ed. Westerink, I, p. 211, 14-15. This point is then reinforced in the phrases τῇ ἀναιρέσει τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσιώσεως and τῆς ... ἀΰλου τάξεως μὴ ὑφεστηκυίας, see below note 82.

In order to understand the thrust of this argument we need to consider the reasons that led to the rise of the concept of impersonation. From Eustratius' counterarguments it is clear that its proponents were worried about the widespread belief that God had delegated some of his prerogatives to the saints and that the saints were able to negotiate with him on behalf of their living clients, and that they introduced impersonation as a means to stem a possible dilution of divine power ([74]). At first sight impersonation by angels seems to ensure the same result because unlike saints angels were believed to act strictly at the command of God. Such a view is, for example, expressed in Sophronius of Jerusalem's *Miracles* of Cyrus and John where the readers are told that a group of angels came to collect the soul of a dying man and that when asked by the two martyrs to extend the man's lifespan these angels declared that they were not in a position to change the orders they had been given ([75]). However, as time went on this distinction appears to have become more and more blurred and by the ninth century it was widely believed that not only Gabriel and Michael but also their anonymous peers could actively intercede with God on behalf of human beings ([76]). Therefore one can argue that writers like Leo extended the concept of impersonation to angels and attributed all apparitions directly to divine grace because it was the only effective way to ensure that God was the sole decision maker ([77]).

(74) Cf. e.g. EUSTRATIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Refutation*, ed. VAN DEUN, p. 20, 455-458.

(75) Cf. KRAUSMÜLLER, *God or Angels*, 7-8, with reference to SOPHRONIUS, *Miracle* 51 *of Cyrus and John*, 11, ed. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*, p. 364.

(76) Cf. e.g. the clear reference to angels as intercessors in METROPHANES OF SMYRNA, *ed.* B. GEORGIADÈS, *Μητροφάνους μητροπολίτου Σμύρνης Προσφωνητικὸς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀρχαγγέλους Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριήλ*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 7 (1887), p. 389, 6-8 (*BHG* 1292).

(77) Interestingly, we also find the opposite phenomenon of a hypostasisation of 'divine grace' in the *Life of Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain*, ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592)*, I, *Introduction et texte grec* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 32), Brussels, 1962, pp. 1-224 (*BHG* 1689). In one episode the devil is driven away from Symeon's pillar 'through the divine grace that was with him and was seen by him sitting with him on his right side and speaking with him' (διὰ τῆς συνούσης αὐτῷ καὶ ὀπτανομένης θείας χάριτος συγκαθημένης αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει καὶ συλλαλούσης), cf. *Life of Symeon* 125, ed. VAN DEN VEN, p. 111, 22-23. This 'divine grace' cannot be identified with Christ who only afterwards appears in a vision. The process of hypostasisation is even more obvious in another episode where the grace of God comes to Symeon 'as a virginal young woman' (ὡς νεᾶνις παρθένος), cf. *Life of Symeon* 127, ed. VAN DEN VEN, p. 115.

Comparison with the *Encomium* of Agatha reveals that Methodius' position is strikingly similar to that of Leo : we have seen that there, too, the angel who impersonates Peter is ultimately identified as Christ himself. However, as I have already mentioned before, this does not mean that Methodius also shared Leo's views about direct divine agency. In the following I will show that his argument is a response to the position that God impersonated both saints and angels and that he has found a way to maintain the real presence of saints while at the same time accepting this most radical applicaton of the concept of impersonation.

In order to make my case I will resume the discussion of Arethas of Caesarea's 'Wizard-hater'. After Arethas has accused Leo of depriving God of his servants he mentions another disastrous consequence of his opponent's erroneous views, namely, that 'through the elimination of the intellectual existence he removes both the immortality of the soul and the transferral of the saints to the angels for if the immaterial order does not subsist where will then go the spirits of those who have excelled in this world' (τῇ ἀναιρέσει τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσιώσεως καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθάνατον ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀγγέλους τῶν ἁγίων μετάταξιν· τῆς γὰρ ἀΰλου τάξεως μὴ ὑφεστηκυίας, πρὸς τίνα μεταχωρήσει τὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πνεύματα κατωρθωκότων) ([78]). The introductory formula to the passage, 'what is even more the case' (ὅπερ ἀληθέστερον), shows that these consequences troubled Arethas more than anything else. In order to gauge the significance of his statement we need to establish how the transferral of saints to the angelic ranks was conceptualised at the time. The best starting point for an exploration is the *Encomium* of Nicholas of Myra by Arethas' contemporary Nicetas the Paphlagonian where this issue is discussed at some length ([79]). Having narrated the story of Nicholas' appearance to the three generals in far-away Constantinople Nicetas states : 'that the other saints are transferred to the rank of incorporeal powers will as I believe not be doubted by the

(78) ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, *Opusculum* 21, ed. WESTERINK, I, p. 211, 20-25.

(79) NICETAS THE PAPHLAGONIAN, *Encomium of Nicholas* 9, ed. F. HALKIN, *Saints de Byzance et du Proche-Orient. Seize texts grecs inédits (dix Vies ou Passions sans nom d'auteur et six discours de Nicétas de Paphlagonie)* (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme*, 13), Geneva, 1986, pp. 146-157 (*BHG* 1364d).

pious but they believe that this happens after the separation from the body' (εἰς τάξιν μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ἁγίους τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυνάμεων μεθίστασθαι, οὐδένα τῶν εὐσεβούντων οἶμαι διαπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν λύσιν τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο γινόμενον πιστεύεσθαι), in order to assert that in the case of Nicholas this change had already taken place while he was alive and that he could therefore appear in different locations ([80]). In the following Nicetas then claims that dead saints not only have the 'rank' (τάξις) of angels but also their 'nature' (φύσις) ([81]), and he describes the process that leads to this result not only as a 'transfer' (μετάθεσις) but also as a 'transformation' (μεταστοιχείωσις), which is brought about through purification ([82]). Nicetas the Paphlagonian was not the only Byzantine author who held such a view : the same ideas surface in the middle of the eleventh century in the writings of the Studite monk Nicetas Stethatos who claims that the demons 'cannot bear to see a human being changed into the nature of an angel' (οὐδέ ... φέρουσιν ὁρᾶν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀγγέλου φύσιν μεταβαλλόμενον) ([83]). This leaves little doubt that Arethas, too, conceived of the transfer to the angelic ranks as a radical ontological change.

As we have seen Arethas was greatly alarmed by Leo's position, which would have removed this possibility. The reasons for his alarm become obvious when we turn our attention to the first point that he makes against Leo, namely, that the removal of angelic being would jeopardise the immortality of the soul. It is obvious that this accusation cannot be taken at face value since this belief had the backing of Scripture and was universally agreed to be true ([84]). However, similar accusations can be

(80) Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Encomium of Nicholas* 9, ed. Halkin, p. 154. This is, of course, one of the criticisms levelled against the belief that the souls of saints appear, cf. Eustratius of Constantinople, *Refutation*, ed. Van Deun, p. 52, 1247-1253, and Anastasius Traulos, *Encomium of Agathonicus* 16, ed. van Hoof, p. 414, 14-16.

(81) Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Encomium of Nicholas* 8, ed. Halkin, p. 153 : πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων φύσιν μετατίθησιν.

(82) Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Encomium of Nicholas* 9, ed. Halkin, p. 155 : εἰς τὴν ἀγγέλων σαφῶς μεταστοιχειωθῆναι τάξιν· καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόοις διὰ νοῦ καθαρότητος ὑπερβολήν.

(83) Nicetas Stethatos, *Capitum Physicorum Centuria* II, 81, *PG* 120, 940A9-11.

(84) Cf. D. Krausmüller, *Conflicting Anthropologies in the Christological Discourse at the End of Late Antiquity : the Case of Leontius of Jerusalem's Nestorian Adversary*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 56 (2005), pp. 413-447, esp. p. 433 and note 68.

found in invectives against people who believed that after death a human soul is in a comatose state since it requires the senses of the body in order to function. The seventh-century Chalcedonian theologian Leontius of Jerusalem, for example, once states that his adversaries would need to agree with his argument that the human soul is self-sufficient 'if indeed they consider it to be immortal' (εἴπερ αὐτοῖς ὄντως ἀθάνατος δοκεῖ) ([85]). Therefore I would suggest that the 'sleep of the soul' provides the backdrop for Arethas' argument and that it explains why he puts so much emphasis on the point that the saints are added to the angels : it is evident that a transformation into angels, which are self-sufficient spiritual beings, would ensure an active afterlife for the souls of the saints even if such afterlife were denied to the souls of ordinary people ([86]).

When we return to Methodius we find that he had strikingly similar views. In his *Encomium* of Nicholas he calls the saint an 'angel' (ἄγγελος) ([87]), and in his *Life* of Euthymius he claims that when this saint died he was taken to Christ 'by angels who guided and took with them his spirit that had become of like nature with them through good intention' (δι' ἀγγέλων τῶν ὁδηγούντων καὶ προσλαβομένων τὸ ἰσοφυὲς ἑαυτοῖς δι' ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ) ([88]). The term 'of like

(85) Leontius of Jerusalem, *Contra Nestorianos*, I, 48, *PG* 86, 1509C9 (*CPG* 6918).

(86) In this context it is worth noting that Nicetas Stethatos accuses his adversary of advocating the inactivity of the disembodied soul, cf. *Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et Lettres*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. Darrouzès (*SC*, 81), Paris, 1961, p. 21.

(87) Methodius, *Encomium of Nicholas* 12, ed. Anrich, p. 145, 25 : ἤθελε ... γνῶναι θεοῦ τὸν ἀγαθώτατον ἄγγελον. This statement is made in reference to the father of the three girls whom Nicholas saves from prostitution through clandestine gifts of gold. The theme is then further developed when Methodius states the father of the girls stayed awake 'not in order that I will comprehend the servant of you, the unfathomable one, that has been raised by you from wherever you wish, but in order that I venerate the one who emulates you among men' (οὐχ ἵνα καταλήμψωμαί σου τοῦ ἀνιχνιάστου τὸν ὅθεν βούλῃ ἐξεγειρόμενόν σοι διάκονον, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἰδὼν προσκυνήσω τὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ζηλωτήν σου), cf. *Encomium of Nicholas* 13, ed. Anrich, p. 146, 3-5. This very dense and almost unintelligible statement shows clear parallels with the appearance of Peter in the *Encomium* of Agatha – ὅθεν βούλῃ ἐξεγειρόμενον e.g. has a counterpart in ἀνιστᾶν ὅσα βούλεται – and would certainly merit a detailed analysis.

(88) Methodius, *Life of Euthymius* 20, ed. Gouillard, p. 49, 396-398.

nature' (ἰσοφυής) that Methodius uses in this context is synonymous with 'consubstantial' (ὁμοούσιος) and thus leaves no doubt that he, too, regarded the insertion into the ranks of angels as a real transformation brought about by virtuous behaviour during this life ([89]). Moreover, the backdrop for this theory is again the 'sleep of the soul' : in the *Life* of Euthymius it is affirmed that the souls of the saints are active whereas the souls of ordinary people are not, which clearly rules out an understanding of human souls as self-sufficient entities ([90]).

Analysis of his *Life* of Euthymius has shown that Methodius shared the opinions of Arethas and Nicetas the Paphlagonian half a century later ([91]). Can we also find evidence for such views in the *Encomium* of Agatha ? When we go through the text one passage immediately stands out : it is Agatha's statement that she has never been touched by a man and does not wish to lose 'that which had from infancy been seized by me and had through long familiarity been strengthened so as to become nature' (τὸ νηπιωθέν μοι κρατηθὲν καὶ χρόνῳ συνηθείας εἰς φύσιν

(89) Cf. Methodius, *Life of Euthymius* 33, ed. Gouillard, p. 69, 676 : τὸ ταυτοούσιον καὶ ὁμοφυές.

(90) Methodius, *Life of Euthymius* 26, ed. Gouillard, p. 59, 531-537 : τῶν μήτε ὑπεραποθανόντων Θεοῦ, μήτε ἄκρως διὰ βίου κατωρθωμένων καὶ διευθετημένων, ... τάχα ἡ κοινὴ ἐξανάστασις ἔσται καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως, καθ' ὅ ... τὰ σωμάτια τούτων ... ὡς ἀλόγων εἰσὶν ἀψύχων ἢ ὥσπερ γῆ τις ἁπλῆ καὶ ξύλον ἀχρήσιμον. In this passage Methodius argues that only when the bodies of the deceased show some sign of 'life' such as miraculous issue of oil can we be sure that the souls are also active in heaven.

(91) There can be little doubt that Methodius engaged in the same discourse as Arethas and Nicetas the Paphlagonian did half a century later : in the *Life* of Euthymius he quotes Christ's assertion that the resurrected will be 'like angels of God' (ὡς ἄγγελοι θεοῦ) as proof that the saints will be transformed into angels, cf. *Life of Euthymius* 22, ed. Gouillard, p. 53, 448. This statement of Christ, a conflation of Matthew 22, 30 and Luke 20, 36, is part of a debate with the Sadducees who ridicule the belief in the resurrection of the dead. When we turn to Arethas we find that he, too, accuses Leo of giving in to the Sadducees, cf. Arethas of Caesarea, *Opusculum* 21, ed. Westerink, I, p. 211, 10-12 : οὕτω καὶ Σαδδουκαίους τοῦ περὶ ἀναστάσεως παραχωρήσομεν δόγματος καὶ διδασκάλους αὐτοὺς ἀναβιώσεως ἀναβιβασόμεθα. The reference to the Sadducees in this context is not surprising because according to *Acts* 23, 8 they not only rejected the resurrection but also the existence of angels and spiritual beings in general.

βεβαιωθέν) ([92]). This statement obviously reflects the same 'fluid' understanding of nature that we have encountered in the *Life* of Euthymius. Otherwise, however, the text is oddly silent about the notion that human beings can be transformed into angels. Yet here, too, appearances may be deceptive. Before Methodius narrates the healing of Agatha's breasts he has a long excursus about the reward that she can expect for her sufferings at the Last Judgement. He accepts that the Kingdom of Heaven is promised to all faithful but dismisses the conclusion that there can therefore be no difference in rewards with the claim that 'through his unfathomable knowledge he (sc. God) will bestow a gracious reward of greater proximity to him that is proportionate to martyrs and apostles ...' (τῷ δ' ἀνεξερευνήτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιγνώσεως, ἀναλογοῦσαν μάρτυσι, καὶ ἀποστόλοις, ... τὴν χαριστικὴν ἀμοιβὴν τοῦ οἰκείου πλησιασμοῦ ἐγγυτέραν χαριεῖται) ([93]), which is then backed up with the comment 'as I think is also explicitly signified by the word of the Lord : "There are many abodes with my Father"' (ὃ σημαίνειν οἶμαι κομιδῇ καὶ τό· "πολλαὶ μοναί εἰσιν παρὰ τῷ πατρί μου" κυριακὸν λόγιον), a quotation from *John* 14, 2 ([94]).

When setting out his views about the rewards in heaven Methodius makes no reference to angels. However, this does not necessarily mean that angels are absent from the discussion as can be shown through comparison with the treatise *On the Soul* by Nicetas Stethatos, which contains a spirited defence of the posthumous activity of saints ([95]). Stethatos argues that the soul 'finds proportionately its own abode and dwelling place, which is given to it according to worthiness in the different abodes of God' (ἀναλόγως εὑρίσκει τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῆς μονήν τε καὶ κατασκήνωσιν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμομένην αὐτῇ εἰς τὰς διαφόρους ταύτας

(92) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 21, ed. Mioni, p. 87, 27-28. The reference to φύσις in this context seems to be one of the features that Methodius introduced into the text of his model, cf. *Passio Graeca* 12, *PG* 114, 1340D5 : τὸ ἐκ νηπίας ἡλικίας χρόνῳ βεβαιωθὲν ἔθος. In itself this is, of course, an established common place, cf. e.g. Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon magnum*, *PG* 31, 925B9-12 (*CPG* 2875) : οὐ μικρὸν οὕτως ἀγών, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνηθείας περιγενέσθαι· ἔθος γὰρ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου βεβαιωθὲν φύσεως ἰσχὺν λαμβάνει. However, this does not mean that it does not have a specific function within the context.

(93) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 19, ed. Mioni, p. 86, 27-31.

(94) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 19, ed. Mioni, p. 86, 34-36.

(95) Nicetas Stethatos, *On the Soul*, ed. Darrouzès, *Opuscules et lettres*, pp. 56-152.

μονὰς τοῦ θεοῦ) (96). It is evident that this passage is strikingly similar to the discussion of the same topic in the *Encomium* of Agatha. However, unlike Methodius, Stethatos then continues with the explanation that in heaven 'the rational nature of human beings is likened to the angelic powers above and is joined proportionately to each of them' (ταῖς γὰρ ἄνω τῶν ἀγγέλων δυνάμεσιν ἡ λογικὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις ... οἰκειοῦται ... καὶ συνάπτεται ἀναλόγως ἑκάστῃ αὐτῶν) (97), which links the different ranks in heaven to the angelic hierarchy.

Similar passages can already be found in texts from the Late Antique period, which suggests that Methodius' audience would have noticed the absence of this additional theme from the *Encomium* of Agatha, in particular since the concept of angelic impersonation plays such a prominent role in the immediate context (98). In the following I will attempt to show that Methodius exploited this knowledge by inserting into his text covert references to the notion of parity between angels and souls, which his contemporaries would have been able to identify. In order to see how this was done we need to consider a dimension of the text that has so far been left aside : namely, the superimposition of similarly sounding words. Such superimposition is very common in Methodius' writings and is indeed found several times in connection with the word ἄγγελος. In his *Encomium* of Nicholas, for example, Methodius speaks about the saint as 'having been herded together as regards the soul through attendance of God' (ὁ ... θείᾳ συναγελιζόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν παραστάσει) (99). It is evident that this statement does not make much sense for it immediately raises the question : 'herded together with whom ?' The answer can be found in the *Life* of Euthymius where Methodius says that after its separation from the saint's

(96) Nicetas Stethatos, *On the Soul* 71, ed. Darrouzès, p. 132, 17-19.

(97) Nicetas Stethatos, *On the Soul* 71, ed. Darrouzès, p. 132, 19-23.

(98) E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy : the Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, Princeton, N.J., 1992, p. 129 ; with reference to Jerome's writings. Cf. e.g. Jerome, *Commentaria in Epistulam ad Ephesios* II.3, *PL* 26, 495B1-5 ; and *Adversus Iovianum* II.36, *PL* 23, 336B1-6 : *Neque turbemini, putantes inter iustum et poenitentem aliquid interesse, et humiliorum gradum dare quidem veniam, sed coronam tollere. Una enim est retributio. Qui ad dexteram steterit, introibit in regna coelorum.* Cf. also Michl, *Engel*, pp. 156-160, on Christians as angels in this world and in the world to come.

(99) Methodius, *Encomium of Nicholas* 2, ed. Anrich, p. 141, 10.

body God 'transferred the soul to the attendance of himself together with angels' (τὴν ψυχήν ... ἀποτάξας πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σὺν ἀγγέλοις παράστασιν) (100). This phrase, which is almost identical to the previous one, shows not only that the missing element is 'with angels' but also that this missing element is very similar to the first part of the participle συναγελιζόμενος. This suggests that we are meant to decode συναγελ- as σὺν ἀγγέλ- and to expand the statement to σὺν ἀγγέλοις συναγελιζόμενος (101). Such wordplay is not limited to Methodius : it is based on the stylistic feature of *parechesis*, where two similar sounding words are used in close proximity (102). The particular *parechesis* that makes the superimposition possible is, for example, found in Ignatius the Deacon's *Life* of Gregory the Decapolite where we read the phrase 'angelic herd' (ἀγγελικῆς ἀγέλης) (103). Therefore there can be little doubt that readers who were familiar with such combinations of words would also have been able to spot superimpositions.

After this brief explanation I will now try to show that Methodius applies the same technique to the words ἀνάλογος and ἀναλογεῖν, which appear twice in the excursus about the rewards bestowed on the faithful at the Last Judgement, and that the first part of these words, ἀνάλο-, can be decoded as ἀγγέλο- (104). In order to make my case I will turn to a later passage, the account of Agatha's funeral. Methodius states that during this ceremony a stranger brought a tombstone for her and then disappeared immediately afterwards, and then points out that the stranger 'was inferred by the whole city to be invisible and unrecognised' (ἀφανὴς καὶ ἀνεπίγνωστος τῇ ὅλῃ πόλει ἀνελογί-

(100) Methodius, *Life of Euthymius* 23, ed. Gouillard, p. 55, 469.

(101) The double meaning is further emphasised by the fact that Methodius uses the 'wrong' form of the verb. The correct form would have been συναγελαζόμενος ; cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, *s.v.* συναγελάζω 'herd with, cause to be herded together with'.

(102) Cf. D. Krausmüller, *The Limits of Translation : Multiple Meanings in a Byzantine Religious Poem*, in Margaret Mullett (ed.), *Metaphrastes, or, Gained in Translation. Festschrift R. H. Jordan* (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 9), Belfast, 2004, pp. 57-61.

(103) Ignatius the Deacon, *Life of Gregory the Decapolite* prol., ed. Makris, p. 60, 40.

(104) Apart from the phrase that has already been quoted, cf. also *Encomium of Agatha* 19, ed. Mioni, p. 86, 34 : ἐξ ἀναλόγων ταῖς καταστάσεσιν.

ζετο) (105). This sentence makes as little sense as the phrase at the beginning of the *Encomium* of Nicholas because the verb ἀναλογίζεσθαι is usually employed when authors wish to express that something unknown is inferred from something known (106). However, a satisfactory reading can be achieved if one takes the first part ἀνελο- to represent ἀγγελο- and then reads ἄγγελος ἀνελογίζετο (107). In this case the statement would indicate that the people of Catania inferred from the sudden disappearance of the stranger that he was an angel (108).

Although the account of Agatha's funeral is found in a later part of the text there can be no doubt that it is closely linked to the story of the restoration of Agatha's breasts because Methodius adds the comment that the stranger was believed to be 'the angel of God who even before had been sent in her honour' (ὁ καὶ πρὶν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῆς ἀποσταλεὶς ἄγγελος θεοῦ) (109). This suggests that the superimposition is also relevant to the understanding of the earlier episode, and indeed there is a noticeable similarity between ἀνεπίγνωστος ... ἀνελογίζετο and the statement 'proportionate through the unfathomable nature of his knowledge' (τῷ δ' ἀνεξερευνήτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιγνώσεως, ἀναλογοῦσαν)

(105) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 28, ed. Mioni, p. 90, 9-10.

(106) Cf. e.g. the account of an apparition of two figures in the tenth-century *Visio Cosmae*, ed. Ch. Angelidi, *La version longue de la vision du moine Cosmas*, in *AB*, 101 (1983), pp. 73-99, esp. p. 84, 125-127 : οὓς 'Ανδρέαν καὶ 'Ιωάννην τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐνόμιζον, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων θεωρίας ἀναλογιζόμενος.

(107) Here again we need to consider overt *parechesis* as the background for superimposition. Psellos, for example, uses the phrase 'he is transferred to the life that is analogous to the angels' (πρὸς τὴν ἀγγέλοις ἀνάλογον ζωὴν μετατίθεται), cf. Michael Psellos, *Orationes panegyricae* 4, ed. G. T. Dennis (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994, p. 69, 337-338, which refers to this person's entry into the monastic life.

(108) This is indeed suggested by the text of Methodius' model, cf. *Greek Passio* 17, *PG* 114, 1344C1-3 : ἀνεχώρησεν ὥστε μηκέτι φαίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅθεν τινὰ ὑπόνοιαν ἔχειν ἄγγελον εἶναι αὐτὸν τῆς μάρτυρος ; and *Latin Passio* 13, *AASS Feb.* I, 624A2-4 : *non est ulterius visus nec auditus in regione vel in tota provincia Siciliorum : unde suspicati sumus quod angelus eius fuerit.*

(109) Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 28, ed. Mioni, p. 90, 10-11. In addition there is, of course, also a link to Agatha's earlier claim that she will be supported through the invocation of God and 'through the sending out of his angel' (ἀποστολῇ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ), cf. above note 60.

in the excursus about Agatha's posthumous reward (110). Therefore I would argue that Methodius created this similarity deliberately because he wished to signal to his audience that parity with angels was implicit in his statements about the ranks of the faithful in heaven (111).

It is obvious that this conclusion is largely based on indirect evidence. Under these circumstances we are very fortunate to have a text like the *Life* of Euthymius of Sardes where the conceptual framework is made explicit and where the affinity with the views of Arethas and

(110) The same term appears once more in the excursus about the rewards, cf. Methodius, *Encomium of Agatha* 19, ed. Mioni, p. 86, 18 : τὴν ἀνεπίγνωστον αὐτοῦ κρυφιότητα. This is the only other passage were this adjective appears in the text, which substantiates the hypothesis that Methodius uses it to indicate a link between the two episodes.

(111) A similar case can be made for the statement that Peter appeared to Agatha 'with the angel who was familiar and known to him and who guided him' (σὺν τῷ συνήθει καὶ ἐγνωσμένῳ αὐτῷ ἀγγέλῳ, προοδηγοῦντι). At first one might think that this identifies Peter's companion as the angel who rescued him from prison. However, this is not the only possible identification. In Acts we are told that after the departure of his rescuer Peter went to the house of a Christian who first assumed that it was not Peter himself but 'his angel' (ὁ ἄγγελος ... αὐτοῦ), cf. *Acts* 12, 15. This raises the possibility that Peter's companion in the *Encomium* of Agatha might be his guardian angel. Such an interpretation can be supported when we realise that the angel who appeared at Agatha's funeral is in the *Passio* identified as 'the angel of the martyr' (ἄγγελον ... τῆς μάρτυρος) and that this concept was thus already present in Methodius' model, see above note 109. Moreover, it would also have a parallel in Nicetas Stethatos who states in his treatise *On hierarchy* that 'each of us has a kindred angel as his guide and guardian who in this world goes before us' (ἔχει δὲ καὶ καθεὶς ἡμῶν ἄγγελον συγγενῆ τὸν ὁδηγόν τε καὶ φύλακα, ὃς ὧδε προπορεύεται ... ἡμῶν) and then adds that a virtuous person 'comes to stand after his departure from this world in the place of the kindred order' (ἀπαίρων τῶν τῇδε πρὸς τὸν τόπον τοῦ συγγενοῦς τάγματος ἐρχόμενος ἵσταται), cf. Nicetas Stethatos, *On Hierarchy* 4, ed. Darrouzès, p. 304, 5-7, 12-14. It is evident that Methodius' characterisation of the angel as 'familiar' (συνήθης) to Peter bears a close resemblance with Nicetas' term 'kindred' (συγγενής). And indeed one can argue that with this characterisation Methodius insinuates a link with Agatha's following statement that her habit has become second nature because there he has expanded the phrase 'through time' (χρόνῳ), which he found in the *Passio*, to 'through a time of familiarity' (χρόνῳ συνηθείας). When we take together all these different allusions they result in a conceptual framework according to which human souls can be transformed into doppelgangers of their guardian angels if they are consistently virtuous.

Nicetas the Paphlagonian can thus be seen quite clearly. That Methodius believed in a transformation of souls into angels is of great importance for the understanding of his position because such a belief can explain why he could present 'real presence of saints' and 'angelic impersonation' as two equally valid models : if he was of the opinion that Peter had turned into an angel he could happily admit the possibility that an angel appeared in his guise without jeopardising the real presence of the apostle.

However, this is clearly not the whole story because it does not tell us why Methodius introduced the further notion that the angel was in reality Christ himself. If taken at face value such a notion would remove angels as a separate category of being and would thus destroy the basis for an ascent of souls to the state of angels, just as Arethas had accused Leo Choirosphaktes of doing. There is only one way in which this dilemma can be resolved, namely, by claiming not only that the souls of the saints can become angels but also that the angels in their turn can become 'gods', and that as a consequence saints can still impersonate themselves. Here another look at Nicetas Stethatos is instructive. In his treatise *On hierarchy* he states : 'This is the secret of our hierarchy that we human beings become angels or gods through the proportionality of the participation in the god-like property and that after death we will be united according to the proportion of the divine wisdom and knowledge to the heavenly powers and to God himself' (τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἡμῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ τῆς μετουσίας τῆς θεοειδοῦς ἰδιότητος ἀγγέλους ἢ θεοὺς γίνεσθαι καὶ μετὰ πότμον ἑνοῦσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς θείας σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ταῖς οὐρανίαις δυνάμεσι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ) ([112]). In this passage Stethatos not only speaks of assimilation to the angelic ranks but also of assimilation to God. Of course, the way in which this is presented is completely above board : Stethatos has recourse to the acceptable concept of participation in qualities. However, it is also obvious that it would only be a small step to extend the model of a transformation into a higher 'nature' (φύσις) from the level of human souls and angels to the level of angels and God and thus to claim that human beings could become divine. Therefore one may wonder whether Methodius did not hold such a belief. This hypothesis is less far-fetched than it might

(112) Nicetas Stethatos, *On Hierarchy* 59, ed. Darrouzès, pp. 356-358, 1-5.

seem. The *Life* of Patriarch Euthymius includes an encounter between Nicetas the Paphlagonian and Leo VI during which the emperor levelled the accusation : 'You have called yourself Christ' (Χριστὸν σαυτὸν ὠνόμασας). After some fencing Nicetas admitted the charge but defended himself by quoting *Psalm* 82, 6 : 'I have said : you are Gods and all sons of the highest' (ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες) ([113]). This response implies the acceptable notion of divinisation through participation. However, one may wonder whether this is an adequate representation of Nicetas' views, especially when one considers what he had said about the transformation of souls into angels in his *Encomium* of Nicholas.

What is the background for this model of spiritual ascent ? Unfortunately, the evidence for the debate about the ontological status of the souls of deceased saints is not as plentiful as one would wish ([114]). However, it is suggestive that in the sixth century a group of monks in Palestine referred to themselves as 'the Christ-like ones' (ἰσόχριστοι) ([115]). These monks adhered to the teachings of Origen of Alexandria and Evagrius Ponticus who had claimed that ontological categories are not fixed once and for all but that it is possible for human souls to be transformed into angels and ultimately even into Christ ([116]). It has been

(113) *Life of Patriarch Euthymius* 16, ed. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP* (*Bibliothèque de Byzantion*, 3), Brussels, 1970, pp. 105, 35-107, 4 (*BHG* 651).

(114) In her commentary Karlin-Hayter paraphrases the passage and refers to Choirosphaktes as another example of a contemporary who was teaching heretical doctrines but does not attempt to clarify their positions, cf. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 219.

(115) Cf. B. Daley, *What Did Origenism Mean in the Sixth Century ?*, in G. Dorival and A. Le Boulluec (ed.), *Origeniana Sexta. Origène et la Bible. Actes du Colloquium Origenianum Sextum, Chantilly, 30 août - 3 septembre 1993* (*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, 118), Leuven, 1995, pp. 627-638, esp. pp. 635-636, on 'Isochristoi' and 'Protoktistoi', where the name of the former group is interpreted as referring to the ultimate oneness of the created intellects with Christ.

(116) Cf. A. Guillaumont, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica» d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens* (*Patristica Sorboniensia*, 5), Paris, 1962, pp. 147-159. Significantly Jerome in his Commentary on Ephesians speaks first about ranks in heaven and then immediately refers to the *apokatastasis* at the Second Coming, cf. Jerome, *Commentaria in Epistulam ad Ephesios* II, 3, *PL* 26, 495B17-C1. In Methodius' *Life* of Euthymius the discussion of the rewards for

argued that unlike their Syrian cousins the Byzantines expunged the Origenist strand from their spiritual tradition but this seems to over-state the case : that Origenism still constituted a 'temptation' in the ninth century is evident from a *Life* of Gregory of Nyssa whose author confesses not to have been immune to it (117). Thus one can argue that the debate in the ninth and tenth centuries made conscious use of Origenist ideas, despite the fact that they had long been condemned as heretical. However, it would be wrong to conclude that this debate is a mere repetition of the Origenist controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries because in the intervening period the anthropological framework had undergone a dramatic change. The Late Antique Origenists had not doubted that human souls were active after death because they had a 'Platonic' understanding of the soul as a self-sufficient entity (118). In the ninth century this belief had been challenged by proponents of the concept of a 'sleep of the souls' and under these new circumstances the concept of a transformation into angels and 'gods' was crucial if the posthumous activity of saints was to be safeguarded.

We can thus conclude that in the ninth and tenth centuries there existed two diametrically opposed worldviews : one that was 'aspira-

saints in the afterlife is immediately followed by an interpretation of Paul's statement in I *Corinthians* 5, 24-28 that Christ will eliminate the powers and dominations and then subject himself to the Father so that God will then be all in all. Although no direct link is established between the two passages, contemporary readers would surely have been aware of the fact that the passage in I *Corinthians* was a central text for Origen's theory of a *restitutio in integrum*. Indeed, there are indications in the *Encomium* of Agatha for the existence of another layer where 'Peter' is identified as the Father and his angelic companion as the Son so that the Father becomes the impersonator of the Son and the Son the impersonator of the Spirit. However, at this level of interpretation the evidence becomes so scanty that I have decided not to explore this dimension in this article.

(117) Cf. W. Lackner, *Ein hagiographisches Zeugnis für den Antapodotikos des Patriarchen Germanos I. von Konstantinopel*, in *Byz.*, 38 (1968), pp. 42-104 (*BHGa* 717), who dates the text to the ninth or tenth century.

(118) Even then, however, the issue may not have been that clear-cut, cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In laudem Caesarii fratris* 7, 22, *PG* 35, 785A5-10 : δέδοικα ... μὴ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσμα τὸ ἔνδοξον ... ἐν ᾧ λόγος, νόμος, ἐλπίς, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἀτιμίαν κατακριθῇ καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ἢ μετὰ τὴν διάζευξιν, which suggests that 'beast-like' behaviour may result in the human soul becoming like the soul of an animal, which is not immortal.

tional' and did not consider the hierarchy of being as set in stone, and one that insisted on clear and immutable boundaries between the different ranks of being. It can hardly be doubted that these worldviews were informed by the realities of contemporary Byzantine society, which were projected onto the supernatural sphere. The evidence suggests that the proponents of the former view had the upper hand since their adversaries were so worried about the blurring of hierarchies that they not merely insisted that each being is confined to its rank but felt that they had to do away with all intermediate levels between God himself and living human beings (119). Astonishingly these vastly different positions were held by members of the same narrow social circle of high clerics and state officials in Constantinople. This is evident for the late ninth and early tenth century when the issue was fought out between Arethas of Caesarea, Nicetas the Paphlagonian, Anastasius Traulos and Leo Choirosphaktes and it can be assumed for Methodius' time since his audience clearly included proponents of both positions (120).

Comparison with the later debate shows that Methodius participated in an established discourse. What appears to be specific about him, however, is the way in which he integrates the two alternative models into a complex overarching framework, which is moreover not presented in discursive form but encoded into a narrative from which it needs to be extracted. To the casual reader it appears that he accepts both options, the posthumous activity of saints and angelic impersonation, and it is only through meticulous analysis of the text that his real position emerges. Of particular importance are in this respect the comparisons between Agatha's situation and a set of Biblical narratives : as we

(119) This contrast comes out clearly in Anastasius Traulos who counters the claim that only God is not circumscribed and that angels and human souls can therefore not be simultaneously in more than one place with the argument that there is no reason why God should not bestow this quality on other beings as well. Cf. Anastasius Traulos, *Encomium of Agathonicus* 16, ed. van Hoof, pp. 414, 14-415, 3.

(120) Of course, it cannot be excluded that some authors changed their mind over time. Anastasius Traulos, for example, is known to have been a good friend of Leo Choirosphaktes and an adversary of Arethas, cf. M. Lauxtermann, *Three Biographical Notes, 3. Anastasius Quaestor*, in *BZ*, 91 (1998), pp. 401-405. Therefore one must consider the possibility that he originally held a position that was close to that of Leo and that he then felt it opportune to publicise his 'orthodox' credentials in the form of an excursus in one of his *encomia*.

have seen they result in logical *non sequitur* and therefore challenge any preconceptions that the readers may have had ([121]). However, even when one explores the consequences of these discrepancies one does not arrive at the core of Methodius' thinking. Indeed, this only seems to exacerbate the problem : as we have seen one then ends up with a scenario according to which not only human souls are impersonated by angels but the angels themselves are impersonated by God. One has to deconstruct the text itself through exploration of alternative readings of words and of seemingly irrelevant links between different passages in order to arrive at the conclusion that all these problems can be overcome through introduction of an alternative conceptual framework according to which souls can be transformed not only into angels but also into 'gods' and can therefore become impersonators of themselves.

One could argue that Methodius creates these obstacles to a proper understanding of his position because he was well aware of the 'heretical' nature of this alternative framework. However, such an interpretation does not do justice to his concerns : analysis of other passages in his oeuvre, where this problem does not arise, shows that he consistently strove to create multi-layered texts where surface coherence disintegrates at closer range in order to be replaced by a deeper coherence, which emerges only after careful consideration of all clues that Methodius inserts into the narrative. Moreover, this process always follows the same pattern: Methodius starts with two apparently mutually exclusive scenarios, which are then reconciled and shown to be identica ([122]). This suggests strongly that this complexity is a paedagogical tool, which is employed in order to make the readers realise that conclusions based on first impressions are inadequate and that true solutions can only be found through sustained engagement with a problem.

(121) I have used the term 'readers' deliberately because it seems impossible that the clues, which Methodius encodes into his texts, could be picked up by people who merely listened to them.

(122) A relatively straightforward example of this technique can be found at the beginning of the *Encomium* of Agatha where Methodius creates juxtaposition between the female roles of 'wife' and 'virgin'. Here he does not as one might expect conclude that Agatha was a virgin and not a wife but instead shows as Agatha was a virgin *qua* being the 'wife' of Christ, thus collapsing the two roles that had initially appeared to be mutually exclusive. For a discussion cf. Krausmüller, *Divine Sex*, pp. 58-60.

This raises the question whether the same approach was not also applied to other debates such as the controversy about the cult of images where the arguments put forward by the two sides often appear to be crude and simplistic ([123]). Only when it has been established in each instance whether or not alternative layers of meaning exist will it become possible to gain a proper understanding of the parameters within which the Byzantine elites thought and wrote.

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Summary

In his *Encomium* of Agatha Patriarch Methodius suggests that a figure appearing to the saint in her prison could be either the Apostle Peter, an angel in the guise of Peter, or Christ impersonating an angel in the guise of Peter. This article has two aims : to show that Methodius offered these alternatives because he was acutely aware of the problems arising from attempts to identify agents from their outward appearances ; and to demonstrate that Methodius could accept the concepts of angelic and divine impersonation without jeopardising the real presence of the saints in dreams and visions because he held the 'Origenist' belief that exemplary human beings can be transformed into 'angels' and 'gods' and therefore concluded that saints could act as their own impersonators.

(123) I am currently working on the *Lives* of Athanasius the Athonite and my analysis of these texts has already revealed evidence for thought patterns and argumentative strategies that strongly resemble those of Methodius in his *Encomium* of Agatha.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF LARGE GROUPS OF MERCENARIES IN BYZANTIUM IN THE PERIOD ca. 1290-1305 AS VIEWED BY THE SOURCES

Foreign mercenaries made up a substantial part of the Byzantine armies long before the late thirteenth century. Despite the high cost of their maintenance, their constant readiness and mobility made the employment of mercenaries an attractive option. As long as they proved themselves a competent force on the battlefield and were well handled by the government, the sources do not doubt the expediency of employing them. Usually, it is during periods of crisis similar to that of 1290-1305, when the reliability of mercenaries becomes a subject of debate. Taking into account the context and aims of their works, this investigation will discuss the views the main sources of the period under discussion, the historians George Pachymeres and Nikephoros Gregoras, and the philologist and political writer Thomas Magistros express about Andronikos II's (1282-1328) policy of recruiting large groups of mercenaries and the role and effectiveness of the most important of them, the Cretans, the Alans and the Catalan Grand Company.

Mercenary soldiers have often been associated by modern scholars with political and military failures. They have been viewed as less reliable and less loyal than native troops (1). Nevertheless, in a significant number of recent studies the employment of mercenaries has stopped

(1) For negative views about the increasing employment of mercenaries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see P. Charanis, *The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century*, in K. M. Setton - M. W. Baldwin (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, I, Madison (Wisconsin), 1969[2], p. 204 ; S. Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1971, pp. 75 and 91 ; I. Karayannopoulos, *Το Βυζαντινό κράτος. Κρατική οργάνωση-κοινωνική δομή*, Athens, 1983, p. 528 ; W. T. Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army, 284-1081*, Stanford (California), 1995, p. 219.

being seen as a bad thing. It has been argued that the extensive recruitment of foreign mercenaries in the eleventh century was not a mistake but the consequence of the emperors' mistrust of native leading commanders and a response to a changing strategic context, when the empire moved from a defensive to an offensive strategy and full-time time well-trained professionals were better suited for its implementation (2). Furthermore, at the end of the eleventh century Norman mercenaries had established a reputation in Byzantium as being the only warriors who were capable of taking on the Turks and winning and some of their leaders enjoyed great popularity (3). Similarly, the ultimate failure of the empire's military revival in the twelfth century cannot be seen as a consequence of the recruitment of foreign mercenaries. Rather it was bad management that led to military failures (4).

With reference to the role and effectiveness of mercenary soldiers in the thirteenth and fourteenth-century Byzantium, the view that foreign mercenaries were less reliable than native soldiers and that their recruitment was detrimental to the empire, remains unchallenged. It has been argued that after 1204 the army had been transformed into agglomerates of foreign mercenaries seeking temporary employment and that Andronikos II's reliance on pre-organized bodies of mercenaries was disastrous, since groups of mercenaries whose business was war were a threat to any army and any state (5). These arguments do not take into account the increasing development of military professionalism in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Europe and that large groups

(2) J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565-1204*, London, 1999, pp. 92-93.

(3) J. Sheppard, *The Uses of the Franks in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 15 (1993), pp. 300-302 ; P. Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background to the First Crusade*, Toronto, 1996, pp. 11-13 and 29-35.

(4) P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 231-232.

(5) Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (*Harvard Historical Studies*, 88), Cambridge (MA), 1972, p. 117 ; S. Vryonis, *Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower*, in V. Parry (ed.), *War Technology and Society in the Middle East*, London, 1975, p. 128. Although he discusses thoroughly the administration and financing of mercenaries in the late Byzantine armies, Bartusis says rather little about their effectiveness : M. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society 1204-1453*, Philadelphia, 1992, pp. 139-156.

of foreign mercenary soldiers, such as western European cavalrymen and Turkoman cavalry archers, covered tactical inefficiencies of the late Byzantine army [6]. More often than not the sources stress the competence and effectiveness of foreign mercenaries. For instance, they praise the 800 Latin heavy cavalry soldiers who fought against the Seljuqs at the battle of Antioch-on-the-Maiander in 1211 [7]. In another example, in the battle of Pelagonia (1259) the Byzantines made excellent use of the Cuman and Turkish light cavalry mercenaries against the Frankish and German knights [8]. Furthermore, foreign mercenaries provided the army with soldiers who possessed advanced knowledge of military technology [9].

To be able to determine whether the most important sources associate the recruitment of large groups of mercenary soldiers with the political, military and financial difficulties the empire experienced during the period under discussion, it is necessary to discuss the wider political and military context of the last decade of the thirteenth century. The Turkoman principalities were expanding at the expense of the Byzantines in Asia Minor, and the Byzantine government found it difficult to impose its authority over the population and armies of the Asian provinces. For instance, Pachymeres twice mentions that Paphlagonians joined the Turks in the late thirteenth century [10]. Furthermore, powerful individuals, having gained the support of the local population, rebelled and established their own independent authority in Asia

(6) For the development of professionalism in western Europe warfare see N. Housley, *European Warfare, c. 1200-1300*, in M. Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare. A History*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 113-135 ; M. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters. Warfare in Renaissance Italy*, London, 1974 ; Idem, *Mercenaries*, in Keen, *Medieval Warfare*, pp. 209-229.

(7) Akropolites, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, 2 vols., ed. A. Heisenberg. Editionem anni MCMIII correctiorem curavit P. Wirth (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Latinorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart, 1978, I, pp. 16-17, p. 27 ; Gregoras, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, 3 vols., ed. L. Schopen (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1829-1855, I, pp. 18-19.

(8) Akropolites, I, pp. 168-169 ; Pachymeres, *Georges Pachymérès. Relations historiques*, 5 vols., ed. A. Failler (*CFHB*, 24), Paris, 1984-2000, I, p. 121 ; *Chronicle of the Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt, London, 1904 (= Groningen, 1967), ll. 4920-4921.

(9) Kantakouzenos, *Ioannis Cantacuzenis eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, 3 vols., ed. L. Schopen (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1831-1832, I, p. 173.

(10) Pachymeres, I, pp. 35, 293.

Minor. Such was the case of the *basilikos hippokomos* Attaleiotes, who seized power in Magnesia [11].

In addition, during the 1290s it is possible to discern a conflict within the higher ranks of the aristocracy. It seems that the military leaders, even those who came from the inner circle of the imperial family, were not on good terms with the throne and with the heads of the civil bureaucracy. The limited available information prevents us from reaching safe conclusions about the reasons behind this conflict. Possibly, influential officials, such as Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites, who had been heads of the civil bureaucracy under Andronikos II were seen as enemies of the military elite [12]. As a result of this conflict, prominent generals were sidelined. For instance, in 1293, Andronikos II had his brother, the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine, and the *protostrator* Michael Strategopoulos, who were the heads of the Byzantine armies in Asia Minor, imprisoned [13]. Gregoras remarks that this action weakened the Byzantine defence in Asia Minor and that during the first decade of the fourteenth century the leading Byzantine generals either were imprisoned or fell into disgrace [14].

The clash between military men and the bureaucratic elite is well reflected in the rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos in Asia Minor in

(11) Pachymeres, IV, pp. 471-473.

(12) Although he does not accuse Choumnos of corruption Pachymeres writes that he had become very rich. Choumnos, in his correspondence, admitted that his subordinates received bribes and noted that he took much less than the rest : Pachymeres, III, p. 557 ; *Νικηφόρου Χουμνοῦ Ἐπιστολαί*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844 (= Amsterdam, 1962), pp. 178-179 ; D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 278. Kantakouzenos and Theodore Palaiologos, the marquis of Montferrat, depict Theodore Metochites, who succeeded Choumnos as *mesazon* roughly in 1305, as the greed and corrupted head of the civil bureaucracy, who accumulated enormous wealth and is responsible for all the sufferings of the empire : Kantakouzenos, I, pp. 62-63, 210-211, 304 ; Theodore Palaiologos, *Les enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, ed. C. Knowles (*Texts and Dissertations*, 19), London, 1983, p. 108.

(13) Pachymeres, III, p. 173. For the imprisonment and career of Constantine Palaiologos and Michael Strategopoulos see A. Failler, *Chronologie et composition dans l' histoire de Pachymérès*, in *REB*, 48 (1990), pp. 17-20 ; *PLP*, 21492 and 26898.

(14) Gregoras, I, pp. 193, 226.

(15) For Alexios Philanthropenos and the dating of his rebellion see Failler, *Chronologie et composition*, pp. 28-37 ; *PLP*, 29752.

1295 ([15]). The army was dissatisfied with the policies of the ruling elite. According to Pachymeres, the soldiers believed that while they were fighting, the Constantinopolitan elite enjoyed the fruits of their struggle and a luxurious life, without satisfying the needs of the soldiers who were deprived of their necessities ([16]). Moreover, in 1298 a serious attempt to reorganise the defence of the empire collapsed after the failure of John Tarchaneiotes to reform the military administration of Asia Minor and create a considerable military force ([17]).

Therefore, the conflict between members of the social elite, the emperor's mistrust of native troops, and the failure to resist the Turkish advance in Asia Minor, explain the policy of Andronikos II to recruit large groups of mercenaries from outside the empire. The emperor mistrusted the native soldiery and doubted its effectiveness. Gregoras states that after the suppression of the rebellion of Philanthropenos, Andronikos II was suspicious of every Roman and 'day and night he was dreaming of overseas alliances' ([18]). Similarly, discussing the recruitment of the Alans (1301) Pachymeres blames the emperor for neglecting the native soldiers in favour of foreign mercenaries ([19]).

The heavy reliance on foreign troops, while native soldiery was neglected and most importantly, the failure to achieve any military success led authors of the period to question the military policies of Andronikos II and mainly his decision to recruit large groups of mercenaries. To analyse Pachymeres' views about the mercenaries employed by Andronikos II it is necessary to discuss the wider context of his work. Although a clergyman, Pachymeres possessed great secular knowledge and provides a reasoned and sophisticated analysis of past events. Pachymeres used economic reasoning to explain the Turkish advance in Asia Minor at the expense of the Byzantines. He paid significant attention on the tax collection and tax distribution ([20]). Pachymeres also used economic reasoning to interpret military developments, as well as the attitudes and motivation of the Byzantine soldiers. Throughout his account Pachymeres is critical of the financial policies of Michael VIII (1259-1282) and Andronikos II, both of whom he blames for mismanagement of resources.

(16) Pachymeres, III, p. 241.
(17) Pachymeres, III, pp. 285-287.
(18) Gregoras, I, p. 205.
(19) Pachymeres, IV, p. 339.
(20) Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, p. 269.

Economic reasoning and criticism of imperial fiscal policy are apparent in Pachymeres' account of the large groups of mercenaries hired by Andronikos II. Sometime before 1295, Andronikos II established in Asia Minor Cretan refugees, who provided the army with mercenaries to reinforce the local defences against the Turkoman principalities. Pachymeres is critical of the government's decision to impose a 10% levy on the *pronoiai* to fund the Cretans. He writes that because the *pronoia* holders had their grants reduced already, this levy burdened the heavily taxed *paroikoi* and not the *pronoia* holders ([21]).

In 1295, the Cretans played a leading role in the events surrounding Alexios Philanthropenos' rebellion in Asia Minor. Pachymeres does not seem to be critical of the Cretans' attitude, who despite initially being staunch supporters of Philanthropenos, captured and handed him to the imperial authorities after being promised immunity and rewards ([22]). As he writes

> "The undertaking was postponed as he seemed [Philanthropenos] cautious and of doubtful mind. Accepting the present situation and looking to the future he was looking after them[the Cretans] in every way to show his gratitude for their great favour towards him. However, he restrained himself from [receiving] the greatest titles, because he was not really hopeful for the materialisation of the plan ; instead, he was rather despondent about it. And by being ambiguous he bought time and he took care ofthe present situation as he could, but he was uncertain aboutthe future and he was trying to think of a response in advance, if something should happen against him. But to the Cretans and particularly to their head, Chortatzes, this situation did not seem safe. It was possible that he (Philanthropenos) would change his mind, to be pardoned by the emperor and after receiving the customary guarantee and great favours to join those who will lead him to the emperor. For them (the Cretans) this was the great inevitable danger, because they did not have a place to take refuge" ([23]).

Therefore, Pachymeres seems to justify the attitude of the Cretans towards Philanthropenos, stating that the latter's indecisiveness made

(21) Pachymeres, III, pp. 235-237.
(22) Pachymeres, III, p. 249.
(23) Pachymeres, III, p. 247 : τὸ δ' ἦν ἐν ἀναβολαῖς τὸ τόλμημα, ὡς δοκεῖν διευλαβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμφιγνωμονεῖν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν παρὸν στέργων, πρὸς τὸ μέλλον δ' ἀποσκοπῶν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐθεράπευε παντοίως καὶ χάριν ἐδόκει εἰδέναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν σπουδῆς χάριν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ παρεξῆγε τῶν μεγίστων ὀνομάτων, οὐκ εὔελπις ἀραρότως ὢν ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν δυσελπιστῶν. Καὶ αὐτὸς μέν,

them feel unsafe. He also shows an understanding of the precarious situation large groups of mercenaries find themselves in when they get involved in the internal conflicts of their paymasters away from their native land. In addition, the justification of the attitude of the Cretans is in agreement with Pachymeres' criticism of imperial policies. He attributes Philanthropenos' rebellion not to the plots and ambitions of the Cretans but to the dissatisfaction of the entire army. He states that the army was restless and willing to rebel, for the soldiers believed that while they were fighting, the Constantinopolitan elite enjoyed the fruits of their struggle and a luxurious life, without satisfying the needs of the soldiers who were deprived of their necessities (24). Consequently, Pachymeres does not see the Cretans as a disloyal band of mercenaries. For him the Cretans accepted the promises of the *protovestiarites* Livadarios and deserted Philanthropenos not because they were greedy mercenaries but because they feared that if Philanthropenos reached an agreement with the emperor, they would have found themselves in a rather difficult position (25). In conclusion, Pachymeres argues that the Cretans like the rest of the Byzantine army were dissatisfied with the imperial policies and he justifies their actions in the context of the failure of the central government to manage its resources and its army effectively.

In 1301, the emperor accepted the offer of the Alans to be settled in Byzantium and enlist in the army because of the critical situation in Asia Minor (26). As is the case with the Cretans, Pachymeres' analysis of the events following the employment of the Alans reflects his opposition to the financial and military policies of Andronikos II. He writes that Andronikos II had prepared supplies for the Alans through public

οὕτω διττὰ στρέφων, τὸν καιρὸν ἐζυγοστάτει, καὶ τὸν μὲν παρόντα ὡς εἶχεν ἐξεθεράπευε, τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα ὑφωρᾶτο καί οἱ ἀπολογίαν ὑπολελεῖφθαι, ἄν τι προσκρούσοι, προὐνόει. Τοῖς δέ γε Κρητικοῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ σφῶν ἐξηγουμένῳ Χορτάτζῃ, τοῦτ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐκ ἐδόκει τέως· αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἐσαῦθις μεταγνόντι παραιτεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ ὑπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῇ ἐοικυίᾳ, ἔστι δ' οὗ καὶ ὑπὸ μεγίσταις χάρισιν, εἰς χεῖρας ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίζειν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἄξουσι, σφίσι δ' εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον ἄφυκτον πάντως, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅπῃ ἂν τῶν τῆς ἀποφυγῆς τόπων ἐκσταῖεν καὶ ἀπερείσαιντο.

(24) Pachymeres, III, p. 241.
(25) For Livadarios see *PLP*, 14859.
(26) Pachymeres, IV, p. 337 ; Gregoras, I, p. 205.

contributions and provided them with horses and weapons, which he took away from native soldiers. He disagrees with the employment of the Alans at the expense of native troops. He argues that the emperor knew that "the Alans are a well behaved and obedient nation and also very warlike and bellicose. For this reason he neglected the Romans as having become effeminate and weakened both because of the circumstances and because of their malevolent attitudes and disposition" (27).

For Pachymeres that the emperor favoured the Alans and provided them with weapons and resources that previously belonged to native Roman soldiers, contributed to the defeat of the Byzantines at the battle of Bapheus (27 July 1302) at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. The Byzantine army that fought at this battle was composed of 2,000 Roman and Alan soldiers under the command of the *megas hetaireiarches* Leo Mouzalon (28). Pachymeres remarks that although the native Roman soldiers were expected to fight wholeheartedly for the defence of their homes, they did not do so. They were demoralised and unwilling to fight because of the money and weapons that had been taken away from them to supply the Alan mercenaries. Remarkably, Pachymeres' account of the battle of Bapheus does not portray the Alans as undisciplined and unmotivated troops interested only in plunder. He comments that the Alans proved themselves useful ; they encircled the enemy but they suffered heavy casualties. Pachymeres, sarcastically writes that by not retreating, the Alans facilitated the flight of the Roman infantry, since by using their arrows they turned the enemy cavalry into infantry (29). Therefore, Pachymeres attributes the Byzantine defeat at Bapheus to mismanagement of resources and miscalculations of the government and not to the tactical inferiority of the Byzantine army on the battlefield. He implies that although the Alans were good soldiers, the favouritism the emperor had shown towards them at the expense of the native soldiers damaged the morale, motivation and coherence of the army.

Pachymeres' critical view of Byzantine military policies during the period under discussion is also reflected in the unsuccessful campaign of Michael IX in Magnesia and the Hermos, which commenced three months before the battle of Bapheus, in April 1302 (30). Pachymeres

(27) Pachymeres, IV, p. 339.
(28) For Leo Mouzalon see *PLP*, 19443.
(29) Pachymeres, IV, p. 367.

points out that the Alans, as well as the Roman soldiers were eager to fight. However, disagreements among the generals, and not the unwillingness or incompetence of the soldiers, led to the failure of the operation (31). Shortly afterwards, the Alans asked permission to depart. They complained that they were used to fight in a different way from that imposed on them by the Byzantines. They were not used to participating in long campaigns but were rather experienced in raiding warfare (32). The strength of nomad warriors, like the Alans, lays in raids and surprise attacks. Therefore, Pachymeres does not consider the Alans as an incompetent military force, although he does not omit to blame them for plundering Byzantine possessions (33). Consequently, for Pachymeres the failure of the employment of the Alans was the result of the government's mistakes, mainly of the decision to supply them with resources that previously belonged to the native soldiers and of their misuse on the battlefield. For Pachymeres, the decision to employ the Alans was not a bad one. They could have reinforced the existing military forces. However, the Alans failed to produce satisfactory results on the battlefield because of the unwise policies of the state.

In 1302, Andronikos II hired the Catalan Grand Company, which was formed during the wars in Sicily between the Aragonese and the Angevins and was partly made up of Almogavars, Aragonese troops who had for years earned their living in the border warfare of the Reconquista in Spain. After the end of the war in Sicily, they sought employment in Byzantium. It would be superfluous to repeat the developments that led to the conflict between Byzantium and the Grand Company. Inevitably, the disastrous effects of the Catalan attacks on Byzantine territories led Byzantine authors to express negative views about them. However, if we want to understand Byzantine attitudes towards mercenaries we should not rely exclusively on the dramatic descriptions of the Catalan depredations. Instead, we should pay more attention to what our sources saw as the causes for the fiasco of the employment of the Catalans.

Pachymeres blames the government for mismanaging the Catalans, as he does with the Cretans and the Alans. He argues that Andronikos II

(30) For the dating and duration of the campaign of Michael IX in Asia Minor see Failler, *Chronologie et composition*, pp. 44-53.
(31) Pachymeres, IV, p. 343.
(32) Pachymeres, IV, p. 345.
(33) Pachymeres, IV, p. 339.

hired the Catalan Company out of desperation and without taking into serious consideration the state's finances, which were insufficient to maintain such an expensive group of soldiers. More specifically, Pachymeres claims that after arriving in Constantinople Roger de Flor decided to invite more troops from abroad ; because he did not have the means to transfer them to Byzantium he borrowed 20,000 *nomismata* from the Genoese. The emperor guaranteed the loan (34). Shortly afterwards, in order to produce the cash to afford the payment of the Catalans and to avert them from ravaging imperial territories, a special levy on grain was imposed, which was collected from the Balkan regions of the empire. Furthermore, the government confiscated one third of the *pronoiai* located in the western territories, discontinued the payment of the servants of the palace and devalued the currency (35). Pachymeres also indicates that the Catalans received privileges, which were uncommon for mercenary soldiers. Andronikos II granted the company's leader, Roger de Flor, the title of *megas doux* and married him to one of his nieces. Pachymeres is also critical of the extraordinary authority the Catalans were invested with. He relates that Roger de Flor became the supreme commander of the Byzantine army (*strategos autokrator*) who arranged the military affairs of the empire and the salaries of the soldiers according to his wishes (36).

The account of Ramon Muntaner, who was a leading member of the Catalan Company, of the agreement between the Catalan Grand Company and the emperor confirms Pachymeres' claims that the Catalans were offered too much. Muntaner, who states that he participated in the drawing of the agreement between the Catalan Company and Byzantium, relates that it was agreed that the emperor should give pay for four months to all those Roger de Flor could bring along and he should keep them in his pay as long as they wished to stay (37). This implies the absence of any agreement defining the number of troops and length of service of the Catalans. This contradicts Andronikos II's claim, as mentioned by Pachymeres, that according to the *chrysobulls* he had sent Roger de Flor, the Catalan force should be made up of 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalry and not of 6,000 in total (38).

(34) Pachymeres, IV, pp. 435-437.
(35) Pachymeres, IV, pp. 539-541.
(36) Pachymeres, IV, p. 465.
(37) Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. V. J. Escartí, Valencia, 1999, II, p. 423.

Neither Pachymeres nor Muntaner mention further details about the agreement between the emperor and the Catalan Grand Company. Therefore, we cannot be sure about the exact provisions concerning the number of soldiers provided, the duration of service, pay clauses, division of booty, fate of prisoners, provision of supplies and jurisdiction in the case of lawbreaking. Nevertheless, Pachymeres' complaints and Muntaner's account indicate that even if there was an initial agreement over these issues it was rather favourable to the Catalans. This can also be concluded through a comparison of the accounts of Pachymeres and Muntaner with contemporary contracts agreed between Italian cities and companies of soldiers (39). Although these contracts varied in length and content, certain matters are mentioned in almost all of them. The number of soldiers employed is far smaller than the size of the Catalan Company and normally the length of service is quite specific and stretches from two months to one year. Furthermore, the usual arrangement was prisoners and booty to be given to the authorities of the contracting state. The captor was to receive compensation. The contracts also fixed the number of horses each mercenary could possess and some of them went into considerable details about armour and weaponry. Usually, there was a division of jurisdiction between the employing authority and the company's commanders. The company's commanders were in charge of the disputes within the company but they did not have jurisdiction over the local population (40). As has been discussed above, Pachymeres does not say for how long the Catalans were hired by the emperor, while Muntaner writes that they could stay in Byzantium's service for as long as they wished to. Furthermore, more troops arrived after the initial agreement with the Company and the Catalans seemed to have jurisdiction over local governors. With regard to the booty it is likely that there was an initial agreement for which we do not have any details. Muntaner writes that after their first victory over the Turks the Catalans sent most of the booty to the emperor (41).

(38) Pachymeres, IV, p. 533.

(39) For the contracts agreed between the Italian states and companies of mercenaries see D. Waley, *Condotte* and *Condottieri in the Thirteenth Century*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975), pp. 337-371.

(40) Waley, *Condotte* and *Condottieri*, pp. 340-342.

Pachymeres does not express any doubt about the military value and competence of the Catalan company. He portrays Roger de Flor as someone who had proven his bravery and "was minded towards military matters" (42). Pachymeres also comments that the rumour of the forthcoming Catalan attack was sufficient to make the Turks of Karaşi lift the siege of Germe and flee without order (43). Nevertheless, he attacks the attitude of the Catalans. He blames them for being unwilling to fight and for staying inactive in Kyzikos, where they arrived in October 1303, with the excuse that they had not received their salaries (44). According to Pachymeres, their presence burdened the local population against whom the Catalans committed hideous crimes. He argues that although by the end of March 1304 they had received their salaries, the Catalans did not campaign. Instead, they were involved in fighting with the Alans (45). Being critical of the way the government handled its mercenaries and seeing financial profit as the main motivation of soldiers, Pachymeres points out that one of the causes of the conflict between the Catalan and the Alan mercenaries was the reaction of the latter to the much higher salaries the Catalans received (46). Ramon Muntaner, as a member of the Catalan Company sees things differently. He says that although the Company was ready to depart from Kyzikos on 1 November 1303 the severe weather conditions prohibited them from campaigning until April 1304. Thus, the Catalans were forced to remain in Kyzikos. Nonetheless, Muntaner admits that their maintenance imposed a heavy burden on the local population (47).

Furthermore, using economic reasoning to explain the attitude of soldiers, Pachymeres portrays greed and rapacity as the main incentives of the Catalans. For instance, he claims that at some point the Catalans requested to be paid not only their regular salaries but also for their 'supposed previous activities,' as Pachymeres, writes. He sees this as an unfair demand because, as he writes, the Catalans asked to be paid for a period during which they did not fight. Pachymeres adds that

(41) Muntaner, II, pp. 430-431.

(42) Pachymeres, IV, p. 431 ; Gregoras, I, p. 218.

(43) Pachymeres, IV, p. 467.

(44) Failler, *Chronologie et composition*, p. 55.

(45) Pachymeres, IV, pp. 433, 459-461.

(46) Pachymeres, IV, p. 463.

(47) Muntaner, II, pp. 432-433.

when they received their payment the Catalans left Mytilene and instead of attacking the Turks they plundered Madytos [48]. Similarly, he relates that Berenguer d' Entença arrived in the empire because he was promised by Roger de Flor that he would receive great rewards from the emperor [49]. Moreover, Pachymeres blames the Catalans for blackmailing the emperor. As he writes, the Catalan envoys told Andronikos II that if he would pay the salaries they demanded, they would refrain from ravaging the empire and they would be ready to fight whenever the emperor asked them [50]. These statements vividly contrast with Muntaner, who writes that Berenguer d' Entença had sworn brotherhood with Roger de Flor and came to Byzantium leading his company of 300 horsemen for the emperor's honour and for the love of Roger de Flor [51]. Moreover, Muntaner justifies the Catalan attacks as the result of the bad faith of the emperor, who was planning to have them killed after restoring Byzantine control over Asia Minor and as vengeance for the murders of Roger de Flor and Catalan envoys [52].

To emphasize his disapproval of the employment of the Catalans, as well as their actions Pachymeres quotes Plato. He writes

> "Plato correctly outlines the mercenary service in the *Laws*. He said that most of them become arrogant, unjust and violent and the most imprudent people apart from very few. Of all the Cardinal Virtues, which are possible to be witnessed in the citizens involved in civil wars, only the fourth one, which someone could call bravery, can be attributed as perfect to mercenaries because they wish to die in war only, not because of virtue, but only for the sake of salary ; and for this, they are easily involved many times in reckless violence, being arrogant and against justice because they are unjust, arrogant against prudence because they are violent and being totally imprudent because of the absence of prudence" [53].

(48) Pachymeres, IV, p. 529.
(49) Pachymeres, IV, p. 531.
(50) Pachymeres, IV, p. 549.
(51) Muntaner, p. 443.
(52) Muntaner, II, pp. 442-443, 450-451.
(53) Pachymeres, IV, p. 529 : Εὖ γὰρ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Νόμοις (cf. Plato, *Laws*, I, 630 b) τὸ μισθοφορικὸν διεσκαριφήσατο. Τούτων *οἱ πλεῖστοι*, λέγων, *γίνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν ἁπάντων, ἐκτὸς δή τινων μάλα ὀλίγων*, τελέαν μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν γενικῶν ἀρετῶν ἕξιν τῷ ἐν στάσεσι δυναμένῳ πολίτῃ προσμαρτυρῶν, μόνην δὲ τὴν τετάρτην τούτων, ἣν δή τις

Apart from his disapproval of their actions, this statement implies another reason why Pachymeres was critical of the Catalans. He considers them rebels who caused civil war. This is reflected in his statement that in 1304 instead of campaigning against the Turks the Catalans due to their arrogance got involved in civil wars (*emphylious polemous*) [54]. He sees their disobedience to the throne as a rebellion [55]. Indeed, for Pachymeres, the conflicts between the Byzantine government and its foreign troops were civil wars. He states that when the Alans decided to depart and leave the empire (1303), the emperor sent the *megas domestikos*, Alexios Raoul to get back the weapons and horses the Alans had been provided with. The Alans resisted and as Pachymeres writes 'a dispute and civil (*emphylios*) war broke out. Although the armies were of a different race, they were placed under a single authority, the imperial one. Therefore, this was a civil war' [56].

Furthermore, Pachymeres' views about the Catalan Grand Company might have been affected by the significant differences between the Catalans and the other mercenaries employed by Andronikos II. The most obvious difference was the intense conflict between Byzantium and the Catalan Grand Company and the devastation the Catalans inflicted on the Byzantine state. Therefore, it was inevitable that they would be subjected to harsh criticism. Moreover, they were a self-interested company of mercenaries. Their aim was to seek maximum financial profit through war. They were not refugees like the Alans and the Cretans, who in return for land to settle provided the army with mercenary soldiers. Nor can the Catalan Grand Company be compared with the small groups of soldiers or individual mercenaries employed by Byzantium. It was difficult for a state like early fourteenth-century Byzantium, which experienced severe financial difficulties, internal conflicts and territorial reduction, to control a large mercenary company with its own internal organisational system and hierarchy, and

φαίη ἀνδρείαν, ἀπονέμων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ἐθέλουσιν ἀποθνῄσκειν μόνον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὐκ ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦ χάριν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾷστα συχναῖς ἐνεχομένοις ἀτασθαλίαις, θρασυνομένοις μὲν ὡς ἀδίκοις κατὰ δικαιοσύνης, θρασυνομένοις δὲ ὡς ὑβρισταῖς κατὰ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀφρονεστάτοις οὖσι διὰ τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς φρονήσεως.
(54) Pachymeres, IV, p. 463.
(55) Pachymeres, IV, pp. 529-531.
(56) Pachymeres, IV, p. 351.

whose soldiers were more loyal to their leaders than to their paymasters.

To place the employment of the Catalans and Pachymeres' reactions in the wider political and military context, it should be noted that although throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth century the employment of mercenaries, foreign and native, was widespread in Italy, the recruitment of organised companies was not particularly common [57]. Moreover, the companies of soldiers employed by the Italian states from the end of the thirteenth century until the 1330s were far smaller than the Catalan Company [58]. Nevertheless, smaller groups of mercenaries than the Catalan Company could become a source for troubles, if they were badly handled by their paymasters and led by ambitious leaders. Almost at the same moment that the Catalan Company started devastating Byzantine territories, another Catalan company made up of 200-300 cavalry and 300-500 infantry under the command of the Catalan Diego de Rat was in the service of Florence. It played an important role in Florence's military establishment from 1305 to 1313 and in 1308 the city praised its leader for his service. However, in 1313 Rat refused to obey orders when Florence had to deal with the threat of attack from the Holy Roman emperor, Henry VII [59]. This example shows that even considerably smaller companies of soldiers than the Catalan Company could be a problem for wealthy states like Florence. Consequently, it was rather difficult for Byzantium in the first decade of the fourteenth century to afford the maintenance of a group of 6,000 expensive mercenaries.

Gregoras provides a shorter account of the foreign mercenaries employed by Andronikos II than Pachymeres does and he depicts a more positive image of Andronikos II, whom he supported in the civil war of 1321-1328. Moreover, Gregoras' approach to history differs from that of

(57) MALLETT, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, p. 15.
(58) For instance, the size company of the Catalan William della Torre, which was active from 1277 until the 1290s was never much more than 100 and the company of Cerruglio which appeared in 1329 was made up of 800 cavalry soldiers : MALLETT, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, pp. 25-28 ; D. WALEY, *The Army of the Florentine Republic from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, in N. RUBINSTEIN (ed.), *Florentine Studies. Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, London, 1968, pp. 88-90.
(59) WALEY, *The Army of the Florentine Republic*, pp. 102-103 ; HOUSLEY, *European Warfare*, p. 133 ; MALLETT, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, pp. 25-26.

Pachymeres. Influenced by classical models he considers that although humans make conscious choices, often it is Fortune (*Tyche*) that determines outcomes [60]. Thus, often he avoids discussing individual responsibility. Consequently, Gregoras does not adopt Pachymeres' economic analysis to explain the political and military developments of the period. Furthermore, he was writing in the mid-fourteenth century from a longer chronological distance than Pachymeres. In addition, Gregoras had firsthand experience of the various unreliable self-interested groups of foreign soldiers, mainly Turks, employed by both sides during the civil wars of the period 1321-1354. It is likely that this experience influenced his judgment of the Cretans, the Alans and the Catalans.

Avoiding criticising Andronikos II's policies, Gregoras is critical of the Cretan mercenaries. He states that although they received great honours from Philanthropenos, 'they did not wish to remain in the established situation, but [the Cretans] had thoughts of things that were much higher than their value and fortune.' He explains the attitude of the Cretans stating that long and continuous success leads mindless people to insolence [61]. Nevertheless, Gregoras like Pachymeres observes that Philanthropenos' hesitations made the Cretans feel unsafe and that they warned him that if he delayed to proclaim himself emperor, he would be betrayed [62]. However, unlike Pachymeres, he is rather critical of the fact that the Cretan mercenaries captured Philanthropenos after receiving bribes and promises for great rewards. For Gregoras the Cretans were mainly motivated by greed and ambition and not by the threat of being isolated and abandoned by Philanthropenos [63]. Gregoras does not adopt Pachymeres' view that the entire army was eager to rebel. Therefore, by blaming the Cretans for the rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos Gregoras avoids criticising Andronikos II.

Gregoras says little about the Alan mercenaries. He pays particular attention to the high cost of their employment and to the raids they carried out on Byzantine soil. This contrasts with Pachymeres who does not omit to state their depredations but emphasizes the state's mishan-

(60) ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology*, p. 256.
(61) GREGORAS, I, p. 196.
(62) GREGORAS, I, p. 199.
(63) GREGORAS, I, p. 201.

dling of the Alans. For Gregoras the Alans played a central role in Michael IX's failure in Magnesia. He presents them as undisciplined soldiers whose attitude demoralised the Byzantine camp. He also comments that by plundering Byzantine possessions the Alans facilitated the Turkish advance. As he writes, once the Turks attacked, the Alans did not fight but fled. Gregoras says nothing about the disagreements among the generals of Michael IX, which according to Pachymeres led to the failure of the particular operation (64). Nor does he say anything about the provision of the Alans with resources that had been taken away from the native soldiers. Consequently, Gregoras does not follow Pachymeres in criticising the way the government handled the Alans. Instead, he presents them as being incompetent and undisciplined soldiers. Thus, Gregoras does not blame the government for mishandling the Alans.

Gregoras' account of the Catalan Grand Company differs from Pachymeres' analysis. Writing in the mid-fourteenth century, when the employment of companies of mercenaries in Europe reached its peak (65), and seeing things from a longer chronological distance than Pachymeres does, Gregoras is well aware of the unsafe situation in which mercenary companies find themselves during peace. He writes about the Catalan Company

> 'when the kings made peace, to those [Gregoras implies the Catalan Company] of Frederick (Frederick II of Aragon) occurred the need to consider where to go and find profit. They did not have houses and properties to speed them to return. But each of them being from a different place and many from many places and being without furniture and clothing, for the sake of profit from plunder they were working together and they were nourished through a life of wandering across the seas' (66).

The devastation they caused does not prevent Gregoras from pointing out the military competence and professionalism of the Catalans.

(64) Gregoras, I, pp. 205-206.
(65) See Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, pp. 28-43.
(66) Gregoras, I, pp. 219-220 : καὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέμενοι ἀστασίαστον ἦγον εἰρήνην οἱ ῥῆγες, σκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Θευδερίχου συμμάχοις ἐπῄει, ὅποι ποτὲ ἄρα τραπόμενοι τὴν κερδαίνουσαν εὕρωσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς οἰκίαι καὶ κτήσεις ἑστῶσαι, ἵνα τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτῶν ἐπισπεύδωσιν· ἀλλ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος καὶ πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄσκευοι καὶ γυμνῆτες κέρδους ἕνεκα λῃστρικοῦ συνδραμόντες πλανῆτα καὶ διαπόντιον ἔβοσκον βίον.

More specifically, Gregoras relates that the Turks lifted the siege of Philadelpheia because

> 'the enemy seeing the well-ordered march of the Latins, the splendour of their weapons and their unmoved eagerness, they fled. And they carried themselves away, not only far away from the city but close to the old Roman frontiers. This was the quantity and the quality of that army [the Catalan Company], and it was so exceptionally organised because of the arms, the experience acquired at wars and because of its multitude (alongside the Latins campaigned not only the select of the Romans but also as many as were available from the army of the Alans). And because of these, they [The Catalans] inflicted such terror on the enemy that many said then, that if the emperor's orders motivated by cowardice did not prevent them from marching further, there would be nothing to prevent all the Roman cities and lands, which were clearly in the hands of the enemy, from being handed to the emperor within a short period of time' (67).

Gregoras continues by stating that since they were not provided with guides, the Catalans decided not to advance further and while the Romans and the Alans returned to their homes the Catalans having nowhere to go became a burden to the Roman cities. Claiming that they had not received their payment, they plundered Byzantine possessions. Like Pachymeres, Gregoras describes in a dramatic tone the sufferings inflicted on the Byzantines by the Catalans and he comments that the Catalans were inventive in finding ways to make the locals suffer (68). Moreover, without going into detail he follows Pachymeres' criticism of the financial implications of the employment of the Catalans pointing

(67) Gregoras, I, pp. 221-222 : ἰδόντες γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν τῶν Λατίνων εὔτακτον κίνησιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ ἄτρεπτον τῆς ὁρμῆς συσχεθέντες τοῖς φόβοις ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες· οὐ μόνον τῆς πόλεως ὡς πορρωτάτω σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπάγοντες, ἀλλὰ μικροῦ καὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν. Τοσοῦτος γὰρ καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐκεῖνος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ στρατός, καὶ οὕτως ἄριστα συγκεκροτημένος ἔκ τε τῶν ὅπλων ἔκ τε τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους (συνεστράτευον γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῖς Λατίνοις οὐ μόνον οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίλεκτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ὁπόσον ἐτύγχανε στράτευμα) τοσαύτην γοῦν ἐποίει διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἔκπληξιν, ὥστε πολλοί τινες ἔφασαν τότε, ὡς, εἰ μὴ τούτους διὰ δειλίαν τινὰ πρόσω ἰέναι κεκώλυκε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τὸ κωλῦον ὅλας ἐν βραχεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁπόσαι πόλεις καὶ χῶραι ὑπῆρχον καθαρὰς πολεμίων παραδοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ.
(68) Gregoras, I, p. 223.

out that the expenses for their maintenance emptied the imperial treasury (69).

Unlike Pachymeres, Gregoras attributes the failure of the employment of the Catalans to Divine intervention. He comments that those who believed that the Catalans would have succeeded in recovering Byzantine land, if they had not been stopped by imperial orders said so because they were 'people who could see only the current situation and were not able to conceive anything beyond it. For in reality, this was a Divine decision taken long ago ; that the Roman affairs will reach the extreme of misfortunes' (70). This statement reflects Gregoras' views about Fortune. It was Fortune and Divine intervention that foiled the plans for the defence and recovery of Asia Minor and not the mistakes of the government, which Gregoras presents as things 'said by many' and not by him.

Furthermore, by emphasizing the role of Fortune and Divine intervention, the author refrains from discussing individual responsibilities for the fiasco of the employment of the Catalans. He did not oppose Andronikos II's decision to employ them. Moreover, the pessimistic view that the disastrous effects of the employment of the Catalans were a Divine decision taken long ago reflects that Gregoras was writing in a period when Byzantium had not recovered from the civil wars and the Turks seemed unstoppable.

The third author who is examined here is Thomas Magistros. He was a teacher and philologist and unlike Pachymeres and Gregoras, he did not compile a narrative history. Nevertheless in his treatises, *On Kingship* (*Περὶ βασιλείας*) and *On the State* (*Περὶ πολιτείας*), which he compiled around 1304 he comments on the employment of mercenaries (71). Despite not being historical accounts his works provide useful information since they reflect contemporary realities and Magistros gives instructions in matters of civic conduct, education and war (72). Magistros argues that the state should maintain sea and land military forces made up of native soldiers. He is negative towards foreign mercenaries, commenting that since ancient times the Romans used to employ foreign troops believing they would strengthen their armies. However, they prove to be weaker than is generally believed. He adds that the foreign mercenaries are not loyal soldiers and although they swear allegiance to the Byzantines, in reality they remain loyal only as long as the Byzantines are victorious against their enemies. If, due to fortune, the enemy proves stronger than the Byzantines, the foreign mercenaries desert Byzantium and join the enemy making them stronger and more courageous against the Romans filling the Roman army with fear and cowardice. Instead, the army should rely on native troops who should be provided with *pronoiai*, which should be hereditary at least for one generation for families of soldiers killed on the battlefield (73).

(69) Gregoras, I, pp. 220-221.

(70) Gregoras, I, p. 222.

(71) The date of the composition of Magistros' treatises has been the subject of different hypotheses. The most cogent among them, which is followed here, is the interpretation of Laiou, who argues that Magistros composed them around 1304. See Angeliki E. Laiou, *Le débat sur les droits du fisc et les droits régaliens au début du 14e siècle*, in *REB*, 58 (2000), pp. 98-99.

(72) For an analysis of Magistros' works and ideas see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, pp. 296-305.

To understand Thomas Magistros' negative views about mercenaries it is necessary to examine the wider context of his work and mainly his views about war and peace. Observing the strategic position of the empire in the early fourteenth century Magistros comments that being surrounded by so many enemies the emperor is forced to be warlike (*philopolemos*) if he wishes to enjoy peace. Therefore, the empire needs to be constantly prepared for war (74). However, Magistros does not believe that the employment of mercenaries satisfies the need of the Byzantine army to be constantly ready for war. Instead, he argues that the army should be composed of well-trained native soldiers and that all citizens should be trained in arms (75). Magistros is the only known late Byzantine author who makes such a suggestion. Unlike western European states, the late Byzantine empire did not establish urban militia or any other form of universal or territorial obligation to military service (76). Magistros might have been influenced by the specific circumstances of the conflict between Byzantium and the Catalans. The defence of the Byzantines against the Catalans in Macedonia relied on the strength of their fortifications and not on successes of the imperial army on the battlefield. It is also possible that the inability of the

(73) Thomas Magistros, *On Kingship*, *PG*, 145, 461.

(74) Thomas Magistros, *On Kingship*, *PG*, 145, 457.

(75) Thomas Magistros, *On the State*, *PG*, 145, 509.

(76) For the development of military service in Italy see Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters*, pp. 10-13.

Byzantine army to confront the Catalans led him to regard the civilian population as a resource of manpower (77). In addition, the failure of the employment of the Catalan Company and the Alans to bring any fruitful results reinforced Magistros' opposition to the employment of foreign soldiers.

Another reason why Magistros rejected the employment of foreign soldiers is his emphasis on the establishment of universal military service. It is likely, that from his point of view, it was impossible for the Byzantine government to establish universal military service and recruit expensive mercenaries at the same moment. Instead, all the resources of the state should be concentrated on the maintenance and training of native troops. Magistros' opposition to the recruitment of foreign mercenaries is also in agreement with his criticism of imperial taxation. The employment of large groups of mercenaries resulted in the imposition of heavy taxation and in his treatise *On Kingship* Magistros expressed strong ideas against tax increases reaching the point of objecting the need of tax collection (78). That Magistros' *On Kingship* borrowed phrases and ideas from Synesius' of Cyrene *On Kingship* (ca. 370-ca. 413) might have influenced his views about foreign troops. Synesius had suggested to Arcadius to rid the court of Constantinople of the influence of German generals. Therefore, it is noticeable that both Synesius in the fifth century and Magistros in the fourteenth opposed the employment of foreigners (79). Consequently, Magistros disapproves foreign mercenaries mainly because they do not fit to his proposals about the fiscal and military organisation of the state. His conclusion that foreign mercenaries had always been disloyal and ineffective does not correspond to reality. Magistros generalises in order to emphasize his point.

The above discussion shows that each author followed a different approach towards mercenaries. Consequently, to understand attitudes towards foreign soldiers it is necessary to take into account the wider context of the sources. For instance, Pachymeres is critical of Andronikos II and throughout his account, he explains past events and attitudes of soldiers using economic reason. For him, rapacity is the exclusive characteristic of the Catalans. In the same manner, the main cause of the failure of the foreign mercenaries to bring military success was the mismanagement of financial resources and not their ineffectiveness on the battlefield. Being a supporter of Andronikos II Gregoras is critical of the Cretan and Alan mercenaries, whom he sees as ineffective and ill-disciplined mercenaries, motivated by greed. Similarly, for Gregoras while the decision to hire the Catalan Company was correct, Fortune brought disaster.

(77) Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, p. 308.
(78) See Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, pp. 298-303.
(79) Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, p. 190.

That the authors of the period criticised a particular group is not enough to prove that they opposed mercenary service, since they approved the employment of other groups of mercenaries. For instance, Pachymeres is critical of the attitude of the Catalans. However, he shows an understanding of the Cretans and the Alans. Gregoras admires the Catalan Company, but he is rather critical of the Cretan and Alan mercenaries. It should not be forgotten that throughout their accounts Pachymeres and Gregoras say nothing against the employment of Turkish and Cuman mercenaries, who made a substantial part of the Byzantine army at least until the end of the thirteenth century. Unlike Pachymeres and Gregoras, Thomas Magistros seems to reject the very idea of employing foreign mercenaries. His objection to the recruitment of foreign mercenaries reflects mainly his idea of the establishment of universal military service, as well as his opposition to imperial taxation.

Therefore, it would be an oversimplification to state that the early fourteenth century authors saw the increasing reliance on mercenaries as one of the main causes for the inability of the Byzantine state to deal effectively with its enemies, mainly the Turks in Asia Minor. The criticism of Pachymeres, Gregoras and Magistros of foreigner mercenaries is not based on the assumption that all foreign mercenaries, or groups of Greek speaking Christian Orthodox mercenaries, who before their enlistment were not imperial subjects, are unreliable, rapacious and ineffective soldiers. The authors of the period are aware that each group of mercenaries has its own particular characteristics. What Pachymeres and Gregoras are critical of is not the hiring of mercenaries but the way the state handled them and miscalculated their cost. Magistros opposes the employment of foreign soldiers because they do not fit to his ideas about the military and fiscal organisation of the empire. Pachymeres and Gregoras are critical of Andronikos II's policy to neglect the existing native soldiery and to dismiss leading Byzantine generals and not of his decision to hire foreigners. This is also indirectly reflected in

Magistros' writings, which emphasize the need for the army to be composed of native troops.

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SUMMARY

During the last decade of the thirteenth and the first of the fourteenth century the Byzantine army relied heavily on large groups of mercenary soldiers, the most important being the Cretans, the Alans and the Catalan Grand Company. By examining the views George Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras and Thomas Magistros express about these groups, the present investigation will examine the impact of mercenaries on the military affairs of the Byzantine state, as well as Byzantine attitudes towards mercenaries.

THE MILIARESION POET : THE DACTYLIC INSCRIPTION ON A COIN OF ROMANOS III ARGYROS (1)

The funeral procession of Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034) is Psellos' earliest memory of his reign (2) and possibly even that of Christopher Mitylenaios (3). No encomia have survived which may give one the contemporary political and cultural atmosphere of his court in which the emperor was often actively involved : he developed a grand building program (4), engaged personally in military campaigns (5), and participated in contemporary theological debates (6). With the exception of the archaeological remains of the Peribleptos monastery in Constan-

(1) I would like to thank Professor Peter Van Deun for the substantial corrections and encouragement he offered for this paper as well as Floris Bernard for his insightful comments.

(2) Ἐγὼ γοῦν πολλάκις ἐθεασάμην οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἔχοντα, οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἑκκαιδεκέτης τὴν ἡλικίαν ὤν, βραχύ τι τῶν νεκρῶν διαφέροντα (*Chronographia* 3, 25, 1-3, in the edition of S. IMPELLIZZERI, *Michele Psello. Imperatori di Bisanzio [Cronografia]*, I, Milan, 1984).

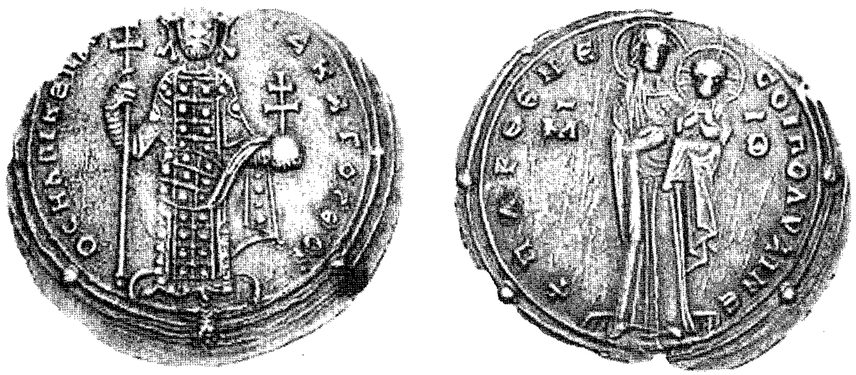
(3) E. KURTZ, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig, 1903, poem 8 (pp. 4-5).

(4) Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρόπος ἐπενοήθη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Σολομῶντι ἐκείνῳ τῷ πάνυ τῆς τοῦ πολυθρυλλήτου ναοῦ βασκαίνων οἰκοδομῆς, ζηλοτυπῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ τεμένει καὶ ἐπωνύμῳ τῆς θείας καὶ ἀρρήτου Σοφίας, ἀντανοικοδομεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ ἀνθιδρύειν ναὸν τῇ Θεομήτορι ἐπεχείρησεν (*Chronographia* 3, 14, 1-6).

(5) Βραχὺ δὲ τῶν λόγων ἀφέμενος, αὖθις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι προσῄει, καὶ ἐς κνημῖδας καὶ θώρακας ἐπένευεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάλογος, καὶ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἅπαν ἑλεῖν τὸ βάρβαρον ὅσον τε ἑῷον καὶ ὅσον ἑσπέριον· ἐβούλετο δὲ τοῦτο οὐ λόγοις δηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅπλοις τυραννεῖν (*Chronographia* 3, 4, 1-5).

(6) Αἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν ζητημάτων προβολαὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων λογίων προετείνοντο, τῶν δὲ ἀπορουμένων τὰ πλείω ἄλυτα καθεστήκει· ἐζητεῖτο γὰρ πῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀμιξία καὶ σύλληψις, παρθένος τε καὶ τόκος, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν διηρευνῶντο· καὶ ἦν ὁρᾶν τὸ βασίλειον σχῆμα μὲν φιλόσοφον περικείμενον, ἦν δὲ προσωπεῖον τὸ πᾶν καὶ προσποίησις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀληθείας βάσανος καὶ ἐξέτασις (*Chronographia* 3, 3, 7-14).

tinople (Sulu Manastir – Surp Gevorg) ([7]), nothing contemporary survives and most of his activities were described after his death. One may turn to an extraordinary piece of contemporary evidence which reveals the dazzling power of Byzantine court literature and its imperial patronage during the reign of Romanos III Argyros : a silver coin.



The silver coin ([8]), a *miliaresion* (μιλιαρήσιον) ([9]), shows the Virgin Mary standing and holding the infant Jesus in her left arm while pointing to him with her right hand (Virgin Hodegetria) ([10]). The other side shows the emperor standing, holding a cross in his right hand and an

(7) *ODB*, p. 1628 ; R. Janin, *Le monastère de Théotocos Péribleptos à Constantinople*, in *Bulletin de la Section historique de l'Académie Roumaine*, 26 (1945) pp. 192-201 ; Idem, *Les églises et les monastères (La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, première partie, *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Œcuménique*, III), Paris, 1969², pp. 218-222 ; C. Mango, *The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastir) at Constantinople Revisited*, in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 23 (1992), pp. 473-493 ; F. Özgümüs, *Peribleptos (Sulu) Monastery in Istanbul*, in *BZ*, 93 (2000), pp. 508-520.

(8) J. Fagerlie, *A Miliaresion of Romanus III and a Nomisma of Michael IV*, in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 11 (1964), pp. 227-236 ; Cécile Morrisson, *Une monnaie d'argent de Romain III Argyre (1028-1034)*, in *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique*, 21 (1966), pp. 4-5 ; Eadem, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, II, Paris, 1970, p. 627 ; P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, III, 2, Washington, 1973, pp. 712-714.

(9) One twelfth of a solidus ; its weight was probably meant to be 3, 03 gr. See *ODB*, p. 1373 (*miliaresion*).

(10) Cécile Morrisson, *Catalogue*, p. 627, says this is the only Hodegetria on Byzantine coins.

orb mounted by a cross in his left hand. He is wearing the imperial crown and loros. While the coin may be exceptional for numismatists ([11]), the inscription is astonishing for its literary implications :

Recto : ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ ΣΟΙ ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΕ
Verso : ΟΣ ΗΛΠΙΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΙ

Παρθένε σοι πολύαινε, ὃς ἤλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ

Honoured Virgin, whoever places his trust in you, has success in everything.

This inscription reveals the court policy towards literature since it was the emperor who sometimes interfered directly in the design of coins ([12]). One may draw a parallel with ancient Greek coinage, the high artistic merits of which reveal the taste and patronage of the city state which commissioned it. The same may be said about this coin's inscription and becomes apparent when one realizes it is a dactylic hexameter ([13]). The scheme is as follows :

Παρθένε σοι πολύαινε, ὃς ἤλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ
Πᾱρθε̆νε̆ σοῑ πο̆λῠαῑνε̆ | ὅς ῆλπῐκε̆ | πᾱντᾰ κᾰτōρθοῑ

– ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ∪ | – ∪∪ | – ∪∪ – –

The metre confirms the idea that the side with the standing Virgin Mary is the *recto* and the other side is the *verso*, since the caesura, the rhythmic pause, recommended for each hexameter line, is also the divi-

(11) Most notably because the coin was imitated in Denmark within a short time. It was brought by the returning Varangian guards and copied for local use. P. Grierson, *Harald Hardrada and Byzantine Coin Types in Denmark*, in *BF*, 1 (1966), pp. 124-138. Cécile Morrisson, *Le rôle des Varanges dans la transmission de la monnaie byzantine en Scandinavie* in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Les pays du Nord et Byzance. Actes du colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie (Uppsala, 1979)* (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Figura*, N. S., 19), Stockholm, 1981, pp. 131-140.

(12) Τὸν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ὃν εἴρηται τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Κομνηνὸς ἀναζωσάμενος δόξαν τε παρεσχηκὼς ἀνδρείας καὶ πεῖραν πολεμικῆς γενναιότητος, αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλικῷ νομίσματι σπαθηφόρος διαχαράττεται, μὴ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιγράψας, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἰσχύι καὶ τῇ περὶ πολέμους ἐμπειρίᾳ, καὶ οἷα αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπάρχεται πράξεων, φιλοτίμοις πρότερον τοὺς συναραμένους αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ σπούδασμα κοσμήσας τιμαῖς τό τε δημοτικὸν τῆς προσηκούσης ἀξιώσας προνοίας· καὶ φροντιστὰς δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν δημοσίων ἀπέδειξε συλλόγων (*Continuatio Scylitzae*, p. 103, 1-8 in the edition of E. Th. Tsolakes, *Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση [Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus]*, Thessalonica, 1968).

(13) P. Grierson pointed out the metre at p. 712 of his *Catalogue*.

sion between the *recto* and *verso* part of the inscription. The caesura is 'feminine', the preferred break of Hellenistic and especially late antique poetry [14]. Moreover, there is another break, known as the 'bucolic caesura', which marks the beginning of the expression πάντα κατορθοῖ. It is elegantly done since it helps to establish the correct and unique way to read the line. Normally πάντα could be construed also with the previous verb (ἤλπικε), but the bucolic caesura ensures that one reads σοι as the indirect object of ἤλπικε. The line is also integrated with the design of the coin since the terms defining the person depicted are the first in each half of the verse. Thus παρθένε, Virgin Mary, is the first word on the *recto* side and ὅς, the emperor, is the first word of the *verso* side. Another sign of the writer's capacity is the avoidance of hiatus.

The use of poetry on coins is not usual, unlike lead seals which often bear metrical inscriptions. No other coin of Romanos III Argyros has a metrical inscription and only one other in the following twenty years has such an inscription during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos [15], but this one is in Byzantine iambic trimetres, a more usual rhythm. It is therefore unusual to have a dactylic hexameter inscription on a coin.

The language of the coin is also surprising, as it was written by someone well acquainted with Homer. The term πολύαινε, much honoured, was employed exclusively as an epithet for Odysseus in both Iliad and Odyssey [16] and it is almost always employed in Greek literature when discussing Homer [17]. There is also a debate in the scholia about its exact meaning in Homer : esteemed [18] or eloquent [19]. The *miliaresion*

(14) M. West, *Greek Metre*, Oxford, 1982, p. 177.

(15) The inscription on miliaresia of Constantine IX Monomachos is Δέσποινα σῴζοις εὐσεβῆ Μονομάχον. This is a byzantine iambic trimetre where the caesura and accent positions are respected though the prosody of the word Monomachos is not respected (it consists of four consecutive short syllables). This same phenomenon can be seen e.g. in the poems of John Mauropous 31, 39 ; 44, 4 ; 45, 3 ; 55, 40 ; 57, 2 ; 70, 1 ; 71, 2 in the edition of P. A. de Lagarde and J. Bollig, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, Göttingen, 1882.

(16) *Ilias* 9, 673 ; 10, 544 ; 11, 430 ; *Odyssea* 12, 284.

(17) Based on a search on the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (www.tlg.uci.edu). The version was that of May 28th 2008.

(18) Πολύαινος· πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιος (*Suda* π, 1954 in the edition of Ada Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, IV, Stuttgart, 1971 [= 1935]).

(19) δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰών, πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ. Ar. interpretationem vocabuli πολύαινε habet Apoll. l. h. 133, 14 : Ἀρίσταρχος πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιε· οἱ δὲ πολύμυθε,

poet has opted for the view of the Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus who favoured the first meaning.

Another striking feature is the term κατορθοῖ which occurs in more contexts but which together with the overall meaning of the line recalls the ancient comic playwright Aristophanes :

Ὡς πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ χἠ τύχη κατορθοῖ (Aristophanes, *Pax* 939).

Surely all that God wills and fortune favours.

One may legitimately doubt the exact reference, except for the fact that the verse reappears in dictionaries such as the tenth century Suda under the word πάντα revealing that it was well known and accessible at the time [20]. One may associate the line from Aristophanes with that of the coin since both are concerned with the role of the divine within human activity. For Aristophanes the will of God combined with Fate assures success [21], for Romanos III Argyros his trust in the Virgin Mary is an endorsement of his choices. Psellos thought such devotion to be excessive [22].

While the *miliaresion* inscription may hint at the political and theological points of view of the emperor, the most striking aspect remains the poetry. To be able to express such ideas concisely, in a Homeric verse form recalling ancient *scholia* and literature, signals the pen of a great and accomplished writer endorsed by political power between 1028-1034. It cannot be Psellos or Mauropous since they never write hexameters, and it is too early for Christopher Mitylenaios. The coin inscription was written by a poet supported and promoted by political power, someone who had a level of fame and ability during the reign of Basil II

Aristonicus Grammaticus, *De Signis Odysseae* 184 in the edition O. Carnuth, *Aristonici Περὶ σημείων Ὀδυσσείας reliquiae emendatiores*, Leipzig, 1869 ; πολύαινε Ἀρίσταρχος πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιε. οἱ δὲ πολύμυθε, Apollonius Sophistes, *Lexicon Homericum* 133, 14 in the edition of I. Bekker, *Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon Homericum*, Berlin, 1833 ; πολύαινε· πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιε. ἢ πολύμυθε, Hesychius, *Lexicon* Π-Ω, π, 2817, 1 in the edition M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, III, Halle, 1861.

(20) Πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ χ' ἡ τύχη κατορθοῖ, χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ τούτων κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπαντᾷ, τουτέστιν ὁπόσα ἂν θελήσῃ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ τύχη κατορθοῖ, ταῦτα χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν (*Suda* π, 192).

(21) One may analyse the verse of Aristophanes out of its context since the Suda is interested in the verse as a gnomic utterance.

(22) See text in note 6.

(at least towards the end), Constantine VIII (1025-1028), and Romanos III (1028-1034). Moreover, it would seem it is someone who is interested in Homeric scholarship. He thus may have been teaching pupils how to read the Homeric poems, though his writing an official text seems to make him more important and well known than a simple *grammatikos* or school teacher. Psellos does point out that Romanos III Argyros surrounded himself with intellectuals, but that they were few, and he also implies that they were more interested in literature than pure speculation :

> Ἀμέλει καὶ εἴ που σπινθῆρές τινες σοφίας ὑπὸ σποδιᾷ παρεκρύπτοντο, ἀνεχώννυε, καὶ πᾶν γένος κατέλεγε, φιλοσόφους φημὶ καὶ ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι περὶ τὰ μαθήματα ἐσπουδάκασιν ἢ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαι ᾠήθησαν. Βραχεῖς γὰρ ὁ τηνικαῦτα χρόνος λογίους παρέτρεφε, καὶ τούτους μέχρι τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν ἑστηκότας προθύρων, καὶ τὰ Πλατωνικὰ μόνον ἀποστοματίζοντας σύμβολα, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν κεκρυμμένων εἰδότας, μηδ' ὅσα οἱ ἄνδρες περὶ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἢ τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐσπουδάκασιν (*Chronographia* 3, 2, 13 - 3, 5).

> *Indeed if sparks of wisdom were hidden under the ashes, he used to gather them and collect every type, I mean philosophers and writers and all those who studied or, rather, thought they were studying. For that age produced few intellectuals and they used to stand outside the doors of Aristotelian notions and merely to repeat the doctrines of Plato like parrots, without knowing anything of the hidden secrets nor those matters which the dialecticians or logicians were studying.*

Psellos' dismissive tone does not reflect the cultural activities of this time. One may think of the classicizing synodal texts written by patriarch Alexios Studites [23], or the emergence of a writer such as Niketas Stethatos [24], or even John of Melitene whose reputation as a writer was significant even at a much later date [25]. However, these are prose writers, whose polemical tone fits well with the theological interests expressed by the emperor [26].

(23) G. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites*, Kiel, 1911.

(24) J. Darrouzès, *Nicéthas Stéthatos, Opuscules et lettres* (*SC*, 81), Paris, 1961.

(25) Οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων ἐβάδισε καὶ τέλος τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ σεμνῶς προσωμίλησε, καὶ δεῖγμα τοῦ λόγου οἱ ἐκείνου λόγοι, μεθ' ὅσης μὲν τέχνης συγκείμενοι, οἵαν δὲ καὶ τὴν χάριν ὑποδεικνύοντες, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ φιλόσοφον ὅσον, πρεσβυτικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτρέπον καὶ τὸ λεῖον οὐχ ὑπτιάζον, ἀλλ' ἐπεστραμμένον πρὸς ἑαυτό, τὸ δὲ τεχνικὸν οὐ κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ τορὸν καὶ ἀκμαῖον καὶ ἠχοῦν κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν σάλπιγγα. P. Gautier, *Monodies inédites de Michel Psellos*, in *REB*, 36 (1978), ll. 44-50.

Few poets are known and studied from this period. Lauxtermann mentions [27] Symeon the New Theologian and the Anonymous of Sola [28]. One may add Michael the Grammarian [29]. None of these appear to have written hexameters. This may not exclude them entirely, though whoever wrote the verse inscription on the *miliaresion* was well versed in dactylic hexameters.

The dactylic hexameters of John Geometres [30] have been recently studied by Lauxtermann [31] as well as by van Opstall [32]. Firstly she points out that his dates are 935/940 - 1000, which excludes him from being the writer of the hexameter of the *miliaresion*. Moreover, she also points out that, unlike the late antique epic writer Nonnus, he rarely uses the feminine caesura (28%) [33], while the bucolic caesura seems to

(26) See text in note 6.

(27) M. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres, Texts and Contexts* (*Wiener byzantinistische Studien*, 24/1), Vienna, 2003, p. 328. "The Anonymous of Sola lived at a time we know little about and which has left us very little poetry. When he started his literary career, Geometres was still alive ; and when he laid down his pen, Mauropous and Christophoros had already begun writing. But apart from the prolific Symeon the New Theologian, the Anonymous of Sola is the only poet whom we know to have been active in the first decades of the eleventh century".

(28) *Vaticanus* gr. 753, f. 4r-v in G. Sola, *Giambografi sconosciuti del secolo XI*, in *Roma e l'Oriente*, 11 (1916), pp. 18-27 and pp. 149-153.

(29) S. G. Mercati, *Ancora intorno a Μιχαὴλ γραμματικὸς ὁ ἱερομόναχος*, in *Collectanea Byzantina*, I, Bari, 1970, pp. 128-131. On the date of Michael the Grammarian, ca 1030, see F. Lauritzen, *Michael the Grammarian's Irony about Hypsilon*, in *Bsl*, 67 (2009) (forthcoming). Lauxtermann clearly discusses Michael the Grammarian in depth and he proposed to date him to the eleventh century on a stylistic basis.

(30) M. De Groote, *Joannes Geometres'* Metaphrasis of the Odes *: Critical Edition*, in *GRBS*, 44 (2004), pp. 375-410 ; C. De Stefani, *Two Poems of Johannes Geometres*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 7 (2007), pp. 81-84.

(31) M. Lauxtermann, *John Geometres - Poet and Soldier*, in *Byz.*, 68 (1998), pp. 356-380.

(32) Emilie Marlène van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre. Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques* (*The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, 75), Leiden - Boston, 2008.

(33) van Opstall, p. 81.

be more usual in other poems such as the *Paradeisos* (75%) (34). Hiatus is frequent (35) and false quantities can be found (36). These characteristics are important since they reveal a different technique of composition than that consciously employed by the *miliaresion* poet. Though the coin inscription represents one verse, it is striking that on all these points there is a clear divergence of style from the preferred characteristics of John Geometres.

Psellos' grammar and poetry teacher seems to fit many of the general characteristics mentioned as defining the verse of the *miliaresion*. Maistor Niketas (37) of the school of Saint Peter was interested in Homer (38) and paid special attention to the *Odyssey* (39). He paid attention to other poets too (40), studied and taught the comments of Aristarchus and Apollonius on grammar, and therefore was in a position to know about the debate in Homeric scholarship about the term πολύαινος. Niketas was less interested in the accentual poetry usual in Byzantine literature than in the quantitative poetry of ancient Greece (41). In the same way the *miliaresion* verse does not follow the standard accentual rhythm, as do the lines of John Geometres who often has an accented penultimate syllable, but the coin has an accented last syllable, a very unusual feature (42). Furthermore, Niketas' dates seem to be more or less fitting with the coin. Psellos was learning about poetry sometime around the time when he saw the funeral pro-

(34) van Opstall, p. 83.
(35) van Opstall, p. 77.
(36) van Opstall, pp. 72-77.
(37) Only known from a monody written by Psellos, ed. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, Venice - Paris, 1876 (= Hildesheim - New York, 1972), pp. 87-96.
(38) Τοιοῦτος Ὁμηρίδης ἐκεῖνος ἦν, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς προσέχων τῷ γράμματι, οὐδὲ θελγόμενος τῷ μέτρῳ τὴν ἀκοήν, οὐδὲ τῷ φαινομένῳ διδούς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπόθετον κάλλος ζητῶν, λόγῳ καὶ θεωρίᾳ διασχὼν τὴν ὕλην, καὶ εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων γενόμενος (Sathas, V, p. 92, 21-24).
(39) Ἡ δὲ φίλη πατρὶς πρὸς ἣν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀπὸ τῆς καταφαρματτούσης ἠπείγοντο, ἡ ἄνω ὑπενοεῖτο Ἱερουσαλήμ (Sathas, V, p. 92, 14-16).
(40) Οὕτως αὐτῷ Ἐπίχαρμοί τε καὶ Ἀρχίλοχοι, Νίκανδροί τε καὶ Πίνδαροι, καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ ποίησις ἐγινώσκετο, ὅση μὴ ἄνευ μουσικῆς ἐπινοίας ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐχώρησε (Sathas, V, p. 92, 25-27).
(41) See the text quoted in note 37.
(42) van Opstall 86-88

cession of Romanos III in 1034 (43). Therefore the maistor Niketas was contemporary with that emperor. One should not necessarily identify the *miliaresion* poet with the maistor Niketas but note that they are contemporary and seem to have similar interests and tastes. Psellos' praise for Niketas' ability to analyse poetry and his condemnation of the literature at the court of Romanos III suggest that there were rival factions studying poetry in similar ways.

The variety of poetic factions at court may be explained by a peculiarity of the imperial court at the time of Romanos III. The emperor had been the city eparch, the ancient urban prefect, and as such he would have had his own network of bureaucrats, and may have chosen the miliaresion poet from among these. Indeed the *Book of the Eparch* describes the abilities required for people working under the supervision of the eparch. The corporation of the tabularii who were in charge of writing legal documents, had to be well educated (44). Effectively this would mean that the eparch had his own court which would have been parallel in the city with the imperial one. Psellos mentions that the urban prefect was an emperor in everything but his title (45). It would not be surprising if Romanos Argyros had brought with him some of his secretaries and placed them in the imperial bureaucracy. Furthermore, it would explain the promotion of someone quite young like Psellos during the next reign, that of Michael IV Paphlagon, as well as the possible promotion of Mauropous and Christopher Mitylenaios, since they appear distant from the previous emperor. Among these colleagues of Romanos III one may propose there was also the miliaresion poet.

Psellos' view of Romanos III Argyros as an ineffectual general and an intellectual snob reveals the change of mood in the court of Michael IV

(43) Καὶ εἶδον κἀγὼ τὴν ἐξόδιον ταύτην πομπὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, οὔπω μὲν γενειάσκων, ἄρτι δὲ παραγγείλας ἐς τοὺς ποιητικοὺς λόγους, καὶ ἀθρήσας τὸν κείμενον οὔπω ἀκριβῶς ἐγνώκειν οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος, οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν παρασήμων συνεβαλλόμην ὡς ὁ τεθνηκώς ἐστι βασιλεύς (*Chronographia* 4, 4, 1-6).
(44) Ὁ προχειρισθησόμενος ὀφείλει ἐπὶ στόματος ἔχειν τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα τίτλους τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου νόμου καὶ τῶν ἑξήκοντα βιβλίων τὴν γνῶσιν, παιδευθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παίδευσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ διαμαρτάνῃ ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν, ὀλισθαίνῃ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν λέξιν· ἔχειν δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον πληρέστατον τοῦ διατρανοῦσθαι καὶ τῷ νοῒ καὶ τῷ σώματι (*Eparchikon Biblion* 1, 2, 1-5, ed. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* [*CFHB*, 33], Vienna, 1991).
(45) Βασίλειος δὲ αὕτη ἀρχή, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀπόρφυρος (*Chronographia* 2, 10, 2-3).

Paphlagon (46). He admires the younger emperor (47), though not having had a direct experience of the administration of Romanos III. The *miliaresion* inscription confirms the cultural trends singled out by Psellos but also reveals the remarkable interest in ancient Greek poetry at the court of the emperor. It points out that poets such as Christopher Mitylenaios were preceded by a generation which was competent in ancient versification but which was subsequent to John Geometres. The inscription is also important since its stylistic peculiarities reveal an awareness of the Homeric hexameter with feminine and bucolic caesuras between 1028 and 1034. It illustrates imperial patronage, but also the public availability of a form of culture which was not accessible to the majority of persons using such currency. Therefore it expands our knowledge of the poetry of the early eleventh century with another poet to be added to Symeon the New Theologian, the Anonymous of Sola, and Michael the Grammarian. At this moment these four poets represent all that is securely known of this couple of crucial decades for the development and evolution of Byzantine culture and literary style, and the *miliaresion* poet demonstrates the careful and attentive eye of the emperor for new poetic trends and literary developments.

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SUMMARY

The silver miliaresion coin of Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034) has a metrical inscription which reveals traits of the cultural policy of the emperor. It is written in dactylic hexameters and contains a feminine caesura as well as a bucolic one and an allusion to the Odyssey and to Aristophanes. These features confirm the emperor as a patron of the arts and reveal the presence of an accomplished but otherwise unknown poet at the imperial court.

(46) Psellos' introduction into the imperial court is described in F. LAURITZEN, *Psellos' Early Career at Court*, in *VV*, 68 (2009) (forthcoming).

(47) Καὶ ἀποπεφάνθω μοι περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς εἰ μὴ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ μερὶς μοίρᾳ προσεφύη κακῇ, κἀντεῦθεν οὔτε καταλύειν εἶχε τὸ γένος παντάπασιν, οὔτ᾽ ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῶν τρόπων, οὐκ ἄν τις ἐκείνῳ τῶν περιωνύμων βασιλέων ἀντήρισεν (*Chronographia* 4, 10, 17-21).

BESSARION LECTEUR DU COMMENTAIRE DE PROCLUS SUR LE *PARMÉNIDE*, AVEC UNE ÉDITION DE SES SCHOLIES AUX LIVRES II ET III

Dans le cadre du projet d'édition critique de l'*In Parmenidem* de Proclus (1), nous avons été amenés à examiner de plus près l'un des manuscrits de ce texte, l'*Ambrosianus* B 165 sup. (159 Martini - Bassi), qui a servi d'exemplaire de travail au cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472). Ce manuscrit est non seulement très important pour l'histoire du texte de Proclus, mais il permet également d'observer pour ainsi dire *in vivo* le travail d'un grand érudit de la Renaissance (2).

(1) Ce projet a abouti à la publication de : Procli *In Parmenidem commentaria*, edidit C. STEEL, t. I Libros I-III continens, recognoverunt C. STEEL, C. MACÉ, P. D'HOINE (*Oxford Classical Texts*), Oxford, 2007 ; t. II Libros IV-V continens, recognoverunt C. STEEL, A. GRIBOMONT, P. D'HOINE (*Oxford Classical Texts*), Oxford, 2008 ; t. III Libros VI-VII et indices continens, recognoverunt L. VAN CAMPE et C. STEEL, ultimam partem ex latino in graecum vertit C. STEEL (*Oxford Classical Texts*), Oxford, 2009 (à paraître). Sauf mention spéciale, nous faisons toujours référence à cette édition, qui remplace *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita* quae (...) emendavit et auxit V. COUSIN, Pars III, Paris, 1864.

(2) Sur les autographes de Bessarion, voir : H. D. SAFFREY, *Recherches sur quelques autographes du cardinal Bessarion et leur caractère autobiographique*, dans *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III (*ST*, 233), Città del Vaticano, 1964, pp. 263-297, réimpr. dans H. D. SAFFREY, *L'héritage des Anciens au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (*Histoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité classique*, 28), Paris, 2002, pp. 95-131 ; et *Notes autographes du cardinal Bessarion dans un manuscrit de Munich*, dans *Byz.*, 35 (1965), pp. 536-563, réimpr. dans SAFFREY, *L'héritage des Anciens*, pp. 132-165. On trouvera une mise au point bibliographique récente dans : Bessarione di Nicea, *Orazione dogmatica sull'unione dei Greci e dei Latini*, introduzione, traduzione e note di G. LUSINI, con un saggio di A. RIGO (*Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici. Biblioteca europea*, 28), Napoli, 2001, pp. 85-99 (vie et œuvre de Bessarion), pp. 119-124 et 197-227 (bibliographie). Voir aussi, plus récemment encore, plusieurs contributions sur le cardinal Bessarion dans *Der Beitrag der byzantinischen*

Dans cette contribution, nous nous proposons d'abord de retracer l'histoire du manuscrit de Bessarion et de ses copies et d'identifier ses possesseurs successifs. Ensuite, nous montrerons qu'un examen attentif du manuscrit permet d'en apprendre davantage sur la méthode de travail de Bessarion (3). Les exemples que nous donnerons pour illustrer ce propos seront principalement tirés des livres I-III du commentaire de Proclus. Avant de proposer, en appendice à cet article, une édition des scholies de Bessarion aux livres II et III, nous examinerons également les interventions d'autres humanistes dans le manuscrit.

1. Histoire du manuscrit

L'*Ambrosianus* B 165 sup. (159 Martini - Bassi) est un manuscrit en papier de dimensions moyennes, daté du milieu du XIV^{e} s. (4), qui contient le commentaire de Proclus sur le *Parménide* de Platon (ff. 1-140^{v}), ainsi que la «continuation» de ce commentaire par Georges Pachymère (ff. 140^{v}-156^{v}) (5). Le texte de Proclus et la «continuation» faisaient partie d'un volumineux manuscrit de la collection du cardinal Bessarion (6), qui contenait d'autres textes, aujourd'hui conservés à l'Ambrosienne dans des volumes séparés (A 168 sup. : ps.-Philopon, *In De Anima* III – ps.-Aristote, *De plantis* – extraits mathématiques ; D 166 inf. : Hermias, *In Phaedrum* ; P 206 sup. et R 125 sup. : Proclus, *Elementatio theologica*, avec la réfutation de Nicolas de Méthone). Il ne fait pas de doute que cette collection de textes a été voulue comme un tout (7). Elle a probablement été copiée à Constantinople pour un intellectuel ou un cercle d'intellectuels byzantins (8). Le manuscrit n'était pas encore divisé quand il appartenait au cardinal Bessarion (9) et des corrections et des annotations marginales de sa main se retrouvent dans tous ces textes. C'est probablement dans la période entre 1440 et 1453 que Bessarion a fait l'acquisition de ce volume, comme de tant d'autres manuscrits philosophiques (10). Entré après la mort de Bessarion à la Bibliothèque Marcienne de Venise (11), le manuscrit a été emprunté par Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (1456-1531), qui ne l'a jamais rendu (12). Nous reviendrons plus loin sur les interventions de Tomeo dans le manuscrit. Après la mort de celui-ci à Padoue, sa collection a été dispersée et le manuscrit a été acheté par Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601), qui s'était installé à

Gelehrten zur abendländischen Renaissance des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, hrsg. von E. Konstantinou (*Philhellenische Studien*, 12), Frankfurt am Main, 2006.

(3) Dans la suite, nous utilisons le matériel que C. Steel avait préparé pour la publication de l'édition du livre I du commentaire de Proclus dans la collection «Budé» et qui a été intégré, sans son nom, dans : Proclus, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide *de Platon*, t. I, 1re partie : *Introduction générale* et 2^{e} partie : *Livre* I, texte établi, traduit et annoté par C. Luna et A.-Ph. Segonds (*Collection des Universités de France*), Paris, 2007. Voir la préface de C. Steel au tome II de l'édition dans la collection *Oxford Classical Texts*, pp. V-VIII et surtout le compte rendu de C. Steel à paraître dans *Mnemosyne* (2009).

(4) Dimensions : 290 × 215 mm., 156 ff. Cf. E. Martini et D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milano, 1906, t. I, p. 175.

(5) George Pachymeres, *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides [Anonymous Sequel to Proclus' Commentary]*, ed. Th. Gadra *et al.*, introd. by L. G. Westerink (*Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi Byzantini*, 4), Athinai, 1989, particulièrement pp. XI-XII pour ce manuscrit.

(6) Le mérite de cette découverte revient à L. Labowsky, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library found in Milan*, dans *Mediaeval and Renaissance studies*, 5 (1961), pp. 108-131.

(7) Les mêmes filigranes et les mêmes mains se retrouvent en effet dans ces différents textes : voir Labowsky, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library* ; ainsi que H. D. Saffrey, «c.r. de *Plato latinus* III», dans *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 81, 7/8 (Juli/ Aug. 1960), coll. 621-629.

(8) C'est la conclusion de Labowsky, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library*, p. 121 : "It looks as if the manuscript was the product of a centre of learning". Sur l'intérêt pour la philosophie aristotélicienne et néoplatonicienne à Constantinople au XIV^{e} s., voir M. Cacouros, *Deux épisodes inconnus dans la réception de Proclus à Byzance aux XIII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècles : La philosophie de Proclus réintroduite à Byzance grâce à l'"Hypotypôsis'. Néophytos Prodromènos et Kôntostéphanos (?) lecteurs de Proclus (avant Argyropoulos) dans le 'Xénon' du Kralj*, dans A.-Ph. Segonds et C. Steel (edd.), *Proclus et la Théologie platonicienne : Actes du colloque international de Louvain (13-16 mai 1998) en l'honneur de H. D. Saffrey et L. G. Westerink (De Wulf-Mansion centre. Ancient and medieval philosophy*, Series 1, 26), Leuven - Paris, 2000, pp. 589-627 (ici pp. 599-600).

(9) Cf. L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Bibliotheca Marciana. Six Early Inventories* (*Sussidi eruditi*, 31), Roma, 1979, p. 174 (inventaire de 1468, n° 403) et p. 219 (inventaire de 1474, n° 526).

(10) Voir E. Mioni, *La formazione della biblioteca greca di Bessarione*, dans G. Fiaccadori e.a. (edd.), *Bessarione e l'umanesimo* (*Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici. Saggi e ricerche*, 1), Napoli, 1994, pp. 229-240 (spécialement p. 232).

(11) Sur la donation de Bessarion à la *Marciana*, voir M. Zorzi, *Bessarione e i codici greci*, dans G. Benzoni (ed.), *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano* (*Civiltà veneziana, Saggi*, 46), Venezia, 2002, pp. 93-121.

(12) Labowsky, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library*, p. 124 : "he was rather disinclined to return the books which he had borrowed from the library".

Padoue en 1558. La bibliothèque de Pinelli a ensuite été rachetée en 1609 par le cardinal Federico Borromeo, et c'est ainsi que le manuscrit de Bessarion s'est retrouvé à la bibliothèque Ambrosienne, à laquelle le cardinal Borromeo a légué sa collection de livres (13).

L'*Ambrosianus* B 165 sup. (**M**) est une copie directe du *Parisinus gr.* 1810 (**A**). Ce dernier, un manuscrit en bombycin copié par Georges Pachymère (1242- ca. 1310) à Constantinople, a été endommagé par l'eau vers le milieu du XIVe s. Il est possible de dater assez précisément l'accident, car **M** a dû être copié sur **A** avant le dommage, alors qu'une copie ultérieure du même **A**, le *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr.* 103 (**L**), achevé en 1358, a été réalisée après la première tentative de restauration de **A** (14). Nous avons montré ailleurs quelle place il faut accorder au manuscrit de Pachymère dans la tradition du texte de Proclus (15). Qu'il nous suffise ici de rappeler que **A**, s'il est le plus ancien manuscrit conservé du texte de Proclus, n'en est pas un témoin «innocent» : Pachymère ne s'est pas contenté de copier le texte, il l'a souvent corrigé, en a parfois modifié la teneur et l'a «complété» de son propre commentaire sur les derniers lemmes du texte de Platon.

Le manuscrit **M**, dans son état original, présentait toutes les particularités (y compris les quelques annotations en marge) et les fautes de son modèle **A**, et comportait aussi de nombreuses fautes propres, dues aux deux copistes successifs du manuscrit : «manus IV» (f. 1-93r) et «manus V» (f. 93v-156v), comme les appelle Labowsky (16). Une troisième main (**M**c) (17) a comblé quelques omissions et a apporté plusieurs corrections, certaines étant de l'ordre de la conjecture (18).

(13) LABOWSKY, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library*, pp. 127-128.
(14) STEEL, *Procli in Parmenidem commentaria*, t. I, pp. XI-XII.
(15) C. STEEL - C. MACÉ, *Georges Pachymère philologue : le Commentaire de Proclus au Parménide dans le manuscrit Parisinus gr. 1810*, dans M. CACOUROS et M.-H. CONGOURDEAU (edd.), *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée au XXe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Paris, 2001)* (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 146), Leuven - Paris - Dudley (Ma), 2006, pp. 77-99.
(16) LABOWSKY, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library* , p. 119.
(17) D'après LABOWSKY, *Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library*, p. 119, il s'agit de la main qui a copié *El. theol.* § 78 et §§ 116-120 dans l'*Ambrosianus* P 206 sup. (648 Martini - Bassi).
(18) Par exemple I 623.19 ἀνυπόθετον **M**c : ἀνύποπτον **A** ; I 657.15 ὀνοματοθέτης **M**c : ὁ νομοθέτης **A** ὀνομαθέτης **M** ; IV 841.22 κοροπλαθικοῖς **M**c : κηροπλαστικοῖς **A**.

Comme nous allons le montrer, après avoir acquis le manuscrit, Bessarion l'a corrigé avec soin, avant de charger Georges Tribizios (ou Trivizias) d'en réaliser une copie, l'actuel *Marcianus gr.* 191 (**V**), qui intègre les corrections et pratiquement toutes les notes marginales de Bessarion, mais est malheureusement émaillé de nombreuses erreurs (19). Le *Marcianus gr.* 191 est lui-même à l'origine d'une assez longue lignée de copies (20).

Le manuscrit de Bessarion a encore été copié deux fois, probablement à Padoue, quand il se trouvait en la possession de Pinelli. Ces deux copies sont : l'*Ambrosianus* H 252 inf. (1040 Martini - Bassi), copié par Camillo Veneto (ou Zanetti) pour Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597), et le *Monacensis* gr. 425 (**P**), probablement copié par Sophianos Melissenos, collaborateur de Darmarios, qui a travaillé à Padoue entre 1566 et 1571 (21). Le *Monacensis* n'est une copie de **M** que pour les trois premiers livres, pour le reste du commentaire il est un témoin direct du manuscrit perdu **Σ**, dont nous parlerons plus loin. Ces deux copies de **M** présentent quelques notes marginales, notamment certaines des variantes qui ont été notées dans les marges de **M** par Leonico Tomeo (voir plus loin), mais pas les scholies de Bessarion.

2. Le travail de Bessarion dans le manuscrit

Bessarion a travaillé en deux phases au moins (22). Il a d'abord ajouté une série d'annotations marginales et fait quelques corrections éviden-

(19) Voir la description parue dans LUNA et SEGONDS, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide, pp. CXCVI-CXCVIII, qui reprend les résultats des recherches de C. Steel. Voir aussi E. MIONI, *Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori*, dans *Miscellanea marciana di studi bessarionei (a coronamento del V centenario della donazione nicena)* (*Medioevo e umanesimo*, 24), Padova, 1976, pp. 309-312.
(20) Voir les descriptions parues dans LUNA et SEGONDS, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide, pp. CXCVIII-CCI et CCI-CCIII.
(21) E. GAMILLSCHEG, D. HARLFINGER et H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 1. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, 3), Wien, 1981, vol. A, n° 362.
(22) Les corrections de Bessarion sont souvent indétectables sur un microfilm, il faut donc examiner le manuscrit sur place pour déterminer avec certitude ce que le texte doit à Bessarion. Nous l'avons fait en deux occasions, en juin 2005 et en septembre 2007. Nous remercions la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, et particulièrement Mgr. Cesare Pasini.

tes tout au long du commentaire (y compris dans ce que nous connaissons maintenant comme la continuation du commentaire par Georges Pachymère). Dans cette première phase, il a utilisé une encre noire. Ensuite, s'étant rendu compte de la mauvaise qualité de la copie (le premier copiste surtout a fait de nombreuses fautes), il a trouvé un autre exemplaire (**Σ**) afin de collationner son propre manuscrit. Il a ainsi corrigé le texte sur base de **Σ** et ajouté d'autres notes marginales, surtout des indications de citations du texte de Platon. Cette fois, il a utilisé une encre de couleur brune, à présent presque jaune. Comme nous l'avons dit, les annotations marginales et les corrections, datant tant de la première que de la deuxième phases, ont été intégrées dans la copie **V** réalisée à la demande de Bessarion.

L'ordre dans lequel ces deux étapes se sont déroulées peut être déduit de l'examen de quelques cas où Bessarion est revenu sur une annotation marginale qu'il avait écrite pendant la première phase de son travail. Nous ne donnerons que quelques exemples.

f. 5ʳ, ad I 636.18-20 : **Mᵇ(1)** avait écrit τί τὸ τέλος καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ διαλόγου, **Mᵇ(2)** a ajouté un adverbe à la fin, κυρίως. **V** a recopié l'ensemble.

f. 6ᵛ, ad I 644.7-12 : **Mᵇ(1)** avait écrit τὸ ἓν τὰς ἑνάδας (παράγει subauditur)· αὐταὶ οὐσίας· αὐταὶ μέσας οὐσιῶν καὶ γενέσεων. Pour conclure, **Mᵇ(2)** a ajouté πάντα ταῦτα τὰς γενέσεις. Toute la scholie est omise en **V**.

f. 15ʳ, ad I 683.18-20 : **Mᵇ(1)** avait seulement noté un signe ση(μείωσαι) dans la marge, **Mᵇ(2)** a ajouté cette note autour du signe marginal : πρεσβύτης ἄχρις ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν· γέρων ὁ ὀγδοηκοντούτης. La scholie se retrouve en **V**.

f. 29ᵛ, ad II 746.1 ss. : **Mᵇ(1)** ne faisait que poser la question πῶς παράγει τὰ παράγοντα ; et **Mᵇ(2)** montre comment Proclus y répond : τὰ μὲν καθ' ὑπόβασιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ πρόοδον. **V** a recopié l'ensemble.

f. 33ʳ, ad II 761.16-17 : **Mᵇ(1)** avait écrit καὶ τῶν ἀτόμων ἕκαστος ἕν ἐστι καὶ πλῆθος, à quoi **Mᵇ(2)** ajoute καὶ τοῦτο πολλαχῶς. **V** a copié cela comme une seule scholie.

f. 34ᵛ, ad II 767.8-10 : dans la scholie ποῖα εἴδη καλεῖ γένη, c'est **Mᵇ(2)** qui a inséré εἴδη, oublié par **Mᵇ(1)**. **V** a copié le texte corrigé.

f. 35ᵛ, ad II 771.26-27 : **Mᵇ(1)** avait écrit πᾶν τὸ τῷ εἶναι ποιοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὄντος τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδίδωσι, qui correspond au texte de Proclus transmis par **M**. **Mᵇ(2)** change ἑαυτῷ en αὐτῷ, comme dans le texte de Proclus tel qu'il se lit en **Σ**. Encore une fois, **V** a copié le texte corrigé.

f. 38ᵛ, ad III 784.12 ss. : **Mᵇ(1)** avait écrit γ´ ὁποῖά εἰσι τὰ εἴδη καὶ τίς ἡ ἰδιότης αὐτῶν, avant καὶ **Mᵇ(2)** a ajouté καὶ πῶς θέτεται αὐτά. **V** a recopié l'ensemble.

f. 45ᵛ, ad III 815.15 ss. : **Mᵇ(1)** avait écrit ση(μείωσαι) εἰ τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσίας χρὴ τίθεσθαι ἰδέας καὶ διὰ τί, ὅπερ ἦν πρῶτον τῶν ζητουμένων, **Mᵇ(2)** a barré καὶ διὰ τί et **V** ne l'a pas copié.

En ce qui concerne la deuxième phase, il est même possible de connaître la longueur d'une «session de travail» de Bessarion. Il a en effet indiqué soigneusement chaque fois à quel endroit il s'interrompait dans son travail : à ces endroits, il a noté ἐνταῦθα dans la marge, au bord de la page, et il a tracé une ligne droite dans le texte, après le dernier mot lu. Il semble être d'une rare constance, car on remarque ces indications à intervalles réguliers : f. 8ᵛ (I 656.17), f. 17ᵛ (I 694.5), f. 26ᵛ (II 732.5) [23], f. 34ᵛ (II 767.25), f. 43ʳ (III 806.23), f. 52ʳ (IV 846.3), f. 61ʳ (IV 884.3), f. 68ᵛ (IV 913.6), f. 78ᵛ (IV 948.22), f. 88ᵛ (V 985.8), f. 97ᵛ (V 1022.6), f. 105ᵛ (VI 1062.5), f. 121ᵛ (VII 1147.29), f. 129ʳ (VII 1187.26), f. 137ʳ (VII 1226.17), f. 144ᵛ (Georgius Pachymeres, *In Parm.*, *ad* 148 e 4) [24].

La deuxième phase de travail de Bessarion a surtout consisté en une collation méticuleuse du manuscrit **M** sur un autre exemplaire, qui doit avoir été le manuscrit à présent disparu, **Σ**. L'essentiel concernant ce témoin perdu a été dit ailleurs. Nous ne connaissons ce manuscrit qu'à travers ses copies conservées, toutes réalisées en Italie entre 1489 (Rome) et ca. 1570 (Padoue) [25]. Nous laissons de côté la difficile discussion sur le statut de **A** par rapport à **Σ** : il semble bien que **A** dépend lui aussi de **Σ**, mais qu'il a été tellement corrigé et modifié qu'il vaut mieux, en tout état de cause, le considérer comme un témoin indépendant [26]. Après **A**, la collation de **Σ** réalisée par Bessarion constitue le plus ancien témoignage sur ce manuscrit. Nous avons la preuve que c'est bien **Σ** que Bessarion a utilisé comme exemplaire de collation grâce à une note que le copiste du *Laurentianus plut.* LXXXV, 8 (**F**), Jean Rhosos, a laissée dans son manuscrit : ὁ λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας τὴν βίβλον ταύτην τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι, γινωσκέτω ὅτι ἀκεραίως κατὰ τὸ πρωτότυπον ἀντεγράφη, ὃ καὶ ὁ θειότατος καρδινάλις ὁ νικαίας διῆλθε, καὶ πολλὰ τούτου διώρθωσε [27]. Cela

(23) Voir planche 2.

(24) George Pachymeres, *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, ed. Th. Gadra, p. 19, l. 4.

(25) Voir Steel, *Procli in Parmenidem commentaria*, t. I, pp. xv-xix.

(26) Voir Steel - Macé, *Georges Pachymère philologue*.

(27) Dans Luna et Segonds, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide, pp. ccl-ccliv, on trouvera une longue discussion sur cette note.

explique que des leçons de **A** et même parfois des conjectures de Bessarion se retrouvent dans l'une ou l'autre des copies récentes de **Σ**.

L'apparat de notre édition ne rend pas compte de l'ampleur du travail fourni par Bessarion, parce qu'il mentionne seulement les cas où nous éditons ou, à tout le moins, considérons une leçon de Bessarion qui ne se trouve ni en **A** ni dans aucun des descendants conservés de **Σ**. Mais à chaque page du manuscrit **M**, Bessarion a fait au moins une dizaine de corrections, le plus souvent pour rectifier les erreurs des copistes de **M**, mais aussi pour faire correspondre le texte à celui de **Σ** (systématiquement, Bessarion a comblé, dans la marge de son manuscrit, les omissions de **AM**, grâce à **Σ**). Il a également introduit ses propres conjectures et, en de nombreux endroits, il a modifié la ponctuation. La plupart de ses corrections, il les a introduites directement dans le texte, grattant ou biffant le texte fautif, insérant un ou plusieurs mots à ajouter. Dans quelques cas, il n'était pas sûr de sa correction et il l'a alors simplement indiquée au-dessus de la ligne, sans supprimer la leçon qui se trouvait en **M**. De même, il a parfois noté la leçon de **Σ** comme une leçon concurrente sans choisir entre les deux. Bessarion a quelques fois corrigé le texte des lemmes, en se reportant aux manuscrits de Platon : I 717.8 ὥς τε **ΑΣ** : ὡς ἔτι **M**^{b} Plat. codd. ; II 742.11 δὲ **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : οὖν ἤδη **ΑΣ** ; II 760.14 ταῦτα **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : πάντα **ΑΣ** ; 768.18 νυνδὴ **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : δὴ **ΑΣ** ; 768.21 ἑαυτοῖς **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : αὑτοῖς **ΑΣ** ; 777.23 μεντἂν **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : μέτοιν **ΑΣ** ; 777.23 ὧδε **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : ὡ **ΑΣ** ; 777.24 ἔχοι **M**^{b} Plat. codd. : ἔχων **ΑΣ** ; III 833.22 στῶ Plat. T : ἐγὼ **Σ** ἐγὼ ἱστῶ **A** ἐγὼ στῶ **M**^{b} Plat. W ἱστῶ Plat. BCD.

Nous donnerons seulement quelques exemples pour illustrer la façon dont Bessarion a travaillé. En I 661.7-20, Bessarion a ajouté en marge, avec la mention ἐν ἄλλῳ γρ(άφεται) le texte tel qu'il se trouve en **Σ**, tandis qu'en **M** on lit évidemment le texte profondément modifié par Pachymère (**A**). Un peu plus loin, en 661.14 et 661.20 il ne touche pas au texte de **M**, bien qu'il ait dû lire autre chose en **Σ**, sans doute parce que le texte de **M** lui semblait acceptable à cet endroit. De la même manière, s'il note en marge (sans γρ[άφεται] cette fois) le morceau de texte omis en **M** (et dans son modèle **A**) en 662.3-10, il ne prend pas la peine de corriger le mot ὅρα que l'on trouve en **M** (et **A**) au lieu de καὶ en **Σ**, immédiatement après les mots omis en **A**. Prenons maintenant comme exemple le f. 31^{r} du manuscrit **M**, qui correspond au texte II 750.26-753.4. Toutes les corrections sont à l'encre brune, elles datent donc de la seconde phase de travail. En 751.6 Bessarion a corrigé, dans le texte,

la leçon πάντες τε λέγειν de **M** (et de **A**) en πάντες τὸ λέγειν, qui est la leçon de **Σ** : il a transformé le ε de τε en ὸ et il a également retouché le mot πάντες. Quelques mots plus loin, c'est le copiste de **M** qui avait noté la leçon concurrente παρασχόμενος, qui se lit déjà sous la plume du premier correcteur de **A** et qui est aussi la leçon de **Σ**, au-dessus de παρεχόμενος, leçon de **A**. Plus loin, le copiste a omis cinq mots (751.12-13 : χρὴ φάναι, καὶ τὴν ἀνομοιότητα), par saut du même au même, que Bessarion a insérés au-dessus de la ligne. C'est également le cas un peu plus loin (751.14) pour les mots τὸ δὲ ἕν, que Bessarion rétablit en marge avec un signe d'appel dans le texte. À chaque ligne, il change la ponctuation, introduisant des virgules, et il explicite des désinences que le copiste (suivant en cela son modèle) ne notait pas, par exemple pour ταυτότητα (751.14), le copiste de **M** avait écrit ταυ^{r}, ou, plus loin (751.26), Bessarion ajoute la désinence ον au mot ἕκαστ écrit par le copiste. En 752.4, Bessarion trouve sans doute étrange le δὲ après τοὐναντίον, il le barre et il écrit à côté (nous sommes en fin de ligne) γάρ (nous n'avons pas jugé utile de noter cette conjecture dans notre apparat). Bessarion corrige ἀπορίας (752.8-9), qui est une faute propre du copiste de **M**, en ἀπειρίας, qu'il a pu lire en **Σ**. Dans les lignes qui suivent (752.14-16), Bessarion adapte chaque fois le texte de **M** et, donc, de son modèle **A**, pour le faire correspondre au texte de **Σ** : 752.14 ὡς **M**^{b}, 15 περιέχειν **M**^{b}, 15 ἀνέλιξιν **M**^{b}, 16 προειληφέναι **M**^{b}.

Dans de nombreux cas, il est clair que la leçon proposée par Bessarion ne vient pas de **Σ**, mais qu'elle est une conjecture de l'érudit grec. Plusieurs fois ces conjectures sont confirmées par la traduction latine, à tel point que l'on peut se demander si Bessarion n'a pas eu accès à la traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke (**g**). On sait que, pour remédier aux graves lacunes de l'*In De Caelo* de Simplicius dans le manuscrit *Marcianus* gr. 491, Bessarion a fait, pour certains passages, une rétroversion en grec de la traduction de Moerbeke ([28]). Cette hypothèse est cependant peu probable en ce qui concerne le commentaire sur le *Parménide*, car on serait alors bien en peine d'expliquer pourquoi Bessarion n'aurait pas davantage suivi Moerbeke, qui a conservé, comme l'apparat de notre édition le montre, plus souvent le texte original.

(28) Simplicius, *Commentaire sur le* Traité du ciel *d'Aristote. Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, vol. I, édition critique par F. Bossier, avec la collaboration de Chr. Vande Veire et G. Guldentops (*Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum*, VIII/1), Leuven, 2004, p. xi.

Voici la liste des conjectures de Bessarion que nous avons acceptées dans le texte de notre édition des livres I-III :

I 617.5 ὁρμίσαντας **M**^{b} : ὁρμήσαντας **ΑΣ**
I 623.5 γάρ add. **M**^{b}
I 632.27 ὅπως ἦν **M**^{b} *quatenus esset* **g** : ὁπόσην **ΑΣ**
I 634.5 λογικῆς **M**^{b} : λογικῶς **ΑΣg**
I 642.4 ἀπλεοναστοῦ **M**^{b} : πλεοναστοῦ **ΑΣg**
I 668.10 τὰ add. **M**^{b}
I 698.4 γὰρ add. **M**^{b} *enim* add. **g**
I 709.22-23 δεῖ δὲ πρὸ δὲ τῶν μετεχομένων καὶ μεμιγμένων add. **M**^{b}
I 715.16 καί[1] add. **M**^{b}
II 723.13 οὕτω add. **M**^{b}
II 725.23-24 *scilicet uno non participare, dissimilia sunt — nichil enim habent sic commune quod non commune est — quia autem hoc ipsum* add. **g** τὸ ἑνὸς μὴ μετέχειν, ἀνόμοιά ἐστι· διότι δὲ add. **M**^{b}
II 726.2 ἑνότης τις **A**^{1} mg. **M**^{b} : ἑνός τις **ΑΣg**
II 731.27 αὐτῷ **M**^{b} *ipso* **g** : αὐτὸ **ΑΣ**
II 732.18 καὶ ἀνομοιότητος add. **A**^{2} s.l., post διελθεῖν (l. 19) add. **M**^{b}
II 733.6 τὰς **A**^{2} mg., **M**^{b} s.l.
II 740.3 τὸ add. **M**^{b}
II 742.25 τε τῆς **M**^{b} : τε **Σ** τῆς **A**
II 752.22 εἰ **M**^{b} : ἢ **ΑΣg**
II 757.15 δειχθείη **M**^{b} : διαχθείη **ΑΣg**
III 783.8 καὶ εἰ **M**^{b} : ἢ καὶ **ΑΣg**
III 784.9 ὅπερ **M**^{b} : ὃ παρ' **Σ** ὃ πρὸς **A**
III 785.18 ὅλον **M**^{b} : ὅλως **ΑΣg**
III 788.16-17 **M**^{b} et **g** présentent un ordre des mots qui a plus de sens
III 788.21 πάντα **M**^{b}**g** : πάντως **ΑΣ**
III 789.11 καὶ add. **M**^{b}
III 789.21 ἡ **M**^{b} : ὁ **ΑΣg**
III 790.14 εἰ ἄρα νοῦς ἐστιν αἴτιος, καὶ συντάξει πάντα ἀλλήλοις **M**^{b}**g** : ἢ ἄρα νοῦς..., ἢ καὶ συντάξει ... **ΑΣ**
III 790.15 εἷς **M**^{b}**g** : ἢ **ΑΣ**
III 794.17 ἔχον **M**^{b}**g** : ἄγον **ΑΣ**
III 798.16 ἀνήγετο **M**^{b} : ἐνήγετο **ΑΣ**
III 799.10 καὶ θάτερον add. **M**^{b}
III 803.13 ἄλλο **M**^{b}**g** : ἄλλον **ΑΣ**
III 816.18 ὁλικῶς **M**^{b}**g** : μερικῶς **ΑΣ**
III 819.16 οὐ exp. **M**^{b}, om. **g**
III 819.23-24 ὡς δέδεικται **M**^{b}**g** : om. **ΑΣ**
III 824.20 ἀεὶ δεῖ **M**^{b} : ἀεὶ **ΑΣg**
III 827.9 πάντῃ **M**^{b}**g** : πάντα **ΑΣ**

III 831.23 δὲ add. **M**^{b}
III 834.16 ἐμπίπτον **M**^{b} : ἓν πίπτον **ΑΣ** *unum* **g**

Il ne fait aucun doute que Bessarion a consacré beaucoup de temps et d'efforts à la révision du texte de Proclus dans son manuscrit. Son souci d'exactitude et ses scrupules philologiques sont remarquables. Il ne fait non plus aucun doute qu'il a lu deux fois le manuscrit et qu'il l'a en quelque sorte «indexé» en marge afin d'en faciliter la consultation. Cette lecture attentive de l'*In Parmenidem* se reflète-t-elle dans les écrits de Bessarion? Il faudrait une étude détaillée de la pensée du cardinal pour y détecter toutes les traces de l'influence de Proclus. Nous avons relevé ici seulement deux exemples d'influence directe de l'*In Parmenidem*.

3. Traces de l'influence du commentaire de Proclus dans les écrits de Bessarion

Bessarion cite plusieurs fois le commentaire de Proclus sur le *Parménide* dans sa lettre 18, à Georges Gémisthe Pléthon (ca. 1360 - 1452 ou 1454), qui daterait de 1447 (29) :

Bessarion, *Ep.* 18, p. 455.20-23 = Proclus, *In Parm.* VII 1145.27-1146.1
οὐχ ὥσπερ λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ παραγόμενον ὑπ' ἄλλης αἰτίας παράγεται, καὶ ἡμῖν ῥητέον, φησίν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰώθαμεν τὰ αὐτοκίνητα προτάττειν τῶν ἑτεροκινήτων, οὕτω καὶ τὰ αὐθυπόστατα προθετέον τῶν ὑπ' ἄλλου παραγομένων.

Bessarion, *Ep.* 18, p. 456.2-3 = Proclus, *In Parm.*, VII 1146.6-7 et 10
λέγω γάρ, φησίν, αὐθυπόστατον, ὃ ἂν ἑαυτὸ παράγῃ

Bessarion, *Ep.* 18, p. 456.12-14 = Proclus, *In Parm.*, VII 1150.29-1151.2
ὅπου τὰ εἴδη διακρινόμενα καὶ πληθυνόμενα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τῶν αὐθυποστάτων εἰληχέναι φησὶ δύναμιν, ὑφιστάμενα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτουργῶν αἰτιῶν, παραγόμενα δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν.

(29) L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 : Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis (*Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, 24), Paderborn, 1942 (réimpr. Aalen, 1967), pp. 455-458. Sur l'influence de Pléthon sur Bessarion, voir L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 1 : Darstellung (*Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, 20), Paderborn, 1923 (réimpr. Aalen, 1967), pp. 336-340. Voir la bibliographie citée à ce sujet dans Bessarione di Nicea, *Orazione dogmatica*, a cura di G. Lusini, pp. 78-83.

Bessarion, *Ep.* 18, p. 457.10-16 = Proclus, *In Parm.*, I 704.2-9
πᾶς γάρ, φησίν, ἀριθμὸς εἰς οἰκείαν αὐτῷ καὶ σύστοιχον ἤρτηται μονάδα, ἀφ᾽ ἧς καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὔτε συνωνύμως οὔτε εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τὰ ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς ἕν· ὥστε τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς ἐστι μονάδος ἢ πρώτως, καὶ λέγεται ὄν. δι᾽ ἣν καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐπονομάζεται ὄντα, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης πάντα τὰ ὄντα συμπαθῆ εἰσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰ αὐτά πως καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐξ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἐστί.

Bessarion, *Ep.* 18, p. 457.16-17 = Proclus, *In Parm.*, IV 880 8-9.
ὃ γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἓν εἶδος πρώτως, φησί, τοῦτο τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸ πολλὰ δευτέρως.

Nous pouvons invoquer comme second témoignage les annotations en latin que Bessarion a laissées en marge de la traduction du *Parménide* que Georges de Trébizonde a réalisée en 1459 pour Nicolas de Cues. Cette traduction est conservée dans le manuscrit de Volterra Guarnacci 6201 ([30]), dont les marges contiennent des scholies de la main de Nicolas et de celle de Bessarion. Selon Monfasani, les deux savants cardinaux ont probablement travaillé ensemble sur le *Parménide* quand ils se sont rencontrés lors du congrès de Mantoue à la fin de 1459 ([31]). Monfasani distingue trois types d'interventions de Bessarion dans le manuscrit : il a corrigé quelques passages de la traduction, il a indiqué dans les marges le début des hypothèses, enfin il a ajouté quelques annotations, dont la plus importante concerne l'interprétation des neuf hypothèses (scholie 86, au f. 70r.27/-3). Pour cette interprétation Bessarion s'est certainement inspiré de Proclus (*In Parm.* VI 1060.2 ss.). Les autres scholies attestent aussi de sa familiarité avec le commentaire de Proclus.

Ainsi, la scholie 24 (f. 66r.24/5), qui énumère les quatre problèmes sur les idées, est inspirée par *In Parm.* III 784.12-18 et IV 891.5-14.

Scholie de Bessarion au f. 66r.24/5 de la traduction de Trébizonde [*Parm.* 130a7-b1]
Hinc loquitur Parmenides, ubi primam de ideis questionem non probat sed supponit. Probat autem secundam. Quattuor enim questiones de ideis sunt : prima, si sunt ;

(30) Pour une étude et l'édition de cette traduction, voir I. Ruocco, *Il Platone latino : il Parmenide. Giorgio di Trebisonda e il cardinale Cusano* (*Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere La Colombaria. Studi*, 203), Firenze, 2003.

(31) Pour une étude du manuscrit de Volterra et une édition des scholies de Bessarion et de Nicolas, cf. J. Monfasani, *Nicholas of Cusa, the Byzantines and the Greek Language*, dans M. Thurner (ed.), *Nicolaus Cusanus zwischen Deutschland und Italien*, Berlin, 2002, pp. 215-252 (réimpr. dans J. Monfasani, *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy. Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the 15th Century* [*Variorum collected studies series*, 801], Aldershot, 2004, VIII). Nous citons les scholies selon cette édition, et non selon celle de Ruocco, *Il Platone latino*.

secunda, quorum sunt et quorum non sunt ; tertia quomodo eis participant sensibilia ; quarta, ubi sunt ponende.

Proclus, *In Parm.* III 784.12-20
τεττάρων τοίνυν ὄντων ἐν ταῖς περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν ζητήσεσι προβλημάτων — πρώτου μὲν εἰ ἔστι τὰ εἴδη· τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκέψοιτο μὴ τοῦτο προδιομολογησάμενος· δευτέρου δὲ τίνων ἔστι καὶ τίνων οὐκ ἔστι τὰ εἴδη· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἔχει διαμφισβητήσεις· τρίτου δὲ ὁποῖα δή τινά ἐστι τὰ εἴδη καὶ τίς ἡ ἰδιότης αὐτῶν· τετάρτου δὲ πῶς μετέχεται ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς μεθέξεως — τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μνήμης ἐνταῦθα καὶ σκέψεως ἔτυχε πλείονος, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον οὐδεμίαν ἔσχεν ἐξεργασίαν, ἴσως ἡμῖν αὐτὸ ζητεῖν ἀφέντος τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

L'explication au sujet de la question de savoir s'il y a des idées de choses viles comme la boue et les cheveux, qui se trouve en marge du f. 66v.18 ss. (scholie 27), vient elle aussi de Proclus : cf. *In Parm.* III 834.26-835.9 (cf. aussi *In Parm.* IV 891.4-16).

Scholie de Bessarion au f. 66v.18 ss. de la traduction de Trébizonde [*Parm.* 130e1-4]
Hec non ideo ([32]) dicit Parmenides quia putabat luti etiam et pilorum speties esse. Non enim sunt. Sed quia videbatur Socrates ea putare sine causa esse et fieri, dicens ea esse tantum que videntur. Parmenides autem vult eorum causam esse. Ideo corrigit Socratem. Nullius enim rei, causa remota, reperiri origo potest, ut in Timeo dicitur.

Proclus, *In Parm.* III 834.26-835.9
Ταῦτα ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐπιπλήττων ἀποροῦντι τῷ Σωκράτει δόξειεν ἄν τισιν αὐτὸς ἰδέας ὑποτίθεσθαι πάντων, καὶ ὅσα σμικρὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐνυλότατα καὶ ὅσα παρὰ φύσιν· τί γὰρ ἂν ἐπέπληττεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τούτων αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῆς εἰδητικῆς αἰτίας ἐξῆπτεν; ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μὴ πρὸς τοῦτο πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπίπληξιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὡς μικρῶν τούτων καὶ φαύλων ἀναίτιον ἡγησαμένους τὴν γένεσιν. ὁ Παρμενίδης ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐπιδιορθοῦται, τὸ ἀναίτιον οὐδαμῶς προσιέμενος· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπ᾽ αἰτίου τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαί φησι καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος· παντὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον χωρὶς αἰτίου γένεσιν ἔχειν.

Comme l'a remarqué Ruocco, Bessarion a utilisé, pour la citation du *Timée*, la traduction de Cicéron, qu'il connaissait bien ([33]). Il est donc peu

(32) Nous lisons 'ideo' avec K. Bormann et non pas 'idee' comme le propose Monfasani, leçon impossible dans le contexte.

(33) Cf. H. D. Saffrey, *Un exercice de latin philosophique, autographe du Cardinal Bessarion*, dans *Miscellanea marciana di studi Bessarionei* (*Medioevo e Umanesimo*,

probable qu'il se soit servi de la traduction de Moerbeke quand il a fait cette paraphrase en latin du texte de Proclus.

Moerbeke, traduction de Proclus, *In Parm.* III 834.26-835.9 (172.52-59 Steel)
Hec Parmenides replicans ... uidebitur utique aliquibus ipse ideas ponere omnium (...). Michi autem uidetur non ad hoc fecisse replicationem, sed ad putantes generationem horum tamquam paruorum et prauorum anaition (idest sine causa). Parmenides hunc ipsius intellectum corrigit, le anaition nullatenus admittens. *Omne* enim *genitum a causa aliqua ex necessitate generatur*, ait et Timaeus (...).

Pour la scholie au f. 66v.29/-1 (scholie 31), on peut renvoyer à *In Parm.* IV 858.6-31 et 860.5-8 ; pour celle au f. 67r.2-4 (scholie 34) à *In Parm.* IV 911.27-912.24.

4. Interventions d'autres humanistes dans le manuscrit

Après la mort de Bessarion, son manuscrit est passé dans d'autres mains et a été utilisé par d'autres savants. On trouve dans le manuscrit **M** la trace du travail d'au moins deux autres érudits : l'un d'eux doit être vraisemblablement identifié avec Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (mort en 1531) ; quant à l'autre, il restera provisoirement anonyme.

4.1. *Niccolò Leonico Tomeo*

Nous avons dit plus haut que le manuscrit a été emprunté par le savant italien d'origine grecque, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo ([34]). Dans la marge supérieure du f. 156r, il a noté qu'il avait lu le ms. : ͵αυ γʹ δεκεμβρίου ιγʹ τὴν εἰς τὸν Παρμενίδην τοῦ Πρόκλου ἐξήγησιν πᾶσαν ἀνέγνω λεόνικος ὁ θωμαῖος. Cette note n'est pas la seule trace qui subsiste du passage de **M** entre les mains de Leonico Tomeo. Un certain nombre de conjectures marginales ne sont visiblement pas de la main de Bessarion (la couleur de l'encre est également différente). Il s'agit pratiquement chaque fois

24), Padova, 1976, pp. 371-379 (ici p. 375) (réimpr. dans Saffrey, *L'héritage des Anciens*, pp. 177-187, ici p. 183).

(34) Sur ce personnage, voir l'abondante notice bibliographique dans Luna et Segonds, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide, pp. cliii-clxxv, n. 4. On ajoutera l'article suivant à cette bibliographie : M. Papanicolaou, *Origini e nome di Niccolò Leonico Tomeo. La testimonianza di Giovanni Benedetto Lampridio*, dans *Bizantinistica*, s. II, 6 (2004), pp. 217-248.

d'un seul mot, une correction ou une conjecture proposée en marge (avec un signe d'appel, pratiquement toujours le même ·/·). Il est difficile, sur base de mots isolés, de déterminer avec certitude de quelle main il s'agit, mais il y a une forte présomption pour qu'il s'agisse de celle de Leonico Tomeo (**M**t) ([35]). On trouvera de belles reproductions montrant l'écriture de celui-ci dans le catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Berne, publié récemment par P. Andrist ([36]).

f. 7v, I 650.28 διαισθάνεσθαι **M** : διϊστάνεσθαι **M**t. À notre connaissance, cette forme n'est pas attestée, mais cela n'a pas empêché le copiste de **P** de noter soigneusement cette conjecture dans la marge de son manuscrit.

f. 8r , I 652.2 ἀποδιδόντι **M** : ἀπιδόντι **M**t. Bessarion est sans doute passé au-dessus de cette faute évidente du copiste de **M**, corrigée par Leonico Tomeo.

f. 12v, I 673.1-2 παραδείγματα **M** : πράγματα **M**t. Cette conjecture, si elle n'est pas nécessaire, peut bien se comprendre. En effet, Proclus écrit : ὅρα δὲ ὅπως πάλιν εἰς τὰ παραδείγματα ἀποβλέπων..., «vois comment il se tourne à nouveau vers les modèles quand il dit que Pythodore a rencontré souvent Zénon...». Le texte proposé par Leonico Tomeo devrait se traduire comme suit : «vois comment il se tourne à nouveau vers les réalités quand il dit que Pythodore a rencontré souvent Zénon...», cela conviendrait bien dans le contexte de l'interprétation néoplatonicienne ([37]).

f. 18v, I 697.1 οὕτως **M** : ὄντος **M**t. La conjecture de Leonico Tomeo est précisément le texte que nous avons édité, le corrigeant grâce à la traduction latine. Bessarion n'avait pas corrigé le texte hérité de **A** à cet endroit (οὕτως), bien que dans les descendants de **Σ** on lise ὄντως.

f. 28v, II 741.25 ἐναντιότης **M** ὁμοιότης **M**b : ὁμοιότης **M**t. Leonico Tomeo confirme en marge une correction de Bessarion *in textu* qui n'était pas bien lisible.

(35) Voir planche 1.

(36) P. Andrist, *Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne : catalogue et histoire de la collection*, Zürich, 2007, Fig. 5, p. 15 ; Fig. 70, p. 85 ; Fig. 74, p. 88 ; ainsi que les specimens des manuscrits 297 et 402 sur le CD-ROM.

(37) Par exemple *In Parm.* I 625.28, 659.5-7, etc. Voir à ce sujet A.-J. Festugière, *Modes de composition des Commentaires de Proclus*, dans *Museum Helveticum*, 20 (1963), pp. 94-100 (appendice) (réimpr. dans A.-J. Festugière, *Études de philosophie grecque* [*Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie*], Paris, 1971, pp. 568-574) ; et les remarques complémentaires de W. O'Neill dans un addendum à sa traduction anglaise : Proclus, *Alcibiades I*, Den Haag, 1971², pp. 237-246 ; voir aussi P. Hadot, *Sur divers sens du mot pragma dans la tradition philosophique grecque*, dans *Concepts et catégories dans la pensée antique*, études publ. sous la dir. de P. Aubenque (*Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie*), Paris, 1980, pp. 309-319.

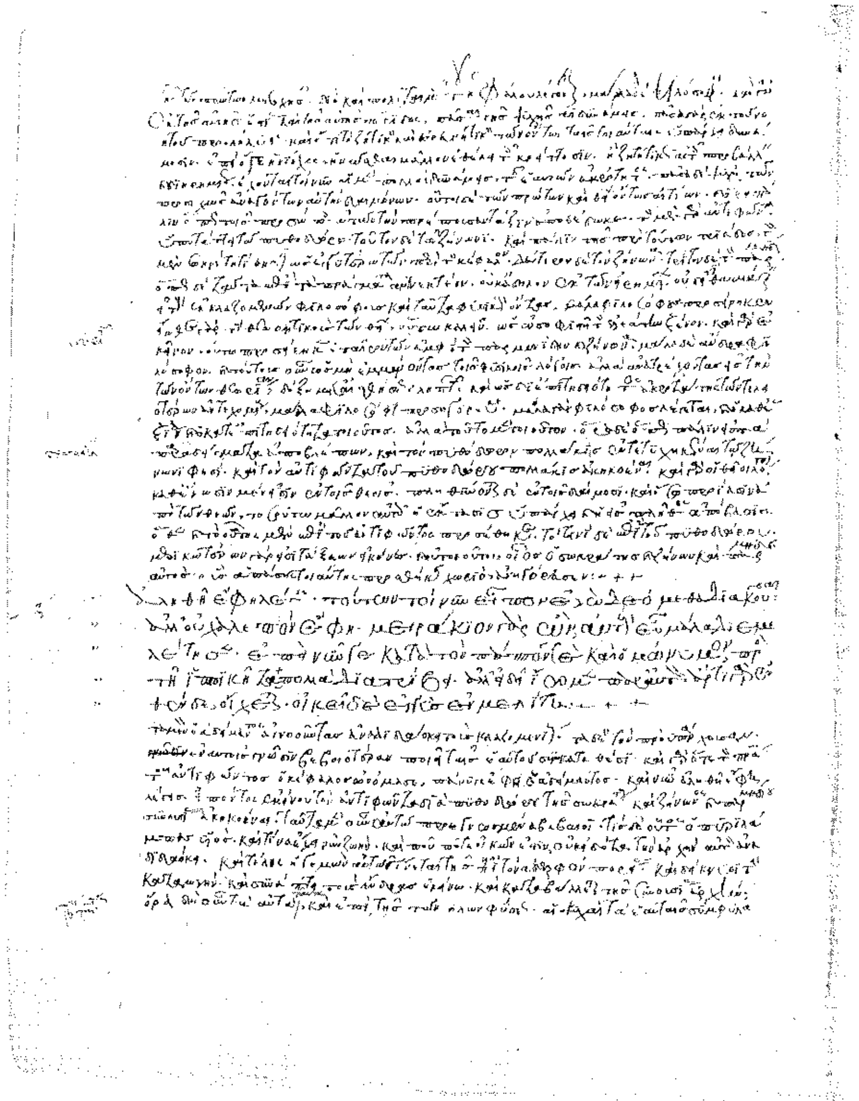

Planche 1 : Ambrosianus B165 sup., f. 12^{v}.

f. 34^{r}, II 766.12 ἀδιαστάτοις **M** : διαστατοῖς **M**^{t}. Dans l'apparat de notre édition, nous avons attribué cette conjecture, retenue dans notre texte et confirmée par la traduction latine, à Bessarion. En toute justice, elle doit revenir à Leonico Tomeo.

f. 34^{r}, **M**^{b} avait écrit la scholie suivante à propos du passage II 766.16 : πῶς ἓν καὶ πολλὰ τὰ εἴδη (ce qui a été copié en **V**). **M**^{t} a corrigé εἴδη en αἰσθητικά. Le texte de Proclus en **M** à cet endroit est en effet : τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ ἓν ὁρᾶται καὶ πολλά.

f. 36^{r}, II 773.18-19 **M** avait sans doute le texte suivant : οἱ (ou ἡ, le texte de **M** n'est plus lisible) δὲ ἀκίνητον ἔχειν (ou ἔχῃ, le texte de **M** n'est plus lisible) δύναμιν, μὴ μετέχειν δὲ καὶ τῆς τάσεως. **M**^{b} a corrigé le texte : εἰ δὲ ἀκίνητον ἔχει δύναμιν, μὴ μετέχειν δὲ καὶ τῆς στάσεως. L'apparat de notre édition à cet endroit est donc fautif : la leçon εἰ ... ἔχει, que nous éditons, se trouve en **M**^{b} et non en **M**. **M**^{t} a placé un signe d'appel au-dessus de μετέχειν et a écrit dans la marge : γρ(άφεται) ἴσως· οὐ μετέχει πως τῆς στάσεως, ἢ ἄνευ τοῦ οὐ. C'est une conjecture ingénieuse ; nous avons corrigé : δεῖ μετέχειν πῃ (38).

f. 36^{v}, II 776.22 δι' ἀνόμοιον **M** : καὶ ἀνόμοιον **M**^{t}, qui est la leçon que nous avons retenue sur base de la traduction latine et de la correction du texte par **A**^{2}.

f. 49^{v}, III 833.23 (lemme). Là encore, l'apparat de notre édition n'est pas tout à fait correct. Nous avons édité εἰς ἄβυθον φλυαρίαν, qui est la leçon de **A** et (d'une partie) des manuscrits de Platon. C'est également la leçon qui se lit en **M**. **M**^{b} a corrigé le texte du lemme (*in textu*) d'après ce qu'il lisait en **Σ** : εἰς βυθὸν φλυαρίας. Au-dessus de [ἄ]βυθὸν, **M**^{t} a placé un signe d'appel et il a écrit en marge : ἄβυσσον. Il a également écrit, toujours en marge : γρ(άφεται) καί· ἄβυθον φλυαρίαν.

Ensuite, on ne trouve plus de trace de la main de Leonico Tomeo avant le f. 108^{v}, où il recommence à noter ses conjectures dans la marge du texte des livres VI et VII. Presque toutes les conjectures de Leonico Tomeo ont été intégrées dans le texte critique des livres VI-VII ; nous citons simplement l'apparat et nous ne citons explicitement **M** que s'il diffère de **A** (39) :

f. 108^{v}, VI 1080.15 διανοητικὰς **M**^{t} : νοητικὰς **ΑΣg**
f. 109^{r}, VI 1082.2 νοοῦν μὲν ζῆν **M**^{t} : νοοῦμεν ζητεῖν **ΑΣ** *intelligens uiuere* **g**
f. 110^{v}, VI 1092.19 ἐννοίας **M**^{t} *conceptus* **g** : αἰτίας **ΑΣ**
f. 111^{r}, VI 1094.17 ἐγερτικόν **M**^{t} : ἐργητικόν **M**^{b} ἐνεργητικόν **ΑΣg**

(38) Voir Platon, *Parm.* 161 e 3.
(39) Nous remercions vivement Leen Van Campe pour son aide.

f. 116v, VI 1123.23 ἄριστον **M**t *optimum* **g** (cf. *Theol. plat.* II 9, p. 59.23) : ἀόριστον **AΣ**
f. 118r, VI 1129.11 ταὐτόν **M**t *idem* **g** : τούτων **A**3**MΣ**
f. 124v, VII 1164.9 ἐγγιγνόμενον **A**c**M**t (in mg. iter.) Plat. codd. *fiens* **g** : ἓν γιγνόμενον **AΣ**
f. 124v, VII 1164.10 ἐγγίγνεται **M**t**Σg** Plat. TW : ἓν γίγνεται **A** Plat. BCD
f. 126r, VII 1171.2 μήτε ἐν ἑαυτῷ **M**t : om. **AΣg**
f. 131v, VII 1198.16 αἱ πηγαί **M**t : ἐπῆγε **AΣ** *quoniam* **g**
f. 131v, VII 1198.19 οὐσίαν **M**t : οὖσαν **AΣg**

Il faut encore ajouter quelques cas plus douteux :

f. 7v, ad I 650.20-22 on lit dans la marge τί ἐστι τὸ γένος. Cette scholie que nous avions éditée comme étant de Bessarion [40] (et qui ne se trouve pas en **V**) n'est-elle pas plutôt de la main de Leonico Tomeo ?
f. 22r, I 711.28-29 παραφέροντες ... ὄντως **M** (**A** et **Σ** ont le même texte) : **M**t a écrit προ- au-dessus de παρα- et ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς au-dessus de ὄντως.
f. 50r, ad III 836.7-9, **M**b**(1)** avait noté un signe ση(μείωσαι) dans la marge, complété par **M**b**(2)** de la mention : περὶ γοήτων. C'est sans doute à la main de Leonico Tomeo qu'il faut attribuer la scholie ἡ γοητεία διὰ τῶν δαιμόνων.

4.2. *Un lecteur anonyme*

Une autre main, que nous n'avons pas pu identifier jusqu'ici, a annoté le texte de Proclus [41].

f. 4r, ad I 632.13-15 : ἀμφοτερογλώσσοιο μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπηδνόν. C'est le vers de Timon de Phlionte (fr. 819.1-2 Lloyd-Jones = fr. 45.1-2 Di Marco) [42] cité par Proclus, mais avec la forme ionienne (-οιο) qui se lit aussi chez Simplicius [43].
f. 10r, ad I 660.27-661.1 : οἷον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἐπαχθησόμενον. Le texte de Proclus se lit comme ceci en **M** : ὁποῖον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἀναχθησόμενον.
f. 10v, ad I 664.15-16 : ὅρα περὶ τύχης οἷαν φησὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμφάνει.
f. 10v, ad I 664.22 : ἡ βούλησις οὐδὲν περαίνειν βούλεται ἄνευ τῶν ὅλων. Ici, le lecteur ne fait que répéter presque mot à mot le texte de Proclus.

(40) Dans Luna et Segonds, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide, p. 150.
(41) Voir planche 2.
(42) M. Di Marco, *Timone di Fliunte : Silli* (*Testi e commenti*, 10), Roma, 1989, p. 89.
(43) *Simplicii In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria*, ed. H. Diels (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 10), Berlin, 1895, p. 1011.13.

f. 18r, ad I 695.10-11 : τίνες αἱ ὑποθέσεις;
f. 24v, ad II 723.3-5 : τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην αἰνίττεται.
f. 26v, ad II 731.8 : οὐ καλῶς συνῆκας· ἀλλὰ ἐννοήματα λέγει τὰς ὑπολήψεις. Cette remarque ne s'adresse pas à Proclus, mais à Bessarion, qui avait noté en marge : ση(μείωσαι) ἴσως ἐννοήματα καλεῖ τὰ παρὰ Λατίνοις νῦν λεγόμενα δευτέρας ἐπινοίας· τὰς δὲ προτέρας ἐπινοίας ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα. La nuance de doute (ἴσως) avait d'ailleurs été apportée par le Bessarion de la deuxième phase (encre brune) à cette scholie qui date de la première phase [44].
f. 27r, ad II 733.18-20 : le lecteur anonyme ajoute καὶ πηγαίως (qui se trouve dans le texte de Proclus) à la fin d'une scholie de Bessarion (deuxième phase) : ἔστι ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ καὶ ὅμοιον καὶ ἀνόμοιον πρώτως (cette addition ne se retrouve évidemment pas dans le manuscrit **V**, qui a recopié la scholie de Bessarion).
f. 27r, ad II 733.24 : μονάς ἐστιν ὁ θεός.
f. 27v, ad II 735.23-25 : περὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ ὑποκειμένου.
f. 27v, ad II 736.1-23 : παντότης καὶ ἑτερότης ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις· ὁμοιότης καὶ ἀνομοιότης ἐν ταῖς ποιότησι· ἡ δὲ ταχύτης καὶ βραδύτης ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις.
f. 29v, ad II 746.27-28 : πῶς τὰ ἄτομα κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄτομα ;
f. 30v, ad II 749.4-5 : ὡς φανερὸν τὴν διάκρισιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἐκ τοῦ εἴδους.
f. 30v, ad II 749.16-20 : κἀνταῦθα φαίνεται τρεῖς εἶναι μονάδας· τὴν κατατεταγμένην ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τὴν μέσην καὶ τὴν ἐξῃρημένην.
f. 33v, ad II 763.10 : τὸ γεννητικὸν οὐ θέμις μεθεκτὸν γενέσθαι.
f. 33v, ad II 764.13 ss. : ση(μείωσαι)· πῶς τὸ ἓν καὶ πλῆθος πρῶτα γένη.
f. 44v, ad IV 812.17-19 : πῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ τεττάρων στοιχείων λέγεται ;

On ne trouve plus trace par la suite d'annotations de la main de ce lecteur anonyme.

Appendice
Édition des scholies de Bessarion aux livres II-III du commentaire de Proclus sur le *Parménide*

Les scholies de Bessarion ne sont pas destinées à former un commentaire ni même le matériel pour un commentaire, mais plutôt à servir d'index thématique et d'index des sources. Durant son travail de révision du texte sur **Σ**, Bessarion a également recopié quelques-unes des scholies qu'il pouvait lire dans ce manuscrit.

(44) Voir planche 2.

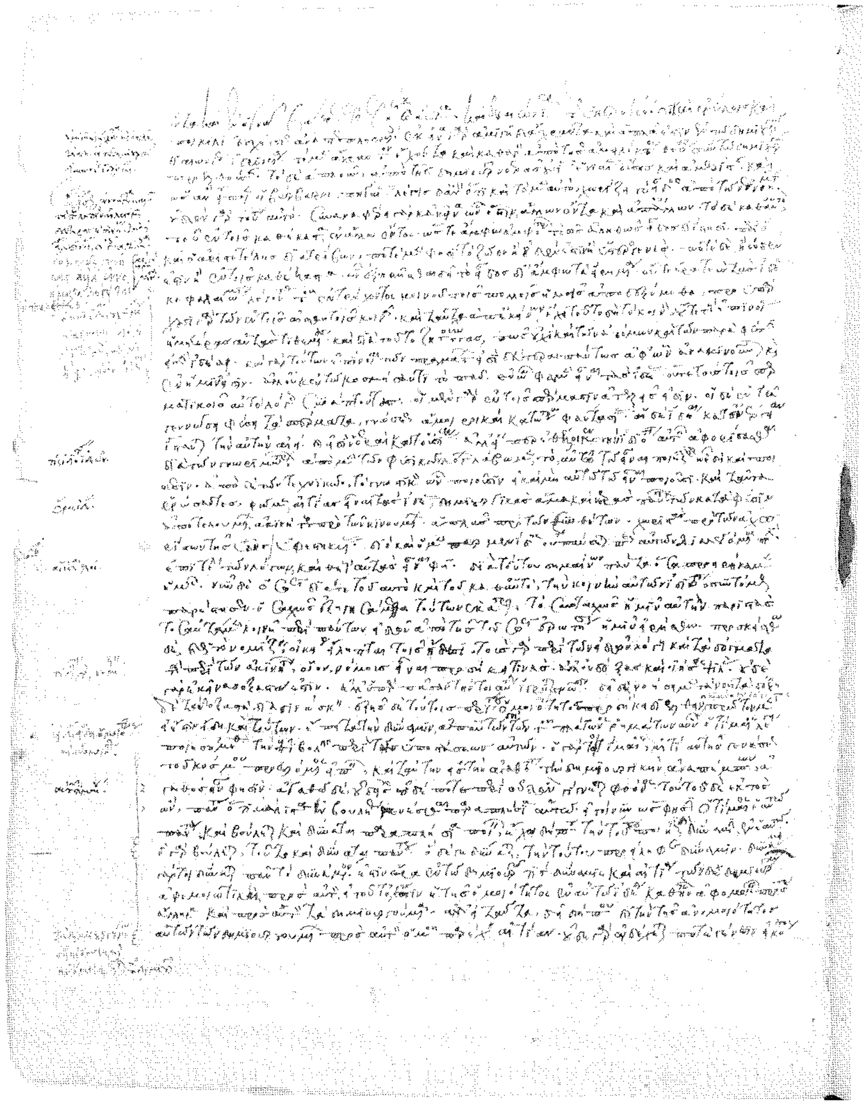

Planche 2 : Ambrosianus B165 sup., f. 26v.

Scholia libri I – Addenda et corrigenda

Les scholies de Bessarion au livre I ont déjà été publiées dans Luna - Segonds ([45]). Nous ne donnons ici que quelques corrections à cette édition.

Corrigenda

Mb (f. 3r), ad 628.30-629.23 (L.-S.) : la présentation typographique rend le texte incompréhensible, il faut lire :
Παρμενίδης ⇒ ὄν
Ζήνων ⇒ ζωή
Σωκράτης ⇒ νοῦς
Πυθόδωρος ⇒ θεία ψυχή
Ἀντιφῶν ⇒ ψυχὴ δαιμονία
Κέφαλος ⇒ μερικὴ ψυχὴ καὶ φύσις

Mb (f. 7r), ad 648.2 ss. (L.-S.) : παρὰ Πλάτωνι est une faute de nous, due à une mélecture de l'abréviation ; Bessarion a écrit, comme **V** l'a compris : περὶ Πλάτωνος

Addenda

Mb (f. 13r), ad 674.3 ss. (L.-S.) : περὶ τῆς ψυχῶν ἀνόδου (écrit à la verticale le long de la première demi-page)

Mb (f. 20r), ad 704.13-14 (L.-S.) : ση(μείωσαι) πῶς ἓν τὸ πᾶν

Mb (f. 21r), ad 708.30 (L.-S.) : τὸ αὐτοζῶν (il ne s'agit pas d'une correction ou d'une variante, mais d'une reprise en marge d'un mot du texte)

Dans notre édition, nous ne faisons pas de distinction entre les deux campagnes d'annotation de Bessarion et nous ne notons que l'état après correction. Pour la commodité du lecteur et par conformité avec ce que nous avons fait pour le livre I, nous uniformisons l'accentuation des enclitiques et les ν éphelcystiques (la plupart du temps, on ne peut déterminer avec certitude ce que Bessarion a écrit). Nous ajoutons également les iotas souscrits. La distinction entre ἡ αἰτία et τὸ αἴτιον n'est pas claire, surtout au génitif pluriel : Bessarion écrit souvent αἰτίων où l'on attendrait αἰτιῶν, nous n'avons pas corrigé. Il écrit également tantôt ἐστί tantôt εἰσί après un sujet neutre pluriel, nous avons laissé εἰσί quand la lecture était certaine.

(45) Luna et Segonds, *Commentaire sur le* Parménide, pp. 144-161 : cette édition est le travail de C. Steel et C. Macé. Exceptionnellement, pour la clarté du lecteur, nous gardons les références à l'édition du livre I dans Luna et Segonds.

Scholia libri II

M^b (f. 24^v) **V**, ad 721.4 :
ὅρα τίς ἦν ὁ Ζήνωνος λόγος
M^b (f. 24^v) **V**, ad 722.1 :
ὁ Παρμενίδης περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντος τοῦ ἐξῃρημένου
M^b (f. 24^v) **V**, ad 723.11-12 :
Παρμενίδης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ δόξαν
M^b (f. 24^v) **V**, ad 723.16-17 :
διὰ τί Ἐμπεδοκλῆς σφαῖρον ἐκάλει πᾶν τὸ νοητόν
M^b (f. 25^r) **V**, ad 724.10 ss. :
ὁ τοῦ Ζήνωνος σκοπός
M^b (f. 25^r) **V**, ad 725.13 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα πάντα
M^b (f. 25^v), ad 726.24-25 :
ὅτι οὐ πολλαὶ ἀρχαί
M^b (f. 25^v) **V**, ad 727.17 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τίνα περὶ Ζήνωνος καὶ Σωκράτους τινὲς οἴονται
M^b (f. 25^v) **V**, ad 728.2 ss. :
ἄλλη δόξα ἑτέρων
M^b (f. 25^v), ad 728.10 ss. :
ἄλλως περὶ αὐτῶν
M^b (f. 26^r) **V**, ad 729.21 ss. :
πότερον τίθεται ὁ Ζήνων τὰ εἴδη ἐρωτᾷ Σωκράτης
M^b (f. 26^r) **V**, ad 729.25 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ
M^b (f. 26^r) **V**, ad 730.6 ss. (scholie de **Σ**) :
τί σημαίνει τὸ αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό
M^b (f. 26^r) **V**, ad 730.12 :
τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς εἴδη ἐν σχέσει εἰσὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑποκείμενα
M^b (f. 26^r), ad 730.15-17 :
τὸ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα κοινὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ μεθ' ὕλης καί ἐστί πως θνητόν
M^b (f. 26^r) **V**, ad 730.20 ss. (scholie de **Σ** (46)) :
εἰ πολλὰ τὰ ὄντα — ἔσονται τὰ αὐτὰ ὅμοια καὶ ἀνόμοια·
ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ ἑπόμενον ἀδύνατον — καὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον ἄρα
καὶ ἔστι δεύτερον τῶν ὑποθετικῶν
ἐπιλαμβάνεται γοῦν ὁ Σωκράτης τῆς προσλήψεως τῆς λεγούσης ἀδύνατον τὰ αὐτὰ ὅμοια εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοια, λέγων ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐνδέχεται αὐτὰ καὶ ὅμοια εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοια

(46) La référence est incorrecte dans notre édition Steel, Macé, d'Hoine, *Procli in Parmenidem commentaria*, t. I, p. 288.

M^b (f. 26^v), ad 731.2-3 :
ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἄχραντα καὶ ἁπλᾶ τὰ εἴδη ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ διαιωνίως ἱδρυμένα
M^b (f. 26^v) **V**, ad 731.8 :
ση(μείωσαι)· ἴσως ἐννοήματα καλεῖ τὰ παρὰ Λατίνοις νῦν λεγόμενα δευτέρας ἐπινοίας· τὰς δὲ προτέρας ἐπινοίας ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα
M^b (f. 26^v), ad 731.11-12 :
ση(μείωσαι) τὰ ῥητὰ Ἀριστοτέλους
M^b (f. 26^v), ad 731.18-19 :
ὅτι αἱ ἰδέαι οὐχ ἡμέτεραι ἐπίνοιαι· διὸ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν εἰσὶν ἰδέαι
M^b (f. 26^v) **V**, ad 731.26 :
τίς ἰδιότης ἰδεῶν
M^b (f. 26^v), ad 732.1 ss. :
ὅρος ἰδέας
M^b (f. 26^v), ad 732.6 :
αἱ ἰδέαι θεοί
M^b (f. 26^v) **V**, ad 732.13 ss. :
τί σημαίνει τὸ νομίζειν
M^b (f. 26^v) **V**, ad 732.18 ss. :
εἰ ἔστιν εἴδη ὁμοιότητος καὶ ἀνομοιότητος
M^b (f. 26^v) **V**, ad 732.23 ss. :
ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου
M^b (f. 26^v), ad 733.5-7 :
τὰ δημιουργούμενα δεῖ καὶ ὅμοια καὶ ἀνόμοια εἶναι τῷ δημιουργῷ
M^b (f. 27^r), ad 733.9-10 :
ἐν Κρατύλῳ
M^b (f. 27^r) **V**, ad 733.18-20 :
ἔστιν ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ καὶ ὅμοιον καὶ ἀνόμοιον πρώτως
M^b (f. 27^r) **V**, ad 734.24 ss. :
τίνα γενικώτατα
M^b (f. 27^r) **V**, ad 734.26-27 :
οὐσία· ταυτότης· ἑτερότης
M^b (f. 27^r) **V**, ad 735.5 ss. :
τίνα εἰδικώτατα
M^b (f. 27^r) **V**, ad 735.9 ss. :
τίνα μέσα
M^b (f. 27^v) **V**, ad 735.23 ss. :
ὅρα τί φησι περὶ τοῦ ἀποίου τῶν σωμάτων ὑποκειμένου
M^b (f. 27^v) **V**, ad 736.6-7 :
ὁμοιότης καὶ ταυτότης οὐ ταυτόν
M^b (f. 27^v) **V**, ad 736.11-12 :
ἐν Πολιτείᾳ

M[b] (f. 27[v]) V, ad 736.24 ss. :
ἀπορία (om. V)· εἰ ὁμοιότης κρείττων τῆς ταυτότητος ἢ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν
M[b] (f. 27[v]) V, ad 737.3 ss. :
λύσις (om. V)· ἄλλη ἡ ἐν θεοῖς ὁμοιότης
M[b] (f. 27[v]) V, ad 737.23 ss. :
εἰ ἡ ὁμοιότης κρείττων τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἢ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν
M[b] (f. 28[r]), ad 737. 23 ss. (cf. scholie de Σ et scholie de A[2]) :
λύσις· ὅτι ἡ ὁμοιότης κρείττων τῆς ἀνομοιότητος καὶ ἡ ταυτότης τῆς ἑτερότητος
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 738.14 ss. :
ἄλλο ἐπιχείρημα
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 738.15-16 :
πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον μετὰ τὸ ἕν
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 738.25 ss. :
ἄλλο ἐπιχείρημα
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 738.29 :
Τίμαιος
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 739.4-5 :
μυρίῳ κάλλιον τὸ ὅμοιον
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 739.11 ss. :
ἀπορία· πῶς ἡ ὁμοιότης ἐναντία τῆς ἀνομοιότητος
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 739.13 ss. :
λύσις· καὶ ὅρα πλατωνικὴν περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων διδασκαλίαν
M[b] (f. 28[r]) V, ad 739.25 ss. :
τετραπλῆ ἡ τῶν ἐναντίων πρόοδος· ἐναντίωσις ἐν νῷ, ἐν ψυχαῖς, ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἐν ὕλῃ
M[b] (f. 28[v]) V, ad 740.8 :
πότερόν ἐστι ἄϋλος ἡ τοῦ αἰθέρος οὐσία
M[b] (f. 28[v]) V, ad 741.6 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
M[b] (f. 28[v]) V, ad 741.6 ss. :
πρώτη τῶν ἐναντίων ἰδιότης
M[b] (f. 28[v]) V, ad 741.12 ss. :
δευτέρα ἰδιότης τῶν ἐναντίων
M[b] (f. 28[v]) V, ad 741.21 ss. :
τρίτη ἰδιότης τῶν ἐναντίων
M[b] (f. 28[v]) V, ad 742.3 ss. :
ἐπανακεφαλαίωσις
M[b] (f. 29[r]) V, ad 743.4-5 :
ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς μετοχῆς τῶν εἰδῶν
M[b] (f. 29[r]) V, ad 743.13-14 :
ἡ εἰκὼν ἔχει καὶ ὁμοίωσιν καὶ ἀνομοίωσιν πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα

M[b] (f. 29[r]) V, ad 743.18 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
ἀπορία λόγου ἀξία περὶ τῆς μετοχῆς τῶν εἰδῶν· τίνα δηλονότι μετέχουσιν αὐτῶν
M[b] (f. 29[r]), ad 744.3 ss. :
λύσις
M[b] (f. 29[r]) V, ad 744.9 :
νοητὰ νοητῶν εἰκόνας οὐ ποιητέον
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 744.14-15 :
αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νοητῶν· τὸ ἓν αἴτιον τῶν νοητῶν οὐ παράδειγμα
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 744.18 :
Τίμαιος
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 744.22 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 744.25 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 744.26-27 :
χρόνος αἰών
ψυχή νοῦς
M[b] (f. 29[v]), ad 745.5 :
Τίμαιος
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 745.9 :
ἡ ψυχὴ πρώτως εἰκών
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 745.14 ss. :
κατὰ τίνας τρόπους ἡ πρόοδος
ση(μείωσαι)
M[b] (f. 29[v]), ad 745.15 ss. :
ὑπερούσιαι ἑνάδες
ἀμέριστοι οὐσίαι
μέσαι καὶ ἔσχαται οὐσίαι
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 745.25-26 :
τὰ πρός τι ἔοικε παραφυάσιν
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 746.1 ss. :
πῶς παράγει τὰ παράγοντα· τὰ μὲν καθ' ὑπόβασιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ πρόοδον
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 746.7 ss. :
ὁ ὅλος νοῦς τοὺς μερικοὺς νοῦς καθ' ὑπόβασιν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς κατὰ πρόοδον· ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ὅλη τὰς μερικὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς φύσεις
M[b] (f. 29[v]) V, ad 746.16 ss. :
τὰ νοερὰ μετεχόμενα· τὰ πρώτως μετέχοντα ψυχαί
M[b] (f. 30[r]) V, ad 746.28 :
πῶς ἡ μετοχὴ γίνεται
M[b] (f. 30[r]), ad 748.2 ss. :
ἐνταῦθα ση(μείωσαι) πῶς ἀπορεῖ καὶ τέρας οἴεται ὁ Σωκράτης τὴν τῶν εἰδῶν μίξιν καὶ οἷον ἀπογινώσκει

Mᵇ (f. 30ʳ) **V**, ad 748.13-14 :
διχῶς ἡ ἀνομοιότης
Mᵇ (f. 30ʳ) **V**, ad 748.15-16 :
ποία εἰδητικὴ ἀνομοιότης
Mᵇ (f. 30ʳ), ad 748.19-20 :
ἀνομοιότης ἐκ τῆς ὑλικῆς ἀοριστίας
Mᵇ (f. 30ᵛ) **V**, ad 748.23 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) περὶ δημιουργίας· πῶς καὶ ὅμοια καὶ ἀνόμοια τῷ δημιουργῷ τὰ δημιουργήματα
Mᵇ (f. 30ᵛ) **V**, ad 749.23-24 :
ὅρα τινῶν δόξαν ὅτι τὰ εἴδη ἀλλήλοις μίγνυνται
Mᵇ (f. 30ᵛ) **V**, ad 750.12 ss. :
ἄλλη δόξα ὅτι τὰ εἴδη ἄμικτα ἀλλήλοις
Mᵇ (f. 30ᵛ), ad 750.24 ss. :
ἄλλη μεταξὺ δόξα
Mᵇ (f. 31ʳ) **V**, ad 751.12 ss. :
ὅρα ζητήματα περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἕκαστον τῶν εἰδῶν ἐστι τὰ πάντα
Mᵇ (f. 31ʳ) **V**, ad 752.1 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν πρότασιν ταύτην
Mᵇ (f. 31ʳ) **V**, ad 752.17 ss. :
ἕτερα ζητήματα ἄξια λόγου περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· εἰ ἡ ὁμοιότης καὶ ἀνομοιότης ἓν πρᾶγμα σημαίνει ἢ πλείω καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐπινοίαν ἡ διάκρισις ἢ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων οὐσίαν
Mᵇ (f. 31ᵛ) **V**, ad 753.11 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ἐπινοίας
Mᵇ (f. 31ᵛ) **V**, ad 753.23 ss. :
συμπέρασμα· ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕκαστον τῶν εἰδῶν τὰ πάντα
Mᵇ (f. 31ᵛ) **V**, ad 753.26 ss. :
ἕτερον ζήτημα· εἰ πάντῃ ἄμικτα ἀλλήλων τὰ εἴδη
Mᵇ (f. 31ᵛ), ad 754.5-7 :
τὰ αἰσθητὰ συνέχεια
τὰ νοητὰ ἡνωμένα
Mᵇ (f. 31ᵛ), ad 754.11 ss. :
ἐν παντὶ μέρει τοῦ σπέρματος ὁ τοῦ ὅλου λόγος
Mᵇ (f. 31ᵛ) **V**, ad 755.4 ss. :
συμπέρασμα τελειότερον· περὶ μίξεως καὶ ἀμιξίας τῶν εἰδῶν διάλεξις
Mᵇ (f. 32ʳ) **V**, ad 755.24 :
α´ τὸ καθὸ διττόν
Mᵇ (f. 32ʳ), ad 756.3 ss. :
β´
Mᵇ (f. 32ʳ), ad 756.23-24 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ

Mᵇ (f. 32ʳ) **V**, ad 757.4-6 :
ἴδιον τῶν ἀσωμάτων εἰδῶν τὸ καὶ χωρεῖν δι' ἀλλήλων ἀσυγχύτως καὶ διακεκρίσθαι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀδιακρίτως
Mᵇ (f. 32ʳ), ad 757.11 ss. :
τί καλεῖ τέρας ὁ Σωκράτης καὶ ποίαν μίξιν ἀπογινώσκει
Mᵇ (f. 32ᵛ) **V**, ad 758.7-8 :
τέρας θαυμαστόν ἀγαστόν
ἀπόγνωσις ὑπόνοια ἐλπίς
Mᵇ (f. 32ᵛ) **V**, ad 758.16-17 :
ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς συγχωρεῖ τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἀνόμοιον
Mᵇ (f. 32ᵛ) **V**, ad 758.25 :
τὰ ὅμοια ἓν πολλά
Mᵇ (f. 32ᵛ), ad 759.24 ss. :
ἀπορία
Mᵇ (f. 32ᵛ), ad 759.25 ss. :
λύσις
Mᵇ (f. 32ᵛ) **V**, ad 759.27 :
πᾶσα δυὰς ἀπὸ μονάδος
Mᵇ (f. 33ʳ) **V**, ad 760.3 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)· πρὸ τοῦ διακεκριμένου ἑνός ἐστι τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἕν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁμοιότης καὶ ἀνομοιότης ἐστὶν ἑνοειδῶς
Mᵇ (f. 33ʳ) **V**, ad 760.13 ss. :
ἐνταῦθα ὑποπτεύει ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποψίαν ἀληθῆ περὶ τῆς τῶν εἰδῶν μίξεως καὶ θαυμάζει τὸν τοῦτο δείξαντα
Mᵇ (f. 33ʳ) **V**, ad 761.16-17 :
καὶ τῶν ἀτόμων ἕκαστος ἕν ἐστι καὶ πλῆθος καὶ τοῦτο πολλαχῶς
Mᵇ (f. 33ʳ) **V**, ad 761.21 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 33ʳ) **V**, ad 761.26-27 :
πῶς ὁ κόσμος εἷς καὶ πολλά
Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ) **V**, ad 762.10 ss. :
ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἔσχεν ὁ κόσμος τὸ εἷς εἶναι καὶ πολλά
Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ), ad 762.14-16 :
ὁ δημιουργὸς ποιεῖ τῷ εἶναι· ὃ δὲ ποιεῖ τῷ εἶναι δίδωσι τῷ ποιουμένῳ ὃ ἔχει
Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ) **V**, ad 762.17 ss. :
καὶ ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ ὅπως
Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ) **V**, ad 763.3 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)· περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐξῃρημένου
Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ) **V**, ad 763.15 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ) **V**, ad 764.4 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ

Mᵇ (f. 33ᵛ) V, ad 764.5 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 34ʳ) V, ad 764.21 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ
Mᵇ (f. 34ʳ) V, ad 764.27-28 :
τὸ ὂν μέγιστον τῶν γενῶν ἐν Σοφιστῇ τίθεται
Mᵇ (f. 34ʳ) V, ad 765.5 ss. :
εἰ τὸ ἓν καὶ πλῆθος διέστηκε ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα
Mᵇ (f. 34ʳ), ad 765.15 :
οὐ τὸ ὑπερούσιον ἕν, ἀλλὰ τὸ οὐσιῶδες ληπτέον
Mᵇ (f. 34ʳ) V, ad 766.16 :
πῶς ἓν καὶ πολλὰ τὰ εἴδη
Mᵇ (f. 34ᵛ) V, ad 767.8-10 :
ποῖα εἴδη καλεῖ γένη
Mᵇ (f. 34ᵛ) V, ad 767.10-11 :
τὰ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα γένη ἰνδάλματα τῶν ὡς αἰτίων γενῶν
Mᵇ (f. 34ᵛ) V, ad 768.1-3 :
ἡ ἑξὰς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά, ἡ ἑπτὰς Ἀθηνᾶς
Mᵇ (f. 34ᵛ) V, ad 768.11-12 :
πῶς τὸ εἶδος συνάπτεται τῇ ὕλῃ
Mᵇ (f. 34ᵛ) V, ad 768.14-15 :
ὁ ὅλος νοῦς ἓν πολλά
Mᵇ (f. 34ᵛ), ad 768.18 ss. :
ἐνταῦθα ἐλπίζει ὁ Σωκράτης μίγνυσθαι τὰ εἴδη καὶ ἄγαται τὸν τοῦτο ἀποδείξαντα
Mᵇ (f. 35ʳ) V, ad 768.27-769.1 :
ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἕνωσις ἀσύγχυτος καὶ διάκρισις ἀδιαίρετος
Mᵇ (f. 35ʳ) V, ad 769.6 ss. :
λόγια
Mᵇ (f. 35ʳ) V, ad 770.9 ss. :
ὅρα περὶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀκατατάκτων μονάδων τῶν μετὰ τὸ Παρμενίδειον ἓν πῶς δηλοῦνται καὶ κοινωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ διακρίνονται
Mᵇ (f. 35ᵛ) V, ad 770.26-27 :
τίς ἡ στάσις καὶ ἡ κίνησις
Mᵇ (f. 35ᵛ) V, ad 771.4-5 :
ὁ δημιουργὸς ἀμετάβλητος τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις καὶ διὰ τί
Mᵇ (f. 35ᵛ) V, ad 771.26-27 :
πᾶν τὸ τῷ εἶναι ποιοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδίδωσι
Mᵇ (f. 35ᵛ) V, ad 772.12-13 :
εἰ ἡ στάσις καὶ κίνησις μετέχουσιν ἀλλήλων ἢ οὔ
Mᵇ (f. 35ᵛ) V, ad 772.13-14 :
ὁ ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ ξένος

Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ) V, ad 774.8 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ
Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ) V, ad 774.9 :
ἐν Φιλήβῳ
Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ) V, ad 774.18-19 :
ὅτι καὶ τὸν Σοφιστὴν ὁ Πρόκλος ἐξηγήσατο
Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ), ad 774.20 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ζητήματα
Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ) V, ad 774.25 :
ἡ τῶν γενῶν πεντάς
Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ), ad 774.26 ss. :
λύσις
Mᵇ (f. 36ʳ) V, ad 774.27-775.2 :
τριττὴ ἡ μίξις
Mᵇ (f. 36ᵛ) V, ad 775.14-15 :
τί κάλουσι γάμον οἱ θεολόγοι
Mᵇ (f. 36ᵛ) V, ad 777.11 ss. :
Τίμαιος
Φίληβος
Mᵇ (f. 37ʳ) V, ad 777.22 ss. :
ὅλος σκοπὸς τῶν Σωκράτους λόγων ἐν τούτοις δείκνυται
Mᵇ (f. 37ʳ) V, ad 778.2 ss. :
ὁ σκοπὸς τῶν Σωκράτους λόγων
Mᵇ (f. 37ʳ) V, ad 779.2-3 :
οἱ θεοὶ προνοοῦσι καὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων
Mᵇ (f. 37ʳ) V, ad 779.12-13 :
διαπλοκάς γάμους
Mᵇ (f. 37ʳ) V, ad 779.14-15 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ
ἐν Φιλήβῳ

Scholia Libri III

Mᵇ (f. 38ʳ), ad 783.8 :
ὁριστά χωριστά
Mᵇ (f. 38ᵛ), ad 784.5 :
Ἀριστοτέλης
Mᵇ (f. 38ᵛ) V, ad 784.12 ss. :
τέτταρα ζητήματα·
α´ εἰ ἔστι τὰ εἴδη
β´ τίνων ἔστι τὰ εἴδη
γ´ ὁποῖά εἰσι τὰ εἴδη καὶ πῶς θέτεται αὐτὰ καὶ τίς ἡ ἰδιότης αὐτῶν
δ´ πῶς μετέχεται ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε

M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 784.15 ss. :
ὅτι ἐν Παρμενίδῃ οὐκ ἀποδείκνυται εἶναι τὰ εἴδη
M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 785.4 :
ἄρχεται δεικνῦναι εἶναι τὰ εἴδη
M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 786.5-7 :

ἐξ ἄλλης αἰτίας ὑφέστηκε — τὸ οὐκ αὐθυπόστατον — ὁ κόσμος
π π π

M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 786.8 :
τὸ μὴ αὐθυπόστατον διττόν
M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 786.17 ss. :

ἡ πρεσβυτάτη αἰτία — ποιεῖ ἀΐδιον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον — αὐτῷ τῷ εἶναι ποιεῖ
π π π

M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 786.14 :
πότερον κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἢ τῷ εἶναι ποιεῖ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη αἰτία
M^{b} (f. 38^{v}) **V**, ad 787.3-4 :
ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῷ τῷ εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνδίδοται τῷ σώματι
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}), ad 787.8 ss. :
ὡς τὰ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ποιοῦντα ποιεῖ καὶ τῷ εἶναι, ὡς ἡ ψυχή· οὐ μὴν πᾶν τὸ τῷ εἶναι ποιοῦν ποιεῖ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ πλέον τὸ τῷ εἶναι ποιοῦν καὶ ὑψηλοτέρᾳ αἰτίᾳ προσῆκον
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 787.11 ss. :

τὸ τῷ εἶναι ποιοῦν — τοῦ προαιρε<τικῶς> ποιοῦντος ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνεται — τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ αἰτίᾳ προσήκει μᾶλλον

M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 787.15 ss. :

τὸ τῷ εἶναι ποιοῦν — ἀπραγμονέστερον ποιεῖ — ἡ πρεσβυτάτη αἰτία

M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 787.17 ss. :

ἡ πρεσβυτάτη αἰτία — τῷ εἶναι ποιεῖ — τοῦτό ἐστι πρώτως ὃ τὸ ποιούμενον δευτέρως

M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 788.1-3 :
καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ πλήρωμα εἰδῶν, ταῦτα ἄρα πρώτως ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ καὶ οὕτω συνάγεται τὰ εἴδη εἶναι πρώτως ἐν τῷ θεῷ
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 788.8-10 :
δευτέρα ἀπόδειξις
κατὰ τῶν Περιπατητικῶν λεγόντων τὸν θεὸν τελικήν, ἀλλ' οὐ ποιητικὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ὄντων
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 789.5 ss. :
ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβῶς εἰσιν ἃ λέγεται τὰ ἐνταῦθα
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}), ad 788.20 :
δευτέρα τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπόδειξις
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}) **V**, ad 789.5-6 :
οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις τὸ πᾶν ἀκριβές
M^{b} (f. 39^{r}), ad 789.14-17 :
πόθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ ἐνταῦθα ἄνισον οἴεται ἴσον
M^{b} (f. 39^{v}) **V**, ad 789.17 ss. :
εἰ ἡ μερικὴ ψυχὴ τῶν φαινομένων νοεῖ βελτίω καὶ τελειότερα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ δημιουργός
M^{b} (f. 39^{v}) **V**, ad 790.1 :
ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοεῖ τὰ εἴδη ὁ δημιουργός
M^{b} (f. 39^{v}) **V**, ad 790.5 ss. :
ἑτέρα ἀπόδειξις τρίτη
M^{b} (f. 39^{v}) **V**, ad 790.12-14 :
τὸ αἴτιον γινώσκει ἑαυτὸ καὶ γινῶσκον ἑαυτὸ αἴτιον ὄν, οἶδε καὶ τὰ ὧν ἐστιν αἴτιον
M^{b} (f. 39^{v}) **V**, ad 791.10-11 :
πότερον δὲ ὅτι ἔμελλε ποιεῖν πάντα ἐνόησεν αὐτὰ ὁ ποιητὴς ἢ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 791.15 ss. :
τῷ νοεῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 791.21 ss. :
τετάρτη ἀπόδειξις
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 791.21-23 :
πῶς γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ὄντων
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 792.4-5 :
τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλά τις ἄνθρωπος
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 792.7-8 :
διὰ τί τὸ σπέρμα δυνάμει μόνον ἔχει τοὺς λόγους
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 792.12 ss. :
ἡ τῆς μητρὸς φύσις ἔχει τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀνθρωπείους
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 792.19-20 :
ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τοῦ λέοντος φύσις τοὺς λεοντείους λόγους ἔχει
M^{b} (f. 40^{r}) **V**, ad 792.27 :
ὁμοίως ἐν φυτοῖς

M^b (f. 40^r) V, ad 793.6 :
ἡ καθόλου φύσις ἔχει τοὺς λόγους πάντων τῶν φυομένων
M^b (f. 40^r) V, ad 793.7-10 :
πῶς τὰ ἐκ σήψεως γεννῶντα καὶ χωρὶς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας πλείω γένη φυτῶν
M^b (f. 40^r), ad 793.13-14 :
ἐκ σελήνης ἡ πᾶσα κυβερνᾶται γένεσις
M^b (f. 40^r) V, ad 793.21 ss. :
ἡ τοῦ παντὸς φύσις ἔχει τὰ εἴδη
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 794.2 ss. :
ὅτι πρὸ τῆς φύσεως ἔστιν ἑτέρα αἰτία
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 794.8 ss. :
διὰ τί ἡ φύσις καὶ ἄλογος καὶ λόγους ἔχουσα τῶν φυσικῶν
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 794.13-14 :
ἡ κυριωτάτη αἰτία ἐξῄρηται τῶν ποιουμένων
M^b (f. 40^v), ad 794.19-20 :
ἀνάγκη εἰς ἄλλο τι εἰδήσοντα τοὺς λόγους ἀνάγειν αὐτούς
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 795.1-5 :
ἡ αἰτία τοῦ κόσμου οὐ γινώσκει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑφίστησι πάντα, γινώσκει δὲ αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔξω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑαυτὴν βλέπουσα
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 795.7 ss. :
πέμπτη ἀπόδειξις
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 795.7-8 :
ἐξ ἀκινήτου αἰτίας τὰ ἀκίνητα
M^b (f. 40^v) V, ad 795.13 ss. :
τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τἄλλα ἐξ αἰτίας ἐστίν
M^b (f. 40^v), ad 795.22 ss. :
ποῦ τὰ ἀκίνητα τῶν εἰδῶν αἴτια; ὅτι οὐκ ἐν σώμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν φύσεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ νῷ πρώτως, ἐν ψυχῇ δευτέρως, ἐν φύσει τρίτως, ἐν σώμασιν ἐσχάτως
M^b (f. 41^r) V, ad 796.1 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην
ὡρ(αῖον)
M^b (f. 41^r) V, ad 796.4 ss. :
τὰ νοερὰ κυρίως ἀκίνητα, δευτέρως τὰ ψυχικά, τρίτως τὰ φυσικά, τελευταῖα τὰ μεριστά
M^b (f. 41^r) V, ad 796.10 :
ἕκτη ἀπόδειξις
M^b (f. 41^r) V, ad 796.13 :
τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην φησί
M^b (f. 41^r) V, ad 797.3 :
ἑτέρα μέθοδος δείξεως τῶν αὐτῶν
M^b (f. 41^r) V, ad 797.23:
τελεία κίνησις

M^b (f. 41^v) V, ad 797.24-25 :
πᾶν ἀτελὲς ἐκ τοῦ τελείου τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει
M^b (f. 41^v) V, ad 798.8-10 :
κίνησις γνῶσις ζωή
ἄλλο τὸ μετέχον, ἄλλο τὸ μετεχόμενον, ἄλλο τὸ ἀμέθεκτον
M^b (f. 41^v), ad 798.11 :
ἡ ὕλη τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶδος τὸ χωριστόν
M^b (f. 41^v) V, ad 798.19 ss. :
ὅρα ἐπανακεφαλαίωσιν τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων
M^b (f. 41^v) V, ad 799.15-16 :
ὅτι ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐστι τὸ πᾶν ὡς ἐν αἰτίᾳ χωρὶς τῆς ὕλης
M^b (f. 41^v) V, ad 799.20 :
ὅρα τὰ Ὀρφέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβολικά
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 800.8-9 :
οἱ θεοί, φησί, διὰ τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν λογίων ἐξέφηναν ἀνθρώποις τίς ἡ μία πηγὴ τῶν ἰδεῶν
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 800.13-14 :
ἐκ τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν λογίων
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 801.6 :
ση(μείωσαι) πόσα ἐκ τῶν λογίων τούτων συνάγεται περὶ ἰδεῶν
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 801.15 :
ἰδέαι αἱ νοεραὶ αἰτίαι
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 801.18-19 :
Πλάτων· Πυθαγόρας· Ὀρφεύς· θεοί
τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλους λόγους λέγει σοφιστικούς
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 801.21 :
αἱ ἰδέαι ἔννοιαι τοῦ πατρός
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 801.24 :
αἱ ἰδέαι πάμμορφοι καὶ διὰ τί
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 801.25 :
ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν πηγαίων ἰδεῶν ἄλλαι προῆλθον
M^b (f. 42^r) V, ad 802.2 ss. :
ἡ μία πρωτουργὸς αἰτία πάντων τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐστι κατὰ τὸν Τίμαιον· κατὰ δὲ τὰ λόγια ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ προυπάρχει· καὶ ὅρα πῶς αὐτὰ συμβιβάζει Πρόκλος
M^b (f. 42^v) V, ad 802.16-18 :
τὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτοζῴῳ εἴδη τῷ εἶναι ἐνδίδωσι πᾶσι τὴν οὐσίαν
M^b (f. 42^v) V, ad 802.22-24 :
διχῶς ὁ δημιουργὸς εἰδοποιός· ἐν ταῖς νοεραῖς αἰτίαις αἱ ὁλικαὶ τῶν πάντων αἰτίαι καὶ αἱ τέτταρες μονάδες
M^b (f. 42^v) V, ad 803.8-9 :
πόθεν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς εἴδεσι τὸ αὐτοκίνητον καὶ τὸ ἀΐδιον

Mᵇ (f. 43ʳ) V, ad 804.24-25 :
νοητῶς νοερῶς ὑπερκοσμίως
συνεκτικῶς ζωογονικῶς δημιουργικῶς
Mᵇ (f. 43ʳ) V, ad 805.10 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 43ʳ) V, ad 806.3-4 :
τὸ ἀνόμοιον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης
Mᵇ (f. 43ʳ) V, ad 806.15 :
τί τὸ ἓν καὶ πλῆθος
Mᵇ (f. 43ʳ) V, ad 806.17 ss. :
πέρας ἄπειρον
νοῦς νοητός, νοερός, ἀφομοιωτικός, ἀπόλυτος, ἐγκόσμιος, καθολικός, μερικός
Mᵇ (f. 43ᵛ) V, ad 807.6-9 :
ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς πρῶτον πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον· ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἅμα καὶ νοεροῖς τὸ ἓν καὶ πολλά· ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις τοῖς νοεροῖς τὸ ταυτὸν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον
Mᵇ (f. 43ᵛ) V, ad 808.2-3 :
τὸ πρῶτον διαιροῦν τὰ ἐν τῷ δημιουργικῷ νῷ ἄκρως ἡνωμένα, ἡ ψυχή ἐστι ἥ τε ἡμετέρα καὶ ἡ θεία
Mᵇ (f. 43ᵛ) V, ad 808.19 :
ση(μείωσαι) τίς αὕτη ἡ εἰς ἑπτὰ τομή
Mᵇ (f. 43ᵛ) V, ad 809.2 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 809.16-17 :
ἓν πλῆθος
ὁμοιότης ἀνομοιότης
στάσις κίνησις
γενικώτατα καὶ κοινότατα
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 809.26 ss. :
(809.26) μέχρι ποῦ πρόεισι τὸ δίκαιον
(809.27) μέχρι ποῦ τὸ καλόν
(810.2-3) μέχρι ποῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ), ad 809.28 :
ἐν Φαίδρῳ
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 810.9-11 :
ἀγαθόν καλόν δίκαιον
κακόν αἰσχρόν ἄδικον
οὐκ εἴσιν ἰδέαι τοῦ κακοῦ, αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀδίκου
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 810.16 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 810.22 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν πρότασιν ταύτην

Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 810.27-811.2 :
ποῖον λέγεται ὁμοίως ὅμοιον καὶ ποῖον ὅμοιον ὡς εἰκών
Mᵇ (f. 44ʳ) V, ad 811.4 :
τὰ εἴδη διχῶς θεωρητέον
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 811.16-17 :
τὸ ἀγαθὸν διττόν· οὐσιῶδες καὶ ὑπερούσιον
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 811.25-26 :
πάντων τῶν ἀϊδίως ὄντων εἰδῶν προϋφεστᾶσιν ἀκίνητοι αἰτίαι
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 812.2-3 :
ἡ πρόοδος ἐκ τῶν ἀκινήτων αἰτίων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ γεννητά ἐστι καὶ ἔνυλα
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 812.8-9 :
ὅρα πόσοι ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοανθρώπου
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 812.13 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταύτην τὴν πρότασιν
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 813.6 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα
Mᵇ (f. 44ᵛ) V, ad 813.12-15 :
ση(μείωσαι) ὡς τὸ τὰς τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ ἰδίας πάντων διαφορὰς εἰδέναι δυσχερέστατον καὶ ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώπῳ
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ) V, ad 813.28 ss. :
τίνων ὁ Σωκράτης ἐτίθετο εἴδη θαρρούντως
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ) V, ad 814.2 ss. :
περὶ τίνων ἠπόρει θέσθαι εἴδη
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ), ad 814.6 ss. :
τίνων παντάπασιν οὐκ ἔστιν εἴδη
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ) V, ad 814.10 ss. :
ἀπορία
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ) V, ad 814.13 ss. :
λύσις
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ) V, ad 814.15 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 45ʳ) V, ad 815.11 ss. :
ἐνταῦθα ἄρχεται τὸ δεύτερον ζήτημα ἐξετάζειν δηλαδὴ τίνων ἔστιν εἴδη καὶ τίνων οὐκ ἔστι
ση(μείωσαι)
Mᵇ (f. 45ᵛ) V, ad 815.15 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) εἰ τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσίας χρὴ τίθεσθαι ἰδέας, ὅπερ ἦν πρῶτον τῶν ζητουμένων
Mᵇ (f. 45ᵛ), ad 815.27 ss. :
ἀρχή
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην

M^b (f. 45^v) V, ad 816.1-7 :

αἱ ἰδέαι

ἢ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν μόνων εἰσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐναντίων

ἢ τῶν ἀϊδίων μόνων ἢ καὶ ἑκάστου τῶν μὴ τοιούτων

ἢ τῶν οὐσιωδῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀνουσίων

ἢ τῶν ὅλων μόνων ἢ καὶ τῶν μορίων

ἢ τῶν ἁπλῶν μόνων ἢ καὶ τῶν συνθέτων ἐκ τούτων

M^b (f. 45^v), ad 816.13 :
ἐν Σοφιστῇ
M^b (f. 45^v), ad 816.8-9 :
ὅτι ἡ νοερὰ οὐσία εἰσὶν (sic) νόες ἀφ' ἑνὸς ὑποβεβηκότες
M^b (f. 45^v) V, ad 816.12-14 :
πᾶσα εἰκὼν εἴδωλόν ἐστι οὗ ἐστιν εἰκών· τὸ δὲ εἴδωλον οὐκ ὄντως οὐκ ὄν
M^b (f. 45^v) V, ad 816.20-22 :
ἐν ταῖς νοεραῖς οὐσίαις οὐκ ἔστι παράδειγμα καὶ εἰκών, ἀλλ' αἰτία καὶ τὰ ἐξ αἰτίας
M^b (f. 45^v) V, ad 816.24-25 :
ση(μείωσαι) ποῖα ὑφέστηκεν ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ νοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰδητικὴν αἰτίαν
M^b (f. 45^v) V, ad 817.5-6 :
β^{ον} εἰ τῆς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας ἔστιν εἴδη καὶ εἰ ἓν καὶ πολλά
M^b (f. 45^v) V, ad 817.21 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν Πρόκλου γνώμην περὶ τούτων
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 817.25-26 et 29 :
α^{ον} ἔστιν ἐν τῷ θείῳ νῷ μονὰς παραδειγματικὴ τῶν ψυχῶν πασῶν
εἶτα ἄλλη μονὰς δευτέρα παραδειγματικὴ τῶν θείων ψυχῶν
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 818.3 :
τὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ψυχῆς παράδειγμα
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 818.9-11 :
τὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς ψυχῆς παράδειγμα
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 818.13 :
ἡ τῆς χθονίας ψυχῆς ἰδέα
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 818.26-27 :
ὁ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς πρῶτος περιέχει τὰ εἴδη τῶν θείων ψυχῶν
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 819.13 :
ἔστι τάξις τῶν εἰδῶν
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 819.13-17 :
τίνι διαφέρει ψυχὴ ψυχῆς

M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 819.17-18 :
τῶν θεολόγων δόξα
M^b (f. 46^r) V, ad 819.22-23 :
εἰ τῆς ἀλόγου ζωῆς ἔστι παράδειγμα καὶ πῶς
M^b (f. 46^v) V, ad 820.25-821.2 :
γ^{ον} εἰ τῶν φύσεων ἔστι παραδείγματα
M^b (f. 46^v) V, ad 821.6-7 :
ἐν τῷ δημιουργικῷ νῷ κατὰ Πλάτωνα τὸ εἶδος τῆς φύσεως
M^b (f. 46^v) V, ad 821.24-822.2 :
δόξα Πρόκλου περὶ τοῦ εἴδους τῆς φύσεως
M^b (f. 46^v) V, ad 821.23 ss. :
δ^{ον} εἰ τῶν σωμάτων καθὸ σώματά εἰσιν εἴδη
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 822.11-12 :
τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ σώματος γεννᾷ τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ψυχῶν ὀχήματα
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 822.20 ss. :
ε^{ον} εἰ τῆς ὕλης ἔστιν εἶδος τῆς τε τῶν γεννητῶν, τῆς τε τῶν οὐρανίων
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 823.2 ss. :
τῆς οὐρανίων ὕλης ἔστιν εἶδος
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 823.12 ss. :
ς^{ον} εἰ τῶν ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ κατὰ γένος καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀτόμων εἰδῶν ἔστιν εἴδη
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 823.16 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 824.3-4 :
ἕκαστον εἶδος τῶν ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν κατὰ παράδειγμα νοερὸν ὑφέστηκε
ση(μείωσαι)
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 824.9-10 :
ζ^{ον} εἰ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἔστιν εἴδη
M^b (f. 47^r) V, ad 824.11 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα
M^b (f. 47^v) V, ad 825.8 ss. :
ὅτι τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἔστιν εἴδη, ἀλλ' αἰτίαι, καὶ τίνες αὗται
M^b (f. 47^v) V, ad 825.23 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
M^b (f. 47^v) V, ad 825.26 ss. :
η^{ον} εἰ καὶ τῶν μορίων εἰσὶν εἴδη
M^b (f. 47^v) V, ad 826.15 ss. :
δόξα τοῦ Πρόκλου περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν τῶν μερῶν
M^b (f. 48^r) V, ad 826.19 ss. :
θ^{ον} εἰ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἔστιν εἴδη
M^b (f. 48^r) V, ad 826.19-21 :
διττὸν τὸ συμβεβηκός

M^b (f. 48^r) **V**, ad 827.19 ss. :
ι΄ον εἰ καὶ τῶν τεχνητῶν ἔστιν εἴδη
M^b (f. 48^r) **V**, ad 827.21 ss. :
ἐν Πολιτείᾳ
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγηματικὰ τῶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ
M^b (f. 48^r) **V**, ad 828.15 ss. :
ια΄ον εἰ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν τεχνῶν ἔστιν εἴδη
M^b (f. 48^r) **V**, ad 828.16 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην
M^b (f. 48^v) **V**, ad 828.28 ss. :
τίνων τεχνητῶν ἢ τεχνῶν οὐκ εἰσὶν εἴδη
M^b (f. 48^v), ad 829.8 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) τὸ περὶ τῆσδε ἐφορείας ἐπὶ ταῖς τέχναις
M^b (f. 48^v), ad 829.16 ss. :
ιβ΄ον εἰ τῶν κακῶν ἔστιν εἴδη καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
M^b (f. 48^v), ad 830.13 :
ὅτι ἑκάστη ἰδέα θεός ἐστι
M^b (f. 48^v), ad 830.15-16 :
τὰ παραδείγματα αἴτια εἰσὶν ὧν εἰσι παραδείγματα
M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 831.8 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταύτην τὴν πρότασιν
M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 831.17 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα ἐπανακεφαλαιωτικά
M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 831.19-21 :

ἀγαθόν	οὐσιῶδες	ἀΐδιον
πρώτη αἰτία	ἓν ὄν	αἰών

M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 831.21-22 :
ἡ πρωτίστη τῶν εἰδῶν τάξις, δευτέρα τοῦ αἰῶνος
M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 832.11-12 :
κατασκευή τινος ὡς καὶ ῥύπου ἔστι παράδειγμα
M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 832.28-833.1 :
ἐν Φαίδωνι
M^b (f. 49^r) **V**, ad 833.7-8 :
ἡ τῆς ἀγνοίας γνῶσις οὐ κακόν
M^b (f. 49^v) **V**, ad 834.9-10 :
ἐν Φαίδρῳ
M^b (f. 49^v) **V**, ad 834.26 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) ταῦτα
M^b (f. 49^v) **V**, ad 835.7-9 :
ση(μείωσαι) τὴν ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ πρότασιν ταύτην
M^b (f. 50^r), ad 835.18 :
ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος

M^b (f. 50^r) **V**, ad 835.22 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι)
M^b (f. 50^r) **V**, ad 836.7 ss. :
ση(μείωσαι) περὶ γοήτων
M^b **M**^{b} (f. 50^r), ad 836.9 :
ἐν Συμποσίῳ

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Summary

Ambrosianus B 165 sup., a 14th-cent. Constantinopolitan manuscript containing Proclus' *In Parmenidem*, was once owned by the Cardinal Bessarion, who has read, corrected and annotated the text with remarkable care. In this contribution, we provide an analysis of Bessarion's work on this manuscript, thus offering a case-study of his philological method. We also discuss some quotations from this text in Bessarion's works, which testify to the importance of his knowledge of Proclus for his own writings. In addition, Bessarion's Greek *scholia* on books II and III of Proclus' commentary are edited here for the first time.

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GOD, SLAVE AND A NUN : A CASE FROM LATE MEDIEVAL CYPRUS

Late medieval notary inscriptions preserve only fragments of the dramatic, tragic or colorful fates of female slaves in eastern Mediterranean ([1]). One of them involves a case of a slave woman and her mistress from fifteenth century Cyprus. A story like many others, it would seem. However, the fact that the owner was a nun raises several questions, which led me to inquire into issues of Cypriote immigration, minorities and monasticism of this time.

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In Byzantium (to which Cyprus belonged for greater part of the Middle Ages), the institution of slavery went through a marked transformation ([2]). The allusions to the crowds of slaves in imperial retinues depicted by the early Byzantine sources stand in sharp contrast to the

(1) See the recent research of S. P. Karpov, *Les Occidentaux dans les villes de la périphérie byzantine : la mer Noire «vénitienne» aux XIV-XV siècles*, in : M. Balard, Élisabeth Malamut, J.-M. Spieser (ed.), *Byzance et le monde extérieur : Contacts, relations, échanges* (*Byzantica Sorbonensia*, 21), Paris, 2005, pp. 67-76, especially pp. 72-75. S. A. Epstein, *Purity Lost : Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean : 1000-1400* (*The John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 3), Baltimore, 2006, especially pp. 52-95. For some interesting notes on slavery in medieval southern Europe and its economic aspects in the 13th and 14th centuries see S. A. Epstein, *Wage, Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe*, Chapel Hill and London, 1991, especially pp. 223-226, 257.

(2) For the situation of early Byzantine slaves see Z. V. Udalcova, *Положение рабов в Византии VI. в.*, in *VV N.S.*, 24 (1964), pp. 3-34. For an overview of the middle Byzantine slavery consult P. Browning, *Рабство в Византийской Империи (600-1200 гг.)*, in *VV N.S.*, 14 (1958), pp. 38-55. Finally, for late Byzantium see Helga Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz : philologisch-historische Untersuchung* (*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 34), Berlin, 1966. For a detailed study of slavery in medieval Europe see C. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale*, II, Gent, 1977. For further materials consult *ODB*, p. 1915.

late medieval period when the number of slaves within the shrinking territory considerably diminished, a result of a long and complicated process of loss of land, lack of successful conquest, influence of Christian ideals on the society and the eleventh-century Byzantine state's attempts to circumscribe the power of the great land holders ([3]). Although never abolished, the minimal post-Justinian legislation regarding this group of subjects testifies to the decreasing significance of slavery ([4]) as does the multi-volume *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (*PLP*), which mentions only six women in the predicament of involuntary service (not all of whom actually lived in territories under Byzantine control) ([5]).

Although marginal in late Byzantium, slavery did not disappear from eastern Mediterranean. Quite the contrary ; the sources mention a number of slave women who lived in the former domains of the Empire such as Crete or Cyprus where continuous warfare, abductions and (re-) settlement made human trade flourish and regain economic importance. Slaves appear in different occupations ; craftsmen, people used for the hardest and dirtiest jobs, house servants, concubines and mothers. Women could be disposed with as part of the movable property ; exchanged, given in deposit or as part of a dowry ([6]).

The fifteenth century inscription, which depicts the unusual story of the nun and her slave woman, appears in a tenth century manuscript

(3) Verlinden, p. 987, specifically on Byzantium see also pp. 987-998 and the above quoted work of Helga Köpstein.

(4) There clearly were exceptions. See for example the law of Alexios I. Comnenos (passed in 1095), which established the manumission of slaves born of free parents, and access of slaves to sacramental marriage. For details see C. Brand, *Slave Women in the Legislation of Alexius I.*, in *BF*, 23 (1996), pp. 19-24.

(5) Women subject to involuntary service, whose names are known from the late Byzantine sources appear in the *PLP* under three different terms. The first, *Sklavin* (slave) is used for the slave woman depicted in this article, Maria (*PLP* 94079), a certain Margia (*PLP* 16856), enslaved in Cyprus at about the same time and a third woman, Εὐδοκία Μιτιληναία (*PLP* 18139). Although the second term, *Dienerin*, rather depicts a servant, it also denotes women who were not free to choose their masters or leave their service. Thus Βάσοβα (PLP 2500) was given by testament of Dimitrios, *megas stratopedarches*, to his wife who in turn willed another woman, Πεστροβοῦ(ν) (*PLP* 22517), to his son. Finally, Λουτζία (*PLP* 15185), depicted as a *Magd* (another term for servant), was freed by her master through testament.

(6) Verlinden, p. 105.

known today as *Parisinus* gr. 913, f. 100 (7). The text follows the Darrouzès edition, which transcribes the document in its original form.

"Οτι ὁ Θεὸς καταρχὰς πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἐλεύθερον, αὐτεξούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκαταδούλωτον παντί, οὐ δοῦλων, ὅτι δὲ ἡ δολερὰ τοῦ ὄφεως τυραννὴς τῷ λύχνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὑποσήρασα, ἐσκύλευσε γὰρ ἅπασας τὰς πόλης καὶ χόρας τῆς Ρωμανίας, ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ ὀδύνη ἐπὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῶν ἀδελφὴ ὀνόματι Μαρία ἐκ χώρας λεγομένης τοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ ἤφεραν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ νύσσῳ Κίπρου εἰς χῶραν λεγομένην Λευχουσία· καὶ ὀδιγιθὴς παρὰ Θεοῦ ἡ μοναχὴ Μάρθα τοῦ Οὔρρη ἠγόρασεν αὐτήν. Τόρα γοῦν οἰκίᾳ θελήση καὶ καλῇ προαιρέση ἐθέλησεν ἵνα δουλεύση αὐτῆς μέχρι τέλους τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μετὰ τῶν τοῦ χρέου λυτούργησιν νὰ ὕνοι ἡ αὐτὴ Μαρία ἐλευθέρα πάντο ἐλευθέρα· καὶ ὅστης δὲ ἀθετήση τὸ παρὸν ἐλεύθερον γράμμα καὶ ἐκ μαρτύρων στέρέομα οὐ μόνον ...

(Translation)

"From the beginning God made man free, with authority above himself and not enslaved by anything. However, the deceitful rule of a serpent dragged down to the light of pleasure stripped all the cities and places of Romania and piled distress on our sister named Maria (8) from the land called *tou Lazarou* and brought her to the island of Cyprus, to a place called Leucosia (9). And led by God, Martha *tou Ourri* (10), a nun, bought her. Presently, making a will she wanted to choose for the good so that [Maria] would serve her [Martha] until the end of her life and after she worked off her debt, the same Maria should be free from all bondage. Anyone who disregards this letter of manumission and the testimony of the witnesses not only ..."

The text is clearly a draft (11) and whether it was ever made into a valid document remains uncertain. The unique circumstances of the two women and the specific details included in the manuscript never-

(7) For further details regarding the manuscript see J. Darrouzès, *Manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, in *REB*, 8 (1950), pp. 162-196, p. 181 ; and for the edited text see *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre*, in *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 23 (1959), p. 35 ; these two articles are reprinted in J. Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins* (*Variorum Reprints CS*, 10), London, 1972, contributions XI and XVII respectively.

(8) *PLP* 92750 and 94079.

(9) Later known as Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus and the residential city of the Lusignan kings. In 1995, the Greek part of Nicosia was changed back to Leucosia.

(10) *PLP* 21195.

(11) Darrouzès points out the fact that the signature of witnesses (required by the Latin law of Assizes) is missing. See Darrouzès (1959), p. 36.

theless suggest that it dealt with a real though exceptional case. The following study will inquire into Maria's origin and religion (I) ; Martha's confession and nationality (II) ; and the implications of Maria's existence as a slave of a nun (III) reflecting the social and religious realities of their time.

I. MARIA'S ORIGIN AND RELIGION

The text contains several pieces of information, which refer to Maria's religious and ethnic background. If it weren't for baptismal names, which often successfully conceal former identities, her name would obviously be the most apparent one. Since a woman named Rosa, could, the notary informs us, be a baptized Muslim of Turkish descent (12), this particular evidence must, however, be handled with care. Although nothing implies that 'Maria' was only a baptismal name, there is another reason to suppose that she was not of Muslim or other non-Christian origin. If that had been the case, the writer was likely to comment on either her faith or conversion as she was to become a servant of a nun.

Concluding that Maria was 'Christian' is, for the late medieval period, a somewhat dubious categorization requiring further specification. Several things speak against her being a Catholic. In the first place, the Crusader laws ruled that "no Latin Christian could be or become a slave" (13). As by this time Cyprus was a Frankish kingdom, this law would have made it impossible for Martha to keep Maria a slave on the island. It is also unlikely that she was a Byzantine Orthodox converted to Catholicism because the law, which in such case would have led to her manumission or at least to a limited period of service (14), was

(12) Verlinden, p. 206.

(13) H. Kausler, *Livres des Assises des Bourgeois*, in : *Les Livres des Assises et des usages du Royaume de Jérusalem*, I, Stuttgart, 1839. See also J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 208.

(14) In fact the service of most slave women mentioned by the notary inscriptions was limited, from two to twenty years. Slaves of Byzantine origin converted to Catholicism were of special value to the Latins and special conditions would be arranged for them as for example the law of Frederick of Aragon (1296-1337), passed in 1310, shows : "Quod servi greci de Romania, postquam coeperint credere articulos fidei, ut sancta Romana ecclesia tenet, si ex tunc serviverunt per septem annos sint liberi. Licet Graeci de Romania hucusque se

clearly not applied. The fact that the Greek writer calls her 'our sister', on the other hand suggests that she was of the same faith, possibly an Orthodox, although (for the reason mentioned above) not necessarily a Byzantine.

In respect to her homeland, the text reports that she came from a place called *tou Lazarou*. I agree with Darrouzès that it could not be Larnaca ([15]), as a captured person could hardly become slave on his or her home island ([16]). "Lazar," however, was the name of two rulers of fourteenth and fifteenth century Serbia and in the time to which the document is dated (1420's), Serbia was governed by Stephan III Lazarevič (1389-1427) ([17]). The genitive form along with the rare and culturally specific name make some allowance for identifying "Lazar's country" with the late medieval Serbia.

ab obedientia sedis apostolicae subtrahentes fuerint abominati Latinos, tamen quia eis qui oderunt nos benefacere ac esse misericordes evangelica doctrina constringimur, etiam Graecis ipsis providimus caritatis opera non negari : quapropter, salva ordinatione ac provisione sedis Apostolicae, cui, si circa hoc aliquid ordinavit ac statuit quod poenitus ignoramus, aut de caetero forsan statuetur, sincere capita nostra submittimus eius provisioni, atque arbitrio stare ac obedire protinus disponentes, statuimus, ut quicumque de praedictis Graecis Romaniae emerit captivum et detulerit tanquam servum, eum non nisi per septem annos audeat retinere, cum ipsum dicto completo septennio reddi providimus suae pristinae libertati. Quam constitutionem non iam ad emendos extendimus, quam iam ad emptos : hoc tamen beneficium ad eos porrigimus, qui firmiter credent et simpliciter fatebuntur articulos fidei, prout sancta Romana mater Ecclesia credit et tenet, ad veritatem redeuntes ipsius, eam unam et solam omnium Ecclesiarum magistratam et dominam recognoscant ; quod tempus septennii ex eo tempore iubemus incipere, ex quo coeperint credere et firmiter confiteri articulos fidei, ut sancta Romana Ecclesia credit et tenet, ut superius declaratur". See J. Spata, *Capitula Regni Siciliae (Recensioni Francisci Testa)*, Palermo, 1865, Chp. 72 ; see also Verlinden, pp. 196-197.

(15) Darrouzès may have thought of Larnaca because the city has a well-known church of St. Lazaros. However, if Maria was an inhabitant of Larnaca, the writer would probably have mentioned it, unless he deliberately wished to conceal her origin. Holding Maria as a slave, had she been a Cypriote, would have been a crime and a dangerous risk for the reputation of both the notary and the owner. As for further flaws of this theory, why would the text depict Maria's captor as roaming 'the cities of Romania' when by this time, Cyprus had been a Latin kingdom for several centuries ?

(16) Darrouzès (1959), p. 36.

(17) The House of Lazarevič was founded by Lazar I. Hrebljanovič (1371-1389), the father of Stephan III.

The fact that the author mentions "the cities and places of Romania" (Byzantium) in context with Maria's capture does not necessarily contradict the theory of her Serbian descent. His knowledge of northern geographies may have been restricted and Serbia and Byzantium were after all neighbors whose boundaries changed several times in the previous century. His mentioning the 'snake' roaming Byzantium may moreover hint on the circumstances of Maria's abduction while traveling or pursuing a business in the Empire. As a Serbian, she would have been Orthodox, which in turn offers an explanation for the missing description of her conversion, justifies her being called "our sister" (in the Orthodox faith) and provides a reason for Martha the nun's choice of her as a suitable servant.

II. MARTHA'S RELIGION AND BACKGROUND

Before focusing on the nun Martha, let us briefly examine the high and late medieval history of Cyprus, which creates the setting of our story. This strategic island was Byzantine until 1191, when Richard I of England conquered it. In 1192, he sold it to the Templar Order who in turn passed it on to Guy de Lusignan, a nobleman of Frankish background whose family held the territory until it fell under Venetian control in 1489 and later to the Turks (1571). In Martha's time, Cyprus was a Latin kingdom with strong Italian, mainly Genoese ([18]) and Venetian, colonies ([19]).

As for religion, beside the Catholics, Cyprus had a large Orthodox population ([20]). The coexistence of the two Churches was not exactly a harmonious one ; the Orthodox Church was forced into submission following a unionist policy with the Catholics. Despite the efforts of several enlightened popes and legates, Latin archbishops and papal emissaries too often thought that the union of the churches could be achieved by theological discourse, or worse, by force. Notwithstanding

(18) For information on late medieval Genoese community on Cyprus see the edition of documents prepared by Svetlana Bliznyuk, *Die Genuesen auf Zypern. Ende 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert* (*Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik*, 6), Frankfurt am Main, 2005.

(19) See Epstein, *Purity Lost*, p. 80.

(20) For an outline, see G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, III, *The Frankish Period, 1432-1571*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 1041-1104. Also see A. Stylianou et J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, London, 1985 (1st edition 1964), pp. 15-19, especially p. 18.

the pressures to convert, the Orthodox community never disappeared from the island. The priests were not allowed to administer sacraments to the believers of the other rite except for urgent cases, and the Latins could not attend Orthodox masses or intermarry with the Orthodox. But when the Orthodox Cypriotes requested to be recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Byzantine legates found them compromised and attached to the Latin cause and the Pope ([21]).

In respect to economy, trade and agriculture were the main sources of income in Cyprus along with the proceeds of the famous slave market. Available primary sources yield information about human cargo coming from a number of continents, countries and cities including Africa, Asia, Serbia, Bulgaria or Smyrna ([22]). Although for many slaves Cyprus was merely a stop on the way to their final destination, Charles Verlinden suggests that some remained on the island as servants or farm laborers ([23]).

Finally, as it directly concerns our case, let us inquire into how slaves could be manumitted under the Frankish law. The *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois* describes five ways in which this act could be performed ; in front of three witnesses (1), by testament (2), charter (3), by leaving slave an inheritance (4) or by conversion (5) ([24]). The last option was, however, rarely practiced as it damaged the owners materially and took the decision out of their hands ([25]).

The notary inscription includes several pieces of information regarding Martha. Her surname, *tou Ourri* ([26]), may indicate that she was mar-

(21) Hill, pp. 1085-1087. To complete the history of the church in Cyprus, in 1420's due to a Mameluk expedition, many of the Latin orders left the island and the mendicants remained only in Nicosia and Famagusta. Despite a certain amount of effort to find a more peaceful mode of co-existence, the situation remained complex. Hill notes that "the tendency to fusion (...) was due to the weakening of the Latins who wandered into the Greek fold, rather than to any approach from the Greek side." It was the Turkish conquest of 1571, which finally solved the situation expelling the Catholics from the island.

(22) Verlinden, pp. 884-892.

(23) Verlinden, p. 892.

(24) Kausler (witnesses, charter, testament) : ch. 204 (heritage) ; ch. 203 (conversion) ; ch. 249. Prawer, p. 209.

(25) For details see Prawer, pp. 210-211.

(26) A. K. Indianou, *Κυπριακά μεσαιωνικά μνημεῖα*, in *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 6 (1942), pp. 7-18, for details and further literature see references on p. 18. Also see Darrouzès (1950), p. 180.

ried. The fact that the document describes her as a nun, nevertheless, suggests that by the time it was drafted she was already widowed ([27]). Buying a slave, she certainly was not poor. As Steven Epstein remarks, "owning a slave was usually a sign of some wealth in the fifteenth century, and freeing one as an act of charity or economic calculation usually cost something and was not lightly done" ([28]). We may thus assume that Martha was a woman of means even though she did not necessarily belong among the rich.

The variations of her family name including 'Urri', 'Ourri', 'Ourry', 'Gurry' and 'Gourri' were not uncommon in Cyprus. A study of medieval Cypriot epigraphs ([29]) mentions a fourteenth century Iacobus Urrius, a member of an originally Genoese family, which came to Cyprus from Syria, while the new edition of Genoese documents from Cyprus brings up two late medieval persons bearing this name ([30]). A plausible explanation would present Martha as a member of the Genoese ([31]) or at least Latin community. On the other hand, a Latin nun would hardly consult a Greek notary and request a draft of her will in a language different from her own.

The wording of the document itself implies neither Catholic nor Orthodox setting. On the contrary, a fifteenth century Latin manumission text from Chios ([32]) somewhat reflects the above inscription : "In the name of God amen. Since by nature all people are born free and slavery had been introduced by the law of nations against natural law, through the said law of nations was introduced the benefit of manumission to extinguish it" ([33]). A perception of slavery as something con-

(27) Orthodox couples could also separate and take monastic vows but as nothing in the document indicates this to be the case, I did not include this option among the possibilities mentioned above.

(28) Epstein, *Purity Lost*, p. 71.

(29) Indianou, p. 18.

(30) Bliznyuk, no. 85, 87, also see p. 408.

(31) Interestingly, the Genoese medieval law forbade to free a slave by testament. See Epstein, *Purity Lost*, p. 85. For details see S. A. Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery : Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy*, Ithaca, 2001, p. 96.

(32) The text was written by Antonio Foglietta, a public notary practicing in Chios between 1460-1476. For details see P. P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. xx and 614.

(33) Argenti, p. 807. "Cum naturaliter omnes homines liberi naschantur et servitus per ius gentium contra ius naturale fuerit introducta ad cuius extinc-

tradicting God's natural order, was clearly to be expected in the incipit of a manumission document.

Martha's actions as a nun reflect on her religious background. In the first place, she disposed with her property, which the strict rule of a western convent would hardly have allowed. Any possessions (including slaves) brought to a nunnery would have passed on to the convent. Beside having sufficient means at her disposal, the text implies that she went to the market herself (a very rare thing ([34])) and nothing suggests that she did so on behalf of a nunnery. Moreover, she does not seem to have resided in a monastic institution, which would have been out of question for a Catholic nun. A Catholic woman living monastic life outside the nunnery, would, furthermore, not ordinarily consider or describe herself as a nun ([35]).

The above evidence sets Martha within the Orthodox community living either in a nunnery (Orthodox monasteries sometimes allowed private ownership and gave the more privileged sisters a certain freedom to move around) or as an idiorhythmic, making a convent inside her own house and living ascetic lifestyle of her choice, dressed in a nun's attire. The latter option seems even more fitting in this particular case backed by the results of an analytical study of late Byzantine monasticism, which shows that

> "development of an idiorhythmic form of monasticism, in which monks retain personal property, earn their own livings, and reside and eat separately from one another in their own cells was a particular feature of Byzantine monasticism in the Palaiologan era." ([36])

The independence of Martha's actions, her free use of financial resources and the missing indication that she was a member of a particular nunnery, all speak in favor of this option.

tionem per dictum ius gentium introductum est beneficium manumissionis." Translation taken from Epstein, *Purity Lost*, p. 71.

(34) Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 57-58, 82. Martha's action as described, was quite rare. Epstein's study mentions no female customers for the period 1100-1400.

(35) See Petra Melicharová, *Crown, Veil and Halo: Confronting Ideals of Royal Female Sanctity in the West and in the Byzantine East in Late Middle Ages (13th-14th Century)*, in *Byz.*, 77 (2007), pp. 315-344, especially p. 326.

III. MARIA, THE NUN'S SLAVE

By the time the notary drafted the text, Maria had been serving her mistress for some time. What was her life like ? As it cannot be completely discarded, let us examine the option of Maria following Martha into a nunnery. Although the primary sources confirm that the rich and noble nuns had servants in the convent, slaves do not figure in any of the late Byzantine monastic rules. Several centuries earlier, Theodoros Studites severely forbade their presence in the monasteries : "You shall not possess a slave whether for your own use or for the monastery or for the fields since man was created in the image of God" ([37]). In the middle Byzantine period it was customary to release slaves before the master's or mistress's entering a monastery ([38]). Unlike slaves, servants have been mentioned in several typica usually in connection with noble and rich women, who might have faced serious temptations and regrets if suddenly deprived of all luxury and comfort. The *typikon* of the fourteenth century Constantinopolitan convent *Bebaia Elpis* allows one servant 'to provide modest amount of service and ease'. Mother superior is however admonished to allow "this exception only for those women who come here from a life of privilege, and in no case for anyone else" ([39]).

At the same time, scholarly research shows that members of church hierarchy, monastic institutions and individual monks and nuns in Byzantium did own slaves. Verlinden says that monasteries and members of the church hierarchy in Byzantium had domestic slaves (although he does not provide further details or precise the period) ([40]). In her study, Udalcova mentions slaves serving high clergy ([41]), while the middle Byzantine *Vita of St Basileios the Younger* ([42]) pictures the saint

(36) Angela C. Hero, G. Constable, R. Allison, J. Thomas, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents : A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments* (*DOS*, 35), Washington, 2001, p. 1300, 2.

(37) Hero, p. 77, 4.

(38) Browning, p. 43.

(39) Hero, p. 1550, 94.

(40) Verlinden, p. 998.

(41) Udalcova, p. 28.

(42) A. N. Veselovskij, *Разыскания в области русского духовного стиха*, in *Sbornik Otdela Russkogo Jazyka I Slovestnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, 46 (1899), pp. 10-76. Also see Christina G. Angelidi, *Δοῦλοι στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 10ο αι. Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Βίου τοῦ ὁσίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου*, in *Σύμμεικτα*, 6 (1985), pp. 33-51.

healing slaves (43). In one instance, a nun's slave girl possessed by demons is cured and returns healthy to her mistress (44). The rare occurrence of slave ownership among the clergy, the monks and nuns reflects the slow disappearance of the institution for the above mentioned reasons. Fifteenth century Cyprus was, however, a land of new realities, with needs and possibilities that revitalized the lugubrious system, which in turn may have bent the established monastic customs.

If Maria lived in a convent along with her mistress, she probably did not become a nun herself. Such action would have required a free decision, which she as a slave could not make. Maria's life in the convent would not have differed much from that of the sisters. After ministering to Martha, she would have joined the nuns in performing the less elevated tasks of maintenance such as cooking and cleaning. Remaining a slave, on the other hand, protected her future if she wished to leave the convent upon her mistress's death, marry or even return to her home country. As nun, she would have lost the freedom, which the testament draft sought to guarantee.

As an idiorhythmic nun, Martha would have retained her personal property, supported herself and lived in a separate cell (45) probably in her own house (46). In such case, Maria's life would have been more independent but also more physically demanding with duties such as serving her mistress, taking care of the house, providing food and enabling the nun to spend more time on her devotions and ascetic disciplines.

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The story of Martha and Maria is a mere fragment, a puzzle, of which many parts are missing. It brings us back to the fifteenth century Mediterranean with its quickly changing boundaries, peoples and

(43) Veselovskij, pp. 54-55. Angelidi, pp. 36-38.
(44) Veselovskij, pp. 68-69. Angelidi, p. 38.
(45) Hero, p. 1300.
(46) In late Byzantium, a certain Thianitissa (*PLP* 7738) is the only example I could find of a woman who took the monastic vows and lived as nun in her own house. Unfortunately, her case was not a success as according to an accusation she transformed her house into a public house and ended before the patriarchal court. For a note on house convents also see Sharon E. J. Gerstel et Alice-Mary Talbot, *Nuns in the Byzantine Countryside*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 27 (2006), pp. 481-489, see especially p. 489.

administrations, where more than the strict limits of religions and nationalities become blurred ; Maria is the slave and Martha her owner, concerned with the things of the Lord.

Whether the draft from the beginning of the fifteenth century ever became a valid document or not, it is a valuable testimony of the reality of its time. The story offers a snapshot of Maria's struggle to adjust to a new country, language and social position. Probably of Serbian Orthodox descent, she was kidnapped in her home country or in Byzantium and sold in Cyprus. Martha, her owner, seems to have been a Cypriote of Orthodox background with some Latin (Genoese ?) ancestors, who lived either in one of the nunneries on the island or, even more probably, as an idiorhythmic nun. Maria's service was vital to her and therefore she wished to free her slave only upon her death.

Due to the lack of information provided by the text, the personalities of the two women remain indistinct. Through the draft of her testament, we may picture Martha as a benevolent slave owner, who though willing to show some mercy to a stranger in difficult circumstances, could not afford a completely magnanimous gesture ; a stretched out hand, which could not let go.

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Summary

A draft of a will takes us back to the fifteenth century Cyprus introducing a strange case : a nun as an owner of a slave woman of foreign origin. While attempting to reconstruct the identities and circumstances of the two women, the primary sources offer a glimpse of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean with its quickly changing boundaries, multicultural context and complex interpersonal relationships.

THE REPRESENTATION OF READING IN "PHILIP THE PHILOSOPHER'S" ESSAY ON HELIODORUS (1)

I. Introduction

Among the Byzantine references to the ancient novel is a short essay entitled Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἑρμήνευμα τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου ("An interpretation of the modest Charicleia from the lips of Philip the Philosopher", hereafter the "Interpretation") (2). This is the first surviving critical essay on a work of prose fiction, and as such may claim some importance in literary history. The present study aims to elucidate the presentation of the act of reading in this short text, by looking first at the construction of a reading persona and then at the imagery used to describe readerly activity.

This extraordinary analysis and defence of the novel brings to bear on its subject a range of interpretive approaches, dividing (after an initial setting of the scene) into two halves : a study of the characters and

(1) An early version of this paper was presented at the conference of the Australia and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, in Adelaide in 2007. Further research was done at the University of Ghent, Belgium in my time as a visiting researcher there. I am especially grateful to Professor Kristoffel Demoen for his thoughts on an intermediate version and for a reference to Gregory of Nazianzus.

(2) On the meaning of ἀπὸ φωνῆς / ἐκ φωνῆς see M. Richard, *ΑΠΟ ΦΩΝΗΣ*, in *Byz.*, 20 (1950), pp. 191-222. For a summary of Byzantine discussions of Heliodorus see H. Gärtner, *Charikleia in Byzanz*, in *Antike und Abendland*, 15 (1969), pp. 47-69. The essay is transmitted in Codex *Venetus Marcianus gr.* 410 (now 522 as Sandy notes), a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. For further details see G. N. Sandy, *A Neoplatonic Interpretation of Heliodorus' Ethiopian Story*, in A. Billault (ed.), *'ΟΠΩΡΑ. La belle saison de l'hellénisme. Études de littérature antique offertes au Recteur Jacques Bompaire*, Paris, 2001, pp. 169-178. I shall cite the text throughout by the line numbers in A. Colonna's edition of Heliodorus (*Heliodori Opera*, Rome, 1938). It is also accessible in R. Hercher's *editio princeps* (*Fragmentum Marcianum*, in *Hermes*, 3 [1869], pp. 382-388).

defence of the ethics of the novel, followed by a "higher", allegorical reading, which draws especially on Neoplatonic philosophy and Pythagorean number symbolism (3). It is clear from the abrupt ending of the piece as we have it, in mid-sentence and indeed in mid-clause, that something has been lost from the end. It is likely though that what is missing cannot have been very much. The discussion seems largely complete, and Philip is at this point just adding a few details (4).

This intriguing essay has attracted several modern studies (5). It occupies a unique position in the history of allegorical reading, taking as it does the techniques for reading "high" genres (classical literature and scripture) and applying them to an example of a dubious genre, the ancient novel (6).

The present article is focused on two broad topics, both of which are concerned with the way in which reading is represented. Firstly, it will examine the construction of Philip's character as a reader, in particular the ways in which he is defined by reference to earlier literature. Secondly, it will consider the imagery which Philip uses to represent the act of reading and the activity of the text. I am well aware that Philip inherits a great deal of his approach and his means of speaking about interpretive activity from prior tradition. Nonetheless, it has in recent years come to be much more commonly accepted in the study of all periods of Greek literature that selection and adaptation of traditional material can be creative activities in their own right. I hope in the course of my reading of Philip's essay to demonstrate that these traditional elements are used with a degree of novelty and originality. Before examining the representation of reading, however, it will be helpful to give the relevant background on the "Interpretation".

(3) As Sandy observes, it is difficult at times to distinguish Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean elements (*op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 19).

(4) Gärtner, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n. 64.

(5) See especially R. Hunter, *'Philip the Philosopher' on the Aithiopika of Heliodorus*, in S. Harrison, M. Paschalis and S. Frangoulidis (eds.), *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*, Groningen, 2005, pp. 123-138 ; L. Tarán, *The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus' Aethiopica*, in M.-O. Goulet Cazé, G. Madec and D. O'Brien (eds.), *ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΜΑΙΗΤΟΡΕΣ : "Chercheurs de sagesse" : Hommage à Jean Pépin*, Paris, 1992, pp. 203-230 ; G. N. Sandy, *op. cit.* ; R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 148-150, 152-156 (and his translation of the text pp. 306-311).

(6) See Hunter's more extensive remarks on this : *op. cit.*, pp. 123-125.

The date, place and identity of Philip have been subject to much debate (7). This is not a discussion into which I intend to enter, and the observations which I wish to make about the text are affected relatively little by the circumstances of the text's composition. Colonna attempted to identify the Philip of the "Interpretation" with Theophanes Kerameus, disputing Oldfather's earlier theory that the essay was a pseudepigraph by an unknown Neoplatonist, and intended to be taken for the work of Plato's student, Philip of Opus (8). Colonna pointed out that some of the works of Theophanes also appear under the name of "Philip the Philosopher" (9). If the two are one and the same, the "Interpretation" would be datable to the twelth century. Lavagnini, however, has pointed out that the *Homilies* previously attributed to Theophanes have been identified as the work of Philagathos of Cerami, whose original name had been Philip. On these grounds, Lavagnini attributed the work instead to Philagathos. As Tarán has argued, however, "Philip was a common name, and so was the appelative "the philosopher" (10), and he is surely correct in asserting that this argument alone is not conclusive. A convincing series of parallels with the known works of Philagathos have, however, been identified by Cupane, and often overlooked in subsequent scholarship on the "Interpretation" (11). Given the cumulative weight of the evidence assembled by Cupane, the attribution to Philagathos may be considered quite secure.

My own concern, however, is with Philip's interpretive practice itself and in particular with the way in which interpretation is repre-

(7) For the various views on Philip's date and place see L. Tarán, *op. cit.*; A. Longo, *Filippo il filosofo a Costantinopoli*, in *RSBN*, 28 (1991), pp. 3-21 ; A. Colonna, *op. cit.* ; B. Lavagnini, *Filippo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria*, in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 28 (1974), pp. 3-12. Most recently see the brief survey in R. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

(8) W. A. Oldfather, *Lokrika. Sagengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, in *Philologus*, 67 (1908), pp. 411-472. On the authorship of the "Interpretation" : pp. 457-463.

(9) Colonna, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

(10) Tarán, *op. cit.*, p. 208. There are, as he notes, only two references to Biblical texts : to the *Song of Songs* 1, 3 and to Paul's first letter *To the Corinthians* 3, 13, at lines 24 and 130 respectively. For a further Christian reference (a quotation of Gregory of Nazianzus) see below.

(11) C. Cupane, *Filagato da Cerami, φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla Storia della Cultura Bizantina in Età Normanna*, in *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 31 (1978), pp. 1-28.

sented (12). Though consensus about the date would of course be helpful in discussing the text, the reading which I wish to develop is affected very little. The interpretive practices which Philip uses would not be out of place in either of the previously suggested periods (13), and it may be hoped that those who maintain other views on the authorship and provenance of the piece will still find something of interest in the following study.

II. Philip as Reader

The character of Philip as reader is developed with some care. In large part this development takes place through evocations of earlier literature, positioning the interpretation relative to a few literary and hermeneutic points of reference.

Firstly, the choice of a dialogue form is an early indicator of the reading persona which Philip constructs for himself. It has long been observed that the opening paragraph of the essay echoes the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* (14), thus from the start establishing a Platonic/ Socratic tone and at least the possibility of Platonic content. As Lamberton has more recently noted, there are further references to other Platonic works, most importantly the *Phaedrus* (15), and it is with this text in the Platonic *corpus* that Philip's essay has the closest thematic affinity. Both are interested in the relationship between *eros* and spiritual or philosophical life, though in rather different ways. While the *Phaedrus* deals with the importance of love in philosophical development, Philip analyses a novel of love and adventure as an allegory of spiritual development. It may not be too far-fetched to see a certain affinity in manner between the *Axiochus* and the defence of Charicleia too. Though the sub-

(12) For earlier studies of Philip's interpretive practice see Gärtner, *op. cit.* ; Hunter, *op. cit.* ; Lamberton, *op. cit.*. Parts of the text are also translated with brief comments in N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Revised Edition, London, 1996, pp. 216-217.

(13) Once again as Hunter observes, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

(14) First noted by A. Brinkmann, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs* Axiochos, in *Rheinsiches Museum*, N.S. 51 (1896), pp. 442-444. See also Tarán, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

(15) Lamberton, *op. cit.*, p. 153, n. 27. Following K. Praechter, *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, Basel, 1953, pp. 646-647, he also notes the references to the *Republic*.

ject matter of the *Axiochus* (philosophical consolations in the face of mortality and arguments that death is not an evil) is quite different, it resembles Philip's work in offering several parallel, and at times contradictory arguments (16). Perhaps then, the initial echoes of the *Axiochus* foreshadow the approach of the coming dialogue, as well as establishing the probability of a Platonic basis and quasi-Socratic speaker. It is also quite possible that the author of the "Interpretation" was fully aware that the *Axiochus* which he echoes so carefully in the opening lines was not a genuine work of Plato. The dialogue is already listed by Diogenes Laertius (III, 62) as one of those which is acknowledged as spurious. Is this a knowing evocation of a spurious dialogue in defence of a questionable genre ? If so, the references to the *Axiochus* may be part of the humour which at least some readers detect in the essay (17).

While the body of the "Interpretation" may be more lecture than dialogue (18), the initial setting of the scene is careful to place this little text as part of a broader dialogue about novels, reading and hermeneutics. It is explicitly an answer to the *philologoi* who have been mocking *Charicleia*. In this respect, Philip's work resembles other surviving Byzantine readings of the *Aethiopica* (19).

In addition to the choice of dialogue form, the "Interpretation" adopts a second (and related) motif from the Hellenic tradition of representation of interpretive activity in its use of an aged exegete figure (20). Alongside the Socratic persona already suggested by the

(16) For a recent attempt to see the *Axiochus*' inconsistencies as due to its consolatory function see T. O'Keefe, *Socrates' Therapeutic Use of Inconsistency in the* Axiochus, in *Phronesis*, 51 (2006), pp. 388-407.

(17) On the mixture of "playfulness and gravity" with which Philip approaches his subject see Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(18) Indeed, the title itself suggests notes taken from a lecture. See Tarán, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230 ; M. Richard, *op. cit.*

(19) See Gärtner, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59 on Psellus' implicit replies to rhetorical criticisms of the *Aethopica*.

(20) On the aged exegetes of the ancient novel itself see S. Bartsch, *Decoding the Ancient Novel : The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, Princeton, 1989, p. 26. Examples of this topos outside the novels include the *Tabula of Cebes* and the *Imagines* of Philostratus. In view of the use of this motif it is of interest that Philip describes the *Aethiopica* itself as an ἀρχέτυπος πίναξ (62). Philip clearly sees the novel as a representation of human life, ethics and spirituality much like Cebes' *Pinax*.

opening echoes of the *Axiochus*, Philip is also made to resemble Calasiris, the wily Egyptian priest who serves as mentor and interpreter for Theagenes and Charicleia (21). The evocation of both of these philosophical predecessors gives an indication of the degree of seriousness or humour which readers can expect from the essay. It has often been observed that parts of Philip's reading verge on parody (22), though given the very different assumptions of modern readers it is difficult to determine just how parodic particular readings would have appeared to their original audience. It also raises the question of what exactly is being parodied : Neoplatonic allegorical reading or the novel itself, or the application of this mode of reading to a "low" text. Given this evocation of a hybrid Socrates/Calasiris persona for Philip, we can at least be certain that readers can expect a degree of playfulness in the readings to follow (23), but there is no necessary incompatibility between a playful manner and serious purpose.

A further evocation of an illustrious predecessor in order to establish the character and aspirations of Philip occurs in the words of his two unnamed friends when they persuade him, despite his concerns with the more serious philosophical matters suitable to his years (24), to come to the defence of the novel : ἀντιθεῖναι συνήγορον τὴν σὴν σοφίαν - σά τε μήδεα σήν τ' ἀγανοφροσύνην ("to call to her defence 'your wit and your gentleness'" (14-15)) (25). In the words σά τε μήδεα and ἀγανοφροσύνην there is a clear echo of *Odyssey* 11, 202-203 : ἀλλά με σός τε πόθος σά τε μήδεα φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ, / σή τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη μελιήδεα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα ("but, shining Odysseus, it was my longing for you, your cleverness / and your gentle ways, that took the sweet life from me"). This allusion, noticed already in Hercher's *editio princeps* (26), is important in several respects. As the first of many references to Homer and

(21) See Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(22) For instance Lamberton, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

(23) Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(24) The representation of allegoresis as a practice to which an older, more learned figure descends or returns for the benefit of others appears also in Michael Psellos' interpretation of Tantalus (*Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, alia* 43.2). On this reading see also P. Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia : A Poetics of the Twelth-Century Medieval Greek Novel*, Washington, 2005, pp. 121-124.

(25) The English translation of the "Interpretation" is that of Lamberton, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-311, and for Homer I quote R. Lattimore, *The Odyssey of Homer*, New York, 1965.

(26) Hercher, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

Homeric interpretation, it foreshadows what is to come in the dialogue. Philip's reading of the *Aethiopica* is heavily indebted to the tradition of interpreting Homer ([27]), so the use of a Homeric quotation to persuade him to speak is certainly apt. Moreover, the original context of these words in Homer is also important : they are spoken by the soul of Odysseus' mother, Anticleia, when she speaks with her son in the Homeric *Nekuia* (*Odyssey* 11, 202-203). On one level, this quotation is a learned joke : the anonymous friend exaggerates his longing for Philip's input into the argument by likening it to Anticleia's longing unto death for her absent son. It is a further piece of scholarly wit to choose the words of Anticleia to call Philip to the defence of Charicleia, though without being so unsubtle as to mention Anticleia's name. The famous lines which immediately follow those echoed in the Homeric passage may also be important : Odysseus attempts three times to embrace his spectral mother but his arms pass straight through her (11, 204-209). Similarly the following speech by Philip will be an attempt to embrace another disembodied woman, not the ghostly Anticleia but the textual and fictional Charicleia ([28]).

The reading itself progresses from ethical to allegorical interpretation, again following well-established models ([29]). It does not, however, begin with literal or linguistic considerations. In largely ignoring questions of language and rhetoric, Philip differs markedly from other Byzantine discussions of this text, such as those of Photius and Psellus ([30]). It can be argued, however, that Philip does address Heliodorus' extraordinary use of the Greek language in another way, not by analysis but by imitation. Gärtner remarks in passing that Philip's use of the rare word καταμωκῶνται ("to mock at" (12)) may be a verbal reminiscence of Heliodorus ([31]), and I believe that several other unusual items

(27) As has often been noted : see for instance Lamberton, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

(28) On the conflation of Charicleia and the text in which she appears, and the lovers of the novel as the lovers of Charicleia, see Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ; Tarán, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212, n. 40.

(29) For Platonic and other precedent see Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130 and on the progression of Byzantine education Gärtner, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(30) For details see Gärtner, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-56. On Byzantine allegory and its broader relevance to the novel, see also Roilos, *op. cit.*

(31) Gärtner, *op. cit.*, p. 62, n. 58. The remarks that follow regarding the frequency and usage of lexical items are based on searches in the *Thesauraus Linguae Graecae*.

of vocabulary are also important in establishing the tone and literary affinities of the essay.

In the initial setting of the scene, when Philip is greeted by his friends prior to delivering his defence of the *Aethiopica*, the friends are described using a somewhat unusual lexical choice : the adjective ἀολλέας ("in a crowd" (32)). This word is primarily Homeric, though it does also appear in later poetry, for instance in a choral passage in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (1469) and in Apollonius Rhodius (2, 132 ; 2, 497 and elsewhere). In case the reader may not notice the Homeric tone, the termination of the adjective is also given in its uncontracted, Homeric form (-εας). This adjective is applied to various groups in the Homeric epics, and given its relatively common appearance in the poems it would be unwise to suggest a particular allusion. Rather, it carries with it a general, Homeric tone, and magnifies the impending scholarly discussion to epic stature. Once again, the essay deals allusively and playfully with Hellenic tradition. Philip now appears not only as a sage in the line of Socrates and Calasiris, but also (ironically) as one approaching an event of epic stature.

A further piece of vocabulary apparently borrowed from Heliodorus appears a little later in the dialogue during the discussion of the ethics of the *Aethiopica* : ἐπίμωμος ("blameworthy" (63)). Like καταμωκῶνται this relatively uncommon word occurs also in the *Aethiopica* itself, and it appears that Philip's phrase here (τοὺς σχόντας βίον ἐπίμωμον) echoes Heliodorus' description of the wicked Arsace (τὸν βίον ἐπίμωμος ; 7, 2, 1, 4). This is a good example of the detailed knowledge of the *Aethiopica* which Philip displays throughout the essay and which he expects of his readers. In addition to this Philip borrows from Heliodorus the term ζάκορος (a fairly uncommon word for "priest" or "priestess" (110)), using it to describe Charicleia as does the novelist himself (2, 33, 4, 4).

These echoes of Heliodorus' own wording, choosing words which are less than common, appears to be a deliberate attempt to evoke a specifically Heliodorean tone. Syntactically too, Philip's language is careful and even elegant Atticising Greek. While Philip does not then offer a discussion of Heliodorus' language as do other Byzantine appreciators of the *Aethiopica*, he offers comment (and praise) more obliquely by imitation. The allusions and the verbal texture of Philip's essay allow the piece to position itself very carefully : imitating both the text to be interpreted (the *Aethiopica*) and two of the main hermeneutic keys which are introduced to unlock its meaning (Platonism and Homer).

The other major influence on Philip's approach is the interpretive tradition of the *Song of Songs*. As Gärtner observes, Philip implicitly compares the correct approach to the *Aethiopica* with the correct approach to the *Song* (32) : one must read both texts looking to the true, allegorical meaning rather than the outer, and possibly damaging, surface meaning. This Judaeo-Christian strand of interpretive tradition is entirely compatible with the Neoplatonic allegorising which constitutes the main part of Philip's reading. It may be added in this connection that specifically Christian references are relatively few in the "Interpretation". Besides the quotation of the *Song of Songs*, Philip says that before beginning his lecture he gave "the accustomed prayers to our virgin lady" (τῇ δεσποίνῃ Παρθένῳ τὰς ἐοικυίας εὐχάς) (33). This is most easily taken as meaning the Virgin Mary (33), but the same titles could just as well be applied Artemis (34).

The infrequency of direct references to Christianity in the text has been mentioned above. To the two Biblical references, however, should be added a quotation of Gregory of Nazianzus, whom Philip refers to here simply as ὁ σοφός ("the wise man" (26)) (35). When Philip agrees to take part in the discussion, he justifies his participation by a quote from Gregory's twenty-fifth epigram : παίζει καὶ πολιά, τὰ δὲ παίγνια σεμνά (26-27) (36). If further support were needed for the arguments of Tarán

(32) Gärtner, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68 followed by Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-133.

(33) As does, for instance, Gärtner, *op. cit.*, p. 60, citing G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, s.v. δέσποινα.

(34) See Tarán, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-214 who concludes that it is most likely that "the dramatic setting is fictitious, that the readers of Heliodorus are supposed to be pagans, and that the reference is to a temple of Artemis" (pp. 213-214). If the identification of Philip with Philagathos is accepted, these pagan references appear as archaising evocations of a milieu harmonious with the *Aethiopica* itself. Tarán does, however, also note the ambiguity between Mary and Artemis.

(35) Colonna notes that the fragment of Pindar which Philip quotes (101, Pindar frag. 105-106 (Schroeder)) is found also in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 114 (*PG* 37, 212). This may well have been Philip's source. If so, it would be a further indication of his close familiarity with Gregory's works.

(36) I am grateful to Professor Kristoffel Demoen for identifying this quotation (*PG* 38, 96). To my knowledge its source has not previously been recognised. Philip cites (in reduced form) the poem's opening line, Atticising the ending of Gregory's Ionic πολιή· παίζει καὶ πολιή· τὰ δὲ παίγνια, παίγνια σεμνά ("Old age plays too, but the games it plays are serious games").

and others that the author was a Christian, this quotation would certainly provide it. It is difficult to imagine a pagan writer being familiar enough with Christian literature to quote this epigram. The manner of referring to Gregory, moreover, clearly indicates approval.

The content of the poem is certainly appropriate to the circumstances in which Philip quotes it. In this epigram Gregory is saying farewell to poetry, but is doing so within a poem. Similarly Philip is indulging in discussion of matters which, by his own account, he too should have given up in his more mature years.

The relatively low profile of Christianity in the essay can probably be accounted for by the scene in which it is set and the object of interpretation. The early parts of the text are careful to establish a setting recalling Platonic dialogue and (as I have argued) to evoke Odysseus and the verbal texture of Heliodorus. In this classicising ambience, extensive reference to Christianity and anything more than passing reference to the interpretive tradition of the *Song of Songs* may well have seemed inappropriate. In building up an interpretive position from which to approach the *Aethiopica*, Philip seems prudently to have chosen to lean towards Plato and Homer (at worst incongruous) rather than Christian scripture (potentially blasphemous).

Philip's interpretation itself is in some respects a standard Neoplatonic reading : the journey of Theagenes and Charicleia is read as the journey of the soul to its true, spiritual home. In broad outline this is precisely the interpretation which was also applied to the *Odyssey* from Middle Platonism onwards (37). In its details Philip's reading is clever and extravagant : the name of the sage Calasiris, for instance, is etymologised as ὁ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ σύρων ("the one who leads towards good things" (111-112) and Theagenes leading Charicleia is read as the Neoplatonic νοῦς leading ψυχή to the vision of its place of origin (πρὸς θέαν τοῦ γένους ; 102-103).

III. Philip on the Act of Reading

In addition to offering his own interpretation of the *Aethiopica*, Philip also makes several remarks on the nature of interpretation itself,

(37) See for instance (among innumerable examples) Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* 176-178 and Plotinus, *Ennead* 1, 6, 8, 16-21. On Platonic allegory in general Lamberton, *op. cit.*

employing three major images : the text as drug or medicine, mixing of wine and water as the mixing of philosophy into narrative, and the peeling away of layers of clothing as a representation of the various "layers" of reading.

The first image which Philip uses in his defence is that of Circe's narcotic brew (ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, ὦ φίλοι, Κιρκαίῳ κυκεῶνι ὡμοίωται : "this book, my friends, is very much like Circe's brew" (35)), drawing once again on the *Odyssey* (10, 290-292), and in particular on the books detailing the wanderings of Odysseus (books 9-12), the section of the epic most favoured by allegorical interpreters in antiquity and later ([38]). The book resembles Circe's brew, Philip says, in that it turns those who approach it unprepared into beasts but leads those who, like Odysseus, approach it philosophically to "more elevated things" (τὰ ὑψηλότερα (37)). Moreover the verb which Philip uses for leading here (μυσταγωγέω) means specifically leading someone into knowledge of a religious mystery. Given that κυκεών is used of the sacred brew which was consumed in the Eleusinian mysteries as well as of the potion of Circe ([39]), the book is described here as an element in an initiation leading the minds of readers to philosophical or religious enlightenment (the two hardly being different in this context, as so often in Neoplatonic thought).

Shortly after this, in the initial, ethical reading of the novel, Philip uses a second drug-simile, not applied this time to the *Aethiopica* itself, but to the use of lies. One of the lessons to be learned from the character of the wily Calasiris, he says, is how to use a lie as a φάρμακον (ὡς φαρμάκῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ ψεύδει (47)). Philip is presumably thinking here of an episode like that in which Calasiris lies to Charicles, the heroine Charicleia's adoptive father, for the ultimate good of bringing her and Theagenes to Ethiopia (3, 7-9). The application of the simile is not entirely clear : is the lie a medicine which cures diseased circumstances or a drug to delude another person ? The latter is certainly the simpler,

(38) TARÁN also observes the importance of Circe and Odysseus for the depiction of spiritual ascent in the "Interpretation" as a whole, and sees in it "a connection with the similar interpretation given by Plotinus" (*op. cit.*, p. 227, n. 140, and p. 228).

(39) On κυκεών in the Mysteries see W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion : Archaic and Classical*, Oxford, 1987, p. 286, and *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge MA, 1987, pp. 77, 94, 108, and 110.

but in any case, the application of such similar images to both lies and fiction within a few lines is striking ([40]). Can we infer that, in part at least, it is the text's status as fiction, as lies, which for Philip is responsible for its drug-like effects ? Like one of Calasiris' lies, the *Aethiopica* is for Philip a falsehood for a higher purpose.

A related but slightly different image immediately follows that of the text as potion : the mixing of wine and water. The book blends, Philip says, "the wine of contemplation" (τὸν οἶνον τῆς θεωρίας) with "the water of narrative" (τῆς ἱστορίας ὕδατι (38-39)) ([41]). The image of a mind-altering brew is continued from the immediately preceding reference to Circe's κυκεών, but now it is the ingredients in the mixture which are important. The story itself, far from being the most important part, is now treated as simply the water diluting θεωρία ("contemplation"). Images of wine and drunkenness return later during the allegorical reading itself, when Charicleia as soul is intoxicated by her beloved Theagenes (said now to represent the Neoplatonic *Nous*) (104-107).

These two related images of the text as drug and as wine and water mixture grant a great deal of activity to the *Aethiopica* ([42]). It affects the minds of those who partake of it without much apparent activity on their part. The text is also credited with enacting the process which Philip believes it covertly describes : the ascent of the soul. Thus the initial imagery of spiritual drunkenness used to describe the action of the text recurs in the allegorical reading itself, drawing a parallel between its effect on the reader and the events which are narrated.

(40) There is one further φάρμακον in Philip's essay (127), but this is simply recalling a literal drug/poison which appears in the *Aethiopica*. This is also the only negative use of the term in the "Interpretation".

(41) This is one of several phrases for which Cupane finds close parallels in the works of Philagathos, citing on this occasion the first homily : Καὶ προτίθησιν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία διδασκαλίας κρατῆρα, τῷ οἴνῳ τῆς θεωρίας τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς ὕδωρ κεράσασα ("And the wisdom of God sets before us a mixing bowl of wisdom, blending the water of the parable with the wine of contemplation" (II, 2, 3-7)). It is striking that Philip-Philagathos uses the same terms in discussing the scriptural and the novelistic text.

(42) Also noteworthy in this connection is the brief image of the shouting narrative which appears in this same, ethical section of the reading : βοᾷ γὰρ ἡ ἱστορία μόνον οὐχὶ φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσα τοῖς γράμμασιν ("For the story itself cries out ! The very letters all but speak!" (64-65)).

These two images, preceding the initial ethical discussion, describe the text as acting upon a largely passive readership, whose experience of the text is determined by their philosophical state, but who are not credited with any active involvement in the process of reading itself. The representation of interpretive activity which precedes the second, allegorical reading, however, is quite different in this respect. Here the conflation of Charicleia the character and *Charicleia* the text (as an alternative title for the *Aethiopica*) returns ([43]). Now, however, the lover of Charicleia is not concerned with defending her and her text against their assailants, but with removing successive layers of her/its clothing. In moving from a literal to an ethical reading, Philip says that he has removed the outer cloak and revealed "the sacred chiton within" (τὸν ἔνδοθεν ἱερὸν χιτῶνα (78)). As Hunter observes, this sacred garment recalls the clothing which Charicleia wears in the opening scene of the *Aethiopica*, where she is dressed as a priestess of Artemis ([44]). Moving from an ethical to an allegorical reading, the inner cloak too is to be removed, leaving the beauty of the text exposed (76-79).

The earlier similes which imagined the text as working actively upon its readers as drug or wine are now replaced by one in which it passively allows itself to be undressed. On Philip's reading the *Aethiopica* is a philosophical as well as an erotic text, and in this image these same two qualities are again combined. What is to be revealed by the removal of the final layer is "the beauty undefiled/pure" (ἀκραιφνὲς τὸ κάλλος (79)). Τὸ κάλλος, "the beauty", cannot in this context fail to recall Plato. This beauty, moreover, is not simply "naked" but "undefiled". The choice of adjective is again a significant one, maintaining the eroticism of the naked body but keeping the ideal of ethical "purity" before the reader's mind. It also subtly recalls the earlier image of water and wine, since its primary meaning is "unmixed", deriving as it does from the same verb used earlier of mixing liquids, κεράννυμι. It is almost as if this undressing of the text allowed Philip to extract the "wine of contemplation" from the water in which it had been mixed. The progression of the layers of reading also serves to naturalise the allegorical reading. While the two outer meanings are associated with layers of clothing, the inner layer is identified with the natural state of the body. Thus the most sophisticated reading, and the one furthest removed

(43) On this conflation see Sandy, *op. cit.*, p. 170 ; Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
(44) Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

from the actual words on the page, becomes by implication the most natural and basic of the text's meanings.

IV. Conclusion

Philip's essay manages to state and to imply a great deal about the interpretation of a text like the *Aethiopica* in a remarkably small space. Aligning itself in a Neoplatonic tradition of reading (with a blend of Judeo-Christian influence from the interpretation of the *Song of Songs*), it constructs by its various intertextual references a very particular reading persona, and deploys a succession of images to reflect on the acts of reading and interpretation. It may be argued that in analysing the "Interpretation" I have myself overinterpreted, but given the way in which the essay itself foregrounds issues of interpretation and the interpretive extremes to which it goes, as well as the evident care with which the piece is written, a reading which takes account (as far as possible) of the implications of its linguistic, intertextual and interpretive choices seems to be precisely what is required.

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Summary

The twelth-century reading of Helidorus' *Aethiopica* transmitted under the name of "Philip the Philosopher", may claim to be the first extant critical essay on a work of prose fiction, and as such is of some importance in literary history. This article examines the construction of the text's speaker, Philip, as a reader, and the imagery which he uses to represent the act of reading and the activity of the text.

UN AUTORE SPIRITUALE SCONOSCIUTO DEL X SECOLO : LUCA ADIALEIPTOS

Di Luca Adialeiptos è fatta soltanto fugace menzione nei manuali di storia della letteratura bizantina. Nell'opera diretta da Karl Krumbacher, Luca Adialeiptos compariva in una lista di autori spirituali, «deren Lebenzeit sich nicht bestimmen liessen» (1). Albert Ehrhard lo collocava, sia pur in forma dubitativa, nel X secolo (2). Per Hans-Georg Beck, Luca doveva essere collocato al più tardi nel XII secolo, in base ai manoscritti, anche se poteva essere molto antecedente a questa data (3). Qualche decennio prima, Konstantinos I. Dyobouniotis non si era nemmeno posto il problema della cronologia, e aveva soltanto osservato che su Luca non abbiamo nessuna notizia (4).

Gli studiosi si sono per lo più basati sulle indicazioni fornite da Nikos A. Bees nel catalogo dei codici del Mega Spelaion (Kalabryta), pubblicato nel 1915 (5), a proposito del manoscritto 34 (MS), attualmente perduto, contenente le opere di Luca. Un riesame degli elementi ricavabili da

(1) *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches : (527-1453)*, I (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. 9, Abt. 1), München, 1897², p. 160.

(2) *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Erster Teil, *Die Überlieferung*, III, Leipzig, 1939-1952, p. 933 e n. 1.

(3) *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Abt. 12 : *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, Teil 2, Bd. 1), München, 1959, p. 646.

(4) *Λουκᾶ τοῦ ᾽Αδιαλείπτου, Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς παρθένους*, in *᾽Επιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου ᾽Αθηνῶν*, 1935/1936, p. 9.

(5) *Κατάλογος τῶν ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου. Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Peloponnesischen Klosters Mega Spilaeon*, I, Leipzig - Athinai, 1915, pp. 34-37 (nr. 34). Già segnalato dallo stesso, *῎Εκθεσις παλαιογραφικῆς καὶ ἱστοριοδιφικῆς ἐκδρομῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Καλαβρύτων*, in *Παναθήναια*, 15 (1904), p. 139, tra i codici di rilievo della biblioteca in una memoria della sua missione.

questa descrizione e la presenza di uno scritto di Luca in un codice viennese (*Vind. theol. gr.* 305) (6) permettono in realtà di ottenere alcuni risultati circa la fisionomia e l'opera di questo autore.

I.

Iniziamo dalla cronologia. Una delle opere di Luca (MS **17**), dedicata alle immagini sacre, ci conduce a un'epoca successiva alla definitiva conclusione dell'Iconoclasmo (843), mentre la datazione del codice di Vienna (XI secolo) rappresenta il *terminus ante quem*. Una collocazione nel X secolo, in un momento di timida ripresa della letteratura spirituale, semplice prodromo della grande stagione del secolo successivo, ci appare la più plausibile, anche considerando che alcuni titoli (MS **27**, **28**, **29**) ben si collocano nella temperie religiosa di quel periodo.

Dobbiamo qui ricordare una tarda testimonianza che sembra parlare in questo senso. Dal catalogo di Nikos A. Bees sappiamo che in MS figuravano alcune note di possesso e altre annotazioni. Al f. 87r era ricordato l'incendio che il 4 settembre 1639 aveva praticamente distrutto il monastero, sciagura menzionata in annotazioni simili di altri codici del Mega Spelaion (59 e 109). Al f. 108v figurava una nota di possesso del 1634/1635 e un'altra ancora più tarda (XVIII secolo). N. A. Bees ricordava poi che su un cartoncino antico incollato sulla coperta del codice (ἐπὶ δὲ παλαιοῦ δελτίου ἐπικεκολλημένου κατὰ τὴν ῥάχιν τοῦ κώδικος) era presente una descrizione del contenuto, basata evidentemente sulle rubriche del manoscritto, che non è riportata per intero nel catalogo : «Libro del monaco e presbitero Luca chiamato Adialeiptos che contiene per prima la *Vita* di san Filoteo, della quale manca l'inizio. È inedita perché l'ho controllata con la *Vita* di san Filoteo l'Athonita ed è differente. Oltre a questi contiene anche ... alcuni miracoli inediti dell'arcangelo Gabriele ... Questo santo padre fiorì durante il regno di Basilio e Costantino i porfirogeniti, nell'anno della salvezza 957 secondo Meletios» (7).

(6) Le nostre considerazioni sono basate, dove non è diversamente indicato, sull'analisi dei codici contenuta nei paragrafi II e III, alla quale rimandiamo una volta per tutte.

(7) «Βίβλος Λουκᾶ μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου ᾽Αδιαλείπτου περιέχων πρῶτον τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοθέου, τοῦ ὁποίου λείπει ἡ ἀρχή· εἶναι καὶ ἀνέκδοτος ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐπαράβαλα μὲ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοθέου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου καὶ εἶναι ἀνόμοιος. Πρὸς τούτοις ἔχει καὶ ... τοῦ ἀρχαγ-

Bees affermava che questa nota era su un «cartoncino antico», ma le parole dell'anonimo ci conducono in tempi più recenti. In un periodo se non altro successivo alla prima edizione (1664) dell'opera di Agapios Landos della *Vita* di Filoteo l'Athonita. Inoltre il Meletios, menzionato a proposito degli imperatori Basilio e Costantino, è evidentemente Meletios di Atene (1661-1714) e l'opera a cui ci si riferisce è l' *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, pubblicata a Vienna nel 1783-1795. L'anonimo scrisse perciò queste notizie sul contenuto del manoscritto, al più presto, nei primi anni del XIX secolo. Il fatto che questa nota sia tarda non deve impedirci dall'osservare come l'anonimo collocasse l'attività di Luca Adialeiptos durante il regno di Basilio II e Costantino VIII (962-976), basandosi evidentemente su informazioni ricavabili dal contenuto del codice stesso. Questa nota, sia pur tarda, conferma così la cronologia da noi avanzata e addirittura la precisa, quando parla del terzo quarto del X secolo. Purtroppo non possediamo elementi positivi che permettano di sostenere con sicurezza tali indicazioni.

La lettera al monaco Basilio vescovo di Helenopolis (MS **22**), sede episcopale suffraganea di Nicomedia, e il testo dedicato ai martiri di Nicomedia (MS **29**) ci mostrano come Luca fosse attivo in quell'area, nella città stessa di Nicomedia o nei dintorni. I titoli e gli inizi delle diverse opere evocano l'ambiente monastico nel quale Luca operava. Alcuni scritti sono rivolti «agli asceti» (MS **6**), «ai pastori e ai discepoli» (MS **8**). Una didascalia doveva essere letta dal superiore ai fratelli (MS **9**). Sono ricordati un discepolo di Luca, di nome Teodosio, principiante nella vita monastica (MS **12**) e altri due discepoli, Clemente (MS **14**) e Nicodemo, chiamato «figlio» da Luca (MS **15**). Si parla poi del katigumeno Basilio (MS **16**), dell'incarico di cellario (nr. **18**), dei diversi compiti all'interno della Lavra (MS **19**). Una didascalia era stata pronunciata da Luca la sera della domenica del *tyrophagou* (MS **9**), mentre in altre occasioni si rivolge a un pubblico (MS **10**) di padri e fratelli (MS **3**, **19**). Questi ultimi titoli sembrano avvicinabili al genere delle catechesi monastiche che avevano avuto, nel periodo precedente, con Teodoro lo Studita il modello più insigne e in quella stessa epoca altri esempi con un altro studita, Antonio, e più tardi, nell'XI secolo, i casi di Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e Paolo dell'Ever-

γέλου Γαβριήλ ... μερικὰ θαύματα ἀνέκδοτα ... · ἤκμασε οὗτος ὁ ὅσιος πατέρας ἐπὶ Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν πορφυρογενῶν ἔτος σωτήριον 957 κατὰ τὸν Μελέτιον».

ghetis. Un ambiente monastico perciò quello di Luca che saremmo tentati di collegare, o meglio di situare, vicino a un santuario o a una fondazione religiosa (peraltro sconosciuti), posti sotto il nome dell'arcangelo Gabriele (MS **27**, **28**). Il racconto dei miracoli di Gabriele è infatti avvicinabile ai racconti simili dedicati ai miracoli di Michele, sempre in relazione a una chiesa o a un santuario ben precisi. Luca era perciò uno ieromonaco in un qualche monastero della zona di Nicomedia. "Adialeiptos" non è tanto un cognome (peraltro, da quanto ci risulta, non attestato in tutta l'età bizantina), quanto piuttosto un epiteto, un soprannome indicante le sue qualità ascetiche e spirituali. L'aggettivo "adialeiptos" in un contesto monastico evoca innanzitutto la preghiera continua, ma anche altre pratiche (afflizione, digiuno, ecc.).

Considerando l'opera di Luca da un punto di vista contenutistico, vediamo subito che, fra trenta titoli (nei quali troviamo composizioni agiografiche e scritti polemici), ben venti sono d'argomento ascetico-spirituale. Luca ritorna con insistenza sulla preghiera (MS **3**, **5**, **23**), e in particolare la preghiera mentale (νοερὰ προσευχή) (MS **16**), la *hesychia* (MS **6**, **19**), la spoliazione della mente (nr. **16**), la purezza di cuore (MS **23**), l'attenzione (προσοχή) (MS **14**), la sobrietà (νῆψις) (MS **23**). La compunzione comporta l'illuminazione (φωτισμός) della mente (MS **13**) e la preghiera, unita alla sobrietà e alla purezza di cuore, sembrano aprire la possibilità della visione (ὀπτασία) (MS **23** con un interessante cenno autobiografico). Resta da segnalare che l'opera più estesa di Luca erano i capitoli (*kephalaia*), organizzati in centurie (MS **2**), con i quali egli, riprendendo la forma letteraria più diffusa nella letteratura spirituale bizantina, si ispirava con ogni probabilità alle serie di Massimo il Confessore e di Talassio l'Africano.

I dati ricavabili da un'analisi di MS sono confermati e integrati dall'unica opera pervenutaci di Luca, il suo *Discorso parenetico alle vergini*. Logicamente il tema, e le destinatarie, di quest'opera spiegano alcuni tratti particolari che ora ricorderemo.

Luca scrive su sollecitazione di un anonimo destinatario menzionato all'inizio e alla fine del discorso (capitoli **3**, **21**). Egli invia questo suo testo perché sia letto e meditato dalle monache di un monastero a noi sconosciuto (capitolo **3**). È interessante osservare, per inciso, che il discorso è preservato in una raccolta manoscritta (v) preparata per un monastero femminile, mentre la collezione delle "opere complete" di Luca presente in MS era stata evidentemente organizzata dai discepoli o dalle cerchie del nostro autore. Rivolgendosi al suo anonimo interlocutore, Luca definisce il discorso un trattato sulla verginità (*Λόγος περὶ παρθενίας*, capitolo **3**), ispirandosi evidentemente ai modelli dell'età patristica. Egli utilizza poi in modo massiccio il *De virginitate* scritto da Basilio d'Ancira (ante 358), ma qui attribuito a Basilio di Cesarea ([8]). Egli se ne serve in particolare per due argomenti : la disciplina dei sensi e la necessità che le monache recidano i loro rapporti con il mondo, e soprattutto che evitino qualsiasi rapporto con gli uomini, eccezion fatta per i padri spirituali (gli "anziani" dei capitoli **7**, **15**). Qui Luca si dilunga sul pericolo rappresentato dagli eunuchi, rifacendosi sempre al suo predecessore ([9]), ma anche forse in relazione alla realtà dell'epoca ([10]). Oltre al *De virginitate*, Luca cita o utilizza tacitamente altri testi di Basilio di Cesarea, che perciò appare come una delle maggiori *auctoritates*. Egli riprende nel seguito, dopo il caso di Susanna del libro di Daniele, un racconto su una monaca, presente nel *Prato spirituale* di Giovanni Mosco, ma che ha anche conosciuto una circolazione in forma autonoma (*BHG* 1450zf). Alcuni passi poi riecheggiano gli *Apoftegmi* e Doroteo di Gaza. Nel "canone" di letture di Luca, va segnalata la presenza di alcuni apporti più recenti : Teodoro lo Studita e Isacco il Siro.

Nel suo discorso, Luca ricorda alle monache la rinunzia al mondo (*apotaghé*), segnata dalla pronunzia dei voti monastici. La disciplina dei sensi prelude alla sottomissione e alla armonizzazione delle tre parti dell'anima, secondo la suddivisione d'origine platonica (capitolo **11**). Dopo aver insistito a più riprese sulla lotta alle tentazioni e sulla sopportazione, Luca indica come la monaca nella sua cella deve dedicarsi, nell'assenza di preoccupazioni (*amerimnia*), a tre opere : la *hesychia*, la preghiera e la continenza (capitoli **5** e **6**), unite al timore di Dio (capitolo **12**). Egli parla poi di una forma particolare d'orazione, la preghiera di

(8) Uno sguardo all'apparato è sufficiente al riguardo, ma possiamo segnalare ulteriori parallelismi, in particolare per i sensi (cfr. *PG* 30, coll. 680-685) e a proposito di Dio onnisciente e degli angeli custodi (ivi, coll. 725b-729b). Anche molti passi biblici e neotestamentari citati da Luca si ritrovano nel *De virginitate* di Basilio : Ger. 5, 8, 1 Cor 7, 32-34, Sal. 44, 10, Rm 16, 19, 1 Cor. 14, 20, 2 Cor. 11, 2-3, 1 Tm, 5, 6, ecc.

(9) Oramai un'autorità al riguardo, come si evince anche dai testi canonici, cfr. a esempio *Περὶ εὐνούχων* : N. Suvorov, *Vĕrojati'ij sostavĕ drevičšago ispovĕdnago i pokajannago ustava bĕ bostočnoj cerkvi*, in *VV*, 8 (1901), p. 370.

(10) In merito v. K. M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant. Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*, Chicago, 2003.

Gesù, la ripetizione del Nome divino (capitolo **7**), unita all'attenzione e alla custodia del cuore, per la lotta contro i pensieri malvagi (*logismoi*) e quale strumento principe per la purificazione, la visione e l'illuminazione (capitoli **5**, **7**).

Anche questo discorso alle monache di Luca ci presenta perciò una figura che proprio agli inizi di una nuova stagione spirituale a Bisanzio riprende gli insegnamenti della tradizione spirituale più antica, anche nelle sue aperture più contemplative, e li inserisce nella realtà concreta e vivente del monachesimo cenobitico dell'epoca, segnato dalla riscoperta di Basilio di Cesarea e di Doroteo di Gaza.

II. Il codice 34 del *Mega Spelaion* (ms)

Nel 1904 la biblioteca del monastero del Mega Spelaion, vicino a Kalabryta, conservava 351 manoscritti dei quali 36 in pergamena ([11]). La biblioteca fu distrutta da un incendio il 17 luglio 1934, dal quale si salvarono soltanto quattro manoscritti del Nuovo Testamento che erano conservati nello *skeuophylakion* ([12]). In questo incendio andò perduto anche il manoscritto delle opere di Luca Adialeiptos. Le uniche notizie in nostro possesso su questo codice delle opere di Luca rimangono perciò quelle della descrizione effettuata da N. A. Bees nell'estate 1904, poi pubblicata nel 1915. Resta da aggiungere una ulteriore informazione : qualche anno prima dell'incendio, K. I. Dyobouniotis aveva cercato invano di consultare il codice, ma gli era stato risposto che era impossibile trovarlo nella biblioteca del monastero ([13]).

Riprendiamo la descrizione presente nel catalogo dei manoscritti redatto da N. A. Bees (logicamente siamo costretti a riprodurre fedelmente le indicazioni là contenute) e cerchiamo di mettere a profitto i diversi elementi là presenti.

(11) Cfr. Bees, *Ἔκθεσις παλαιογραφικῆς καὶ ἱστοριοδιφικῆς ἐκδρομῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Καλαβρύτων*, p. 138.

(12) Cfr. J.-M. Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard*, Turnhout, 1995, pp. 403-404.

(13) «μεταβὰς πρό τινων ἔτων εἰς τὸ Μέγα Σπήλαιον. Δυστυχῶς παρ'ὅλας τὰς ἐρεύνας ὁ κῶδιξ οὗτος δὲν εὑρέθη ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς μονῆς, μάταιαι δ'ἀπέβησαν καὶ αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δι'ἐπιστολῶν παρακλήσεις μου πρὸς τοὺς ἁρμοδίους πρὸς εὕρεσιν τοῦ χειρογράφου τούτου», *Λουκᾶ τοῦ 'Αδιαλείπτου, Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς παρθένους*, p. 9.

34, membr, XII secolo, 205 x 264, ff. 185. Per le note posteriori v. più in alto.

1. [*Vita* di san Filoteo]

Il primo testo presente nel manoscritto era acefalo, ma originariamente, come sappiamo dalla numerazione delle opere successive, era segnato come Λόγος α' ed era perciò frutto della penna di Luca. Nel codice era presente una nota (sulla quale v. più in alto) riportata da Nikos A. Bees che diceva tra l'altro : «Libro (...) che contiene in primo luogo la *Vita* di san Filoteo, della quale manca l'inizio. È anche inedita perché l'ho confrontata con la *Vita* di san Filoteo l'Athonita ed è diversa» ([...] περιέχων πρῶτον τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοθέου, τοῦ ὁποίου λείπει ἡ ἀρχή· εἶναι καὶ ἀνέκδοτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπαράβαλα μὲ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοθέου τοῦ 'Αθωνίτου καὶ εἶναι ἀνόμοιος). Al di là dell'evocazione di Filoteo l'Athonita (*BHG* 1534 : B. Papoulia, *Die Vita des heiligen Philotheos vom Athos*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, 22 [1963], pp. 273-280), che l'anonimo evidentemente conosceva non tanto dal codice Athos *Dionysiou* 132 (3666) quanto dall'edizione di Agapios Landos, *Νέος Παράδεισος ἤτοι λόγοι διάφοροι καὶ βίοι ἁγίων*, Venezia, 1664 (Venezia, 1804, pp. 98-102) (cfr. D. D. Kostoula, *'Αγάπιος Λάνδος ὁ Κρής* [*'Έρευνες στὴ νέα ἑλληνικὴ φιλολογία*, 6], Ioannina, 1983, pp. 167-168, 263-271), le parole della nota sono interessanti perché sembrano far intendere che il testo non è in onore di Filoteo martire all'epoca di Teodosio III (*BHG* 2372, 2373, 2373b), ma di un omonimo asceta. Siamo tentati di collegare questa *Vita* composta da Luca alla figura di Filoteo di Opsikion (X secolo) (J.-M. Sauget, *Filoteo presbitero di Opsicina*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, t. 5 [1964], coll. 808-809 ; A. Kazhdan, *Philotheos of Opsikion*, in *ODB*, t. III [1991], p. 1663). Una notizia su questo Filoteo è presente in data 15 settembre nel *Menologio* di Basilio II (*PG* 117, col. 49cd), e in suo onore Eustazio di Tessalonica scrive nel XII secolo un encomio (*BHG* 1535 : T. L. F. Tafel, *Eusthatii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula*, Frankfurt am Main, 1832, pp. 145-151).

2. *Capitoli utili all'anima che formano l'acrostico : piccola opera di Luca Adialeiptos, misero monaco e presbitero, il quale la pubblicò dopo aver ricevuto l'ordine da alcuni padri. I centuria* (Κεφάλαια ψυχωφελῆ φέροντα ἀκροστιχίδα τήνδε· Πόνημα μικρὸν Λουκᾶ ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ 'Αδιαλείπτου, ὃς ἐπιταγὴν πρός τινων πατέρων λαβὼν ἐξέθετο τοῦτο. 'Εκατοντὰς πρώτη), inc. : Πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη καὶ ἐλπίς· διά τε θεοφοβίας καὶ προσευχῆς. Capitoli indicati come Λόγος β', f. 21r.

Questa seconda opera di Luca apparteneva a uno dei generi più diffusi nella letteratura spirituale bizantina, quello dei *kephalaia* (al riguardo I. Hausherr, *Centuries*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, t. 2 [1953], coll. 416-418 ; E. von Ivánka, *ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ. Eine byzantinische Literaturform und ihre antike Wurzeln*, in *BZ*, 47 [1954], pp. 285-291 ; A. Guillaumont, C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou le moine*, I [*SC*, 171], Paris, 1971, pp. 113-117). Secondo la rubrica, questi capitoli formavano un acrostico. Il numero delle lettere (103 invece di 100) ci mostra che l'acrostico riguarda la prima centuria. In quattro centurie, ciascuna formante un acrostico, erano articolati i capitoli di Talassio l'Africano (sul quale cfr. M. van Parys, *Un maître spirituel oublié : Thalassius de Libye*, in *Irénikon*, 52 [1979], pp. 214-240 ; A. Solignac, *Thalassius*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, t. 12 [1991], coll. 323-326), intitolati *Περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν πολιτείας πρὸς Παῦλον πρεσβύτερον*. L'acrostico della prima centuria di Talassio suona così : «Talassio al fratello spirituale e amato signore Paolo, in apparenza esicasta, in verità operatore di vanagloria» ('Εκατοντὰς πρώτη, ἧς ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς ἥδε. Πνευματικῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀγαπητῷ κυρίως Παύλῳ Θαλάσσιος, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ ἡσυχαστής, τῇ δ'ἀληθείᾳ πραγματευτὴς κενοδοξίας). L'acrostico della prima centuria di Luca, come quello di Talassio, fornisce alcune indicazioni sull'occasione e sul destinatario dei capitoli. Così farà ancora Teognosto verso la metà del XIII secolo (75 capitoli, invece di 79 : *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, II, Athinai, 1960³, pp. 255-271). Dall'indicazione «I centuria», presente nella rubrica dei capitoli di Luca, ricaviamo che questo scritto, che dal numero di fogli appare come il più esteso dell'intera raccolta, era suddiviso in almeno due centurie, o in tre (secondo la tripartizione seguita da Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e da Niceta Stethatos) o più probabilmente in quattro (come in Talassio).

3. *Sulla rinunzia e sulla preghiera* (<Περὶ> ἀποταγῆς τε καὶ περὶ προσευχῆς), inc. : Πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ ὑπείκειν αὐτοῖς, ὦ πατέρες τιμιώτατοι, πρὸς τοῦ θείου Παύλου μεμαθηκώς. Segnato come Λόγος γ', f. 44v.

L'incipit, contenente una citazione di Eb. 13, 17, è forse da avvicinare al passaggio di Basilio di Cesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae*, 22 : *PG* 31, col. 1404a.

4. *Sulla vita spirituale e sull'amore verso Dio e reciproco e sul giudizio futuro* (Περὶ βίου πνευματικοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως), inc. : 'Ο τῶν ὅλων Κύριος καὶ δεσπότης κηδόμενος ὡς. Segnato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος τέταρτος, f. 48v.

Da osservare che l'incipit è simile a quello del nr. **24**.

5. *Discorso sul buon ordine in chiesa, sulla preghiera e sulla disposizione mentale e sensibile in essa* (Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐταξίας, περί τε προσευχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ νοερᾶς καὶ αἰσθητῆς παραστάσεως), inc. : Οἱ τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου βασιλείας βιασταί. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ε', f. 50v.

6. *Parenesi agli asceti sulla vita virtuosa e la* hesychia (Παραίνεσις πρὸς ἀσκητὰς περὶ βίου ἐναρέτου καὶ ἡσυχίας), inc. : Ἀγαθὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἐναρέτως. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 53v.

7. *Parenesi ascetica: si deve operare la nostra salvezza con grande zelo e attenzione* (Παραίνεσις ἀσκητικὴ ὅτι δεῖ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ προσοχῆς κατεργάζεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν), inc.: Ὡς λίαν καλὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον τυγχάνει. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 55ᵛ.

8. *Discorso parenetico ai pastori e ai discepoli* (Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς ποιμένας καὶ μαθητάς), inc.: Ἐπειδὴ παραινεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐδιδάχθημεν πρὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 57ʳ.

L'incipit contiene una citazione di 1 Tess. 4, 18 ; 5, 11.

9. *Luca Adialeiptos, misero monaco e presbitero, Didascalia pronunciata la sera della domenica del* tyrophagou*; è utile che sia letta dal superiore ai fratelli* (Λουκᾶ ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ἀδιαλείπτου διδασκαλία ῥηθεῖσα τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς τυροφάγου ἑσπέρας, ἥτις ὀφείλει ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι), inc.: Ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πάντων αἴτιος καὶ δοτήρ, f. 61ʳ.

10. *Parenesi sulla sopportazione e la magnanimità e sulla pace e l'amore reciproci* (Παραίνεσις περὶ ὑπομονῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης), inc.: Ἄξιον ἐστὶ προσέχειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαπητοί. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 63ᵛ.

11. *Secondo discorso sul digiuno e sui cinque sensi dell'uomo* (Λόγος δεύτερος περὶ νηστείας καὶ περὶ τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), inc.: Τὸ τῆς νηστείας θεοδώρητον καὶ ἀξιέπαινον ἀγαθόν. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 66ʳ.

12. *Lettera al monaco Teodosio suo discepolo agli inizi della sua rinunzia sulla vita gradita a Dio* (Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Θεοδόσιον μοναχὸν μαθητὴν τούτου ἐν προοιμίοις τῆς ἀποταγῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ θεαρέστως βιοῦν), inc.: Ἐπειδὴ ὁ παντεπόπτης καὶ προνοητὴς Θεός. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 69ʳ.

13. *Domande dopo di ciò. Come uno può, rispondimi oh padre, <rigettare> i malvagi modi e pensieri e in che modo si deve ottenere nell'anima l'illuminazione e la compunzione. Risposta* (Ἐρωτήματα μετὰ ταῦτα· πῶς ἄρα δύναταί τις, ἀποκρίναι μοι πάτερ, τούς τε πονηροὺς τρόπους καὶ λογισμοὺς καὶ πόθεν δεῖ προσλαμβάνεσθαι φωτισμὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ κατάνυξιν. Ἀπόκρισις), inc.: Οὐ μόνον διὰ συλλαβῶν τε καὶ χειλέων, ἀλλὰ μήν. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 70ᵛ.

14. *Lettera al suo discepolo Clemente sulla condotta spirituale e sull'attenzione della mente* (Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὴν Κλήμεντα περὶ πνευματικῆς διαγωγῆς καὶ προσοχῆς τοῦ νοός), inc.: Ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ σου τιμιώτατε ἀδελφὲ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἐξετάσει. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 71ᵛ.

15. *Discorso sull'ubbidienza al servo di Dio Nicodemo monaco* (Λόγος περὶ ὑπακοῆς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλον Νικόδημον μοναχόν), inc.: Ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς σῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιταγῆς, ὦ τέκνον. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 73ʳ.

16. *Discorso a Basilio monaco e katigumeno sulla preghiera mentale e la spoliazione della mente in domande e risposte* (Λόγος πρὸς Βασίλειον μοναχὸν καὶ καθηγούμενον περὶ νοερᾶς προσευχῆς καὶ γυμνασίας νοὸς κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν), inc.: Ἐν συλλογῇ πρώην πνευματικῇ παρόντων ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 76ʳ.

V. più in basso nr. **22**.

17. *Discorso parenetico con prove scritturarie sulle sante icone ..., sulle suppellettili e le offerte sacre* (Λόγος παραινετικὸς μετ'ἀποδείξεων γραφικῶν περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ... καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων), inc.: Ἔδει μὲν ὑμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ πνεῦμα παρ'οἷς ἐπικέκληται, f. 80ʳ.

Il titolo del discorso sulle immagini sacre (ma anche sulle suppellettili e sulle offerte) volto a dimostrare il loro fondamento scritturario ci conduce a un'epoca successiva alla conclusione definitiva dell'Iconoclasmo (843). Con quella data la questione delle icone è chiusa una volta per sempre, come si evince anche dall'assenza di nuove opere dedicate all'argomento, eccezion fatta per la letteratura polemica contro i Musulmani e gli Ebrei e, più tardi, per quella contro i gruppi dualisti. Nel periodo immediatamente successivo all'843 sono attestate alcune sopravvivenze dell'Iconoclasmo (epoca di Fozio e dei concili dell'867 e 878), cfr. J. Gouillard, *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire*, in *TM*, 2 (1967), p. 149 e, un po' più tardi con Areta di Cesarea, cfr. L. G. Westerink *Arethae Caesariensis Scripta minora*, I, Leipzig, 1968, pp. 75-81 (nr. 7).

18. *Parenesi al fratello prescelto per l'incarico di cellario* (Παραίνεσις εἰς τὸν ἐγκεχειρισμένον ἀδελφὸν τὴν τοῦ κελλαρίου διακονίαν), inc.: Πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁδοὺς ὁ ἀγαθοδότης, f. 89ᵛ (?, N. A. Bees riporta per errore l'indicazione 19ᵛ).

19. *Discorso esortativo sulla condotta nella* hesychia *di ciascuno dei padri e dei fratelli, sul mantenere il silenzio delle labbra il più possibile, sui prescelti agli incarichi della lavra e sulla confessione* (Λόγος συμβουλευτικὸς περὶ τοῦ ἡσυχάζειν ἕκαστον τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ σιωπὴν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χειλέων ἄγειν, περί τε τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων τὰς τῆς λαύρας διακονίας

καὶ περὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως), inc. : Ἐμοὶ μὲν τὸ λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνηρὸν ὦ πατέρες. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 90r.

L'incipit contiene una citazione di Fil. 3, 1.

20. *Discorso refutatorio di coloro che rigettano la resurrezione dei morti, che negano che dopo la morte i giusti abbiano nel regno dei cieli una ricompensa e che rifiutano il Paradiso nell'Eden, l'Ade e la seconda venuta di Cristo, e sull'amore e l'elemosina* (Λόγος ἀντιρρητικὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἀθετοῦντας τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀντιλέγοντας μηδένα κλῆρον μετὰ τέλος τοὺς δικαίους ἐν τῇ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείᾳ ἀθετοῦντας δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἐδὲμ παράδεισον καὶ τὸν Ἅδην καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ β' παρουσίαν καὶ περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης), inc. : Οἱ κακοτέχνως νοοῦντες τὰς θείας γραφάς. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 101r.

Questi anonimi negatori della resurrezione dei morti, delle dimore e del destino eterni e degli accadimenti ultimi non ci sembrano tanto degli eretici nel senso pieno del termine (il rigetto della resurrezione sarà proprio dei settari dualisti tra XI e XII secolo, secondo gli eresiologi, cfr. Eutimio di Peribleptos, *Epistula invectiva* : G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 7, 9, 13, 18, Eutimio Zigabeno, *Panoplia dogmatica* : *PG* 130, col. 1320AB), quanto a dubbi diffusi sul destino delle anime nel *post mortem* e sulll'efficacia delle intercessioni (di qui il rimando presente nel titolo all'"elemosina" e all'"amore"). A questo riguardo abbiamo interessanti testimonianze nella letteratura delle "Domande e risposte", cfr. in primo luogo G. Dagron, *L'ombre d'un doute. L'hagiographie en question VIe-XIe siècle*, in *DOP*, 46 (1992), pp. 62-63.

21. *Discorso storico contenente in epitome la vita di ... Mosè, sul ritorno dei figli di Israele e dialogo contro i Giudei* (Λόγος ἱστορικὸς περιέχων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸν βίον τοῦ ... Μωϋσέως καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων διάλεξις), inc. : Τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θεσπεσίων προφητῶν ὁ ἔνθεος. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 105v.

Questo discorso di Luca unisce due elementi diversi, di stampo esegetico da un lato (cfr. così Gregorio di Nissa, Basilio di Seleucia, ma anche la *Palea storica*) e, dall'altro, di tenore antiebraico.

22. *Lettera a Basilio monaco e vescovo di Helenopolis* (Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Βασίλειον μοναχὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον Ἑλενουπόλεως), inc. : Τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξιότιμον χρῆμα σεβασμιώτατε, f. 118r.

C'è innanzitutto da domandarsi se questo Basilio sia identificabile con l'omonimo monaco e katigumeno della lettera nr. **16**. Su Helenopolis, vescovado dipendente da Nicomedia, cfr. D. Stiernon, *Hélénopolis*, in *DHGE*, t. 23 (1990), coll. 877-894, con lista episcopale per l'età bizantina (coll. 881-882) : ultimo vescovo conosciuto è Leone nel 789. Basilio, corrispondente di Luca, è ignorato.

23. *Discorso sulla preghiera, la sobrietà, la purezza di cuore e la visione che aveva avuto* (Λόγος περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ νήψεως, καθαρότητός τε καρδίας καὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς κατεθεάσατο), inc. : Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 119v.

24. *Discorso parenetico alle vergini* (Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς παρθένους), inc. : Ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης καὶ Κύριος. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 122v.

Su questo discorso v. più in basso.

25. *Discorso sulla genealogia della santissima Madre di Dio e storia utile all'anima sulla santa nascita di Cristo e sui Magi. È stato pronunziato il giorno dopo il Natale di Cristo* (Λόγος περὶ γενεαλογίας τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ ἱστορία ψυχωφελὴς περί τε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἁγίας γεννήσεως καὶ τῶν Μάγων. Ἐλέχθη δὲ τῇ ἐπαύριον τῶν Χριστῶν γενεθλίων). Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 127r.

Questo testo di Luca presenta in un unico discorso, pronunziato il 26 dicembre, giorno per l'appunto dedicato alla Madre di Dio, tre elementi differenti : innanzitutto parla della genealogia di Maria, oggetto di alcune composizioni conosciute (*BHG* 1046h, 1046m, 1046n). Segue poi in un'unica storia "utile all'anima" la narrazione del Natale di Cristo e quella dei Magi (dei quali si tratta di solito in occasione dell'Epifania).

26. *Discorso sulla fede e che opera una refutazione di ogni eresia ...* (Λόγος περὶ πίστεως καὶ κατὰ πάσης αἱρέσεως ποιούμενος ἀντίρρησιν...), inc. : Τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργημάτων ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἐξαίρετον. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 134r.

Il discorso sulla fede di Luca da un lato evoca più celebri esposizioni di fede, come quella di Michele Sincello († 846), mentre dall'altro si presenta come un'opera contro tutte le eresie (sarebbe interessante sapere quali ...), composta in un'epoca per la quale non abbiamo testimonianze analoghe, dopo gli scritti di Giovanni Damasceno e di Germano I di Costantinopoli e prima delle "enciclopedie" antiereticali del periodo comneno (Eutimio Zigabeno, Niceta Coniata).

27. *Discorso sul molto glorioso arcistratego Gabriele ...* (Λόγος εἰς τὸν πανένδοξον ἀρχιστράτηγον Γαβριήλ), inc. : Ἐπειδήπερ ἀπειροδύναμος καὶ δημιουργὸς καὶ παντοκράτωρ. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 147r.

Per questo testo (*BHG* 2158) v. il successivo.

28. *Narrazione dei miracoli del sommo arcistratego Gabriele* (Διήγησις θαυμάτων τοῦ παμμεγίστου ἀρχιστρατήγου Γαβριήλ), inc. : Ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθης Κύριος. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 157v.

Questo testo (*BHG* 2159) va considerato assieme al precedente. Le due composizioni di Luca sono le uniche conosciute dedicate al solo arcangelo Gabriele (nel Sinassario di Costantinopoli è menzionata la σύναξις in onore di Gabriele, l'indomani dell'Annunciazione, 26 marzo : H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano ... adiectis synaxariis selectis*, Bruxelles 1902, col. 559), di contro a un considerevole numero di scritti consacrati a Michele (*BHG* 1282-1290g) e alcuni altri a entrambi gli arcangeli (*BHG* 1290y-1294c). La *Narrazione* dei miracoli di Gabriele (nr. **28**) deve essere affiancata alle analoghe (e ben più popolari) narrazioni dei miracoli di Michele a Chonai o in altri santuari. La narrazione dei miracoli a Chonai fu rielaborata nell'VIII secolo. In seguito Simeone il Metafraste ne compone una versione e così Sisinnio (tardo X secolo), cfr. in primo luogo G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium* (*The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 32), Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 2001, pp. 143 e sgg. Il culto di Michele (e di Gabriele) conosce una rinnovata popolarità a partire dalla metà del IX secolo, e in particolare dal regno di Basilio I il Macedone (867-886), cfr. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*. III/1, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique. Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969², pp. 66, 337. Sono da ricordare gli elogi di Michele e Gabriele composti in quegli anni da Metrofane di Smirne (857 ca.-880) (*BHG* 1292), da Niceta il retore (*BHG* 1291) e, tra IX e X secolo, dal monaco di Stoudios Michele (T. Matantseva, *Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine [BHG 1294a]*, in *JÖB* 46 [1996], pp. 97-155). Di particolare importanza la *Narrazione* dei miracoli di Michele scritta allora (tardo IX/inizi X secolo) a Costantinopoli dal diacono Pantaleone, cfr. *PG* 140, coll. 573-592 ; F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 38), Bruxelles, 1963, pp. 147-152, nella quale si parla di un miracolo verificatosi nella chiesa costantinopolitana di Michele ed Eusebio. Resta da aggiungere che la chiesa dedicata all'arcangelo Michele, della quale parla Michele Psello (Michaelis Pselli, *Orationes Hagiographicae*, Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1994, pp. 230-256), non si trovava a Nicomedia, cfr. E. A. Fisher, *Nicomedia or Galatia ? Where was Psellos' Church of the Archangel Gabriel ?*, in J. Duffy & J. Peradotto (ed.), *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*, Buffalo, 1988, pp. 175-187.

29. *Metafrasi del martirio dei santi ... Fozio e Aniketos di Luca ... Adialeiptos* (Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ... Φωτίου καὶ Ἀνικήτου μεταφρασθὲν παρὰ Λουκᾶ ... τοῦ Ἀδιαλείπτου), inc. : Οὐχ οὕτω κάλλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τερπνοῖς, f. 167ᵛ.

Il testo di Luca (*BHG* 1544d) era in onore di Aniceto, Fozio e compagni martirizzati a Nicomedia (cfr. A. Koren, *Aniceto, Fozio*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, t. 1 [1961], coll. 1265-1266) e celebrati il 12 agosto. I martiri di Nicomedia, dei quali si conserva una *Passione* (*BHG* 1542-43 : V. Latišev, *Hagiographica graeca inedita* [*Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, VIII, 12,2], Sankt Peterburg, 1914, pp. 93-113) e la sua epitome (*BHG* 1544 : *AASS Aug.*, II, pp. 269-273) sono commemorati nel menologio imperiale (V. Latišev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini ... quae supersunt*, II, Sankt Peterburg, 1912, pp. 269-273) e nel Sinassario di Costantinopoli (Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, coll. 885-886). Da segnalare anche l'encomio più tardo composto da Costantino Acropolita (*BHG* 1544f). L'opera di Luca si presenta come la metafrasi di un testo più antico. Prima dell'attività di Simeone il Logoteta alla fine del X secolo va ricordata, se non altro, l'opera di Niceta il Paflagone (fine IX - inizi X secolo) e alcuni altri esempi, v. così per il *Martirio* di Areta, M. Detoraki, *La métaphrase du Martyre de S. Aréthas (BHG 166y). Entre les Actes anciens (BHG 166) et Syméon Métaphraste (BHG 167)*, in *AB*, 120 (2002), pp. 72-100.

30. *Discorso parenetico contenente in breve la pienezza della decade dei comandamenti di Dio* (Λόγος παραινετικὸς ἔχων ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πλήρωμα δεκάδος ἐντολῶν Θεοῦ), inc. : Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ χρηστότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ. Indicato come Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, f. 185ʳ.

Stesso incipit di Basilio di Cesarea, *Prologus* vii (*De iudicio Dei*) : *PG* 31, col. 653a.

III. Il Discorso parenetico alle vergini di Luca Adialeiptos

Nel 1935/1936 K. I. Dyobouniotis (d) pubblicava il *Discorso parenetico alle vergini* di Luca sulla base del *Vind. theol. gr.* 305, unico manoscritto a lui noto dopo la scomparsa del codice del Mega Spelaion. Iniziamo con la descrizione di questo manoscritto e poi con quella di un secondo, sconosciuto a Dyobouniotis.

1. I manoscritti

v ***Vind. theol. gr.* 305**, XI secolo, perg., 183/186 x 135/144, ff. 207

Codice eseguito da cinque copisti pressoché contemporanei (ll. 20-26) : **a.** (ff. 1ʳ-124ᵛ, 236ʳ-304ᵛ e parz. 124ʳ-125ᵛ, 220ʳᵛ), **b.** Markos monaco (ff. 126ʳ-196ᵛ con sottoscrizione alla fine, v. J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften*, Wien, 1920, nr. 6), **c.** (ff. 197ʳ-219ᵛ), **d.** (ff. 221ʳ-234ᵛ), **e.** (f. 235ʳ). Numerose note e marginali di mani successive (XIII-XIV s.) (ff. 36ʳ, 44ʳ, 47ᵛ, 48ʳ, 102ᵛ-105ᵛ, 112ʳ, 136ᵛ, 161ᵛ, 176ᵛ, 218ᵛ, 237ᵛ, 238ᵛ, 291ʳ, 292ᵛ). Da segnalare quella sull'eclissi dell'ottobre 1241 (f. 153ᵛ Ἔτους ͵ϛψμη´ γέγονεν ἔκλειψις τοῦ ἡλίου ... ; in merito a questo evento e ai problemi di cronologia cfr. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, II [*CFHB*, XII/2], Wien, 1977, pp. 194-195).

Descrizione precedente : H. Hunger, W. Lackner, Ch. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Teil 3/3, *Codices theologici 201-337*, Wien, 1992, pp. 366-373.

1. (ff. 1ʳ-71ᵛ, 80ʳ-87ᵛ, 72ʳ-79ᵛ, 88ʳ-102ᵛ) <Anastasio il Sinaita*, *Domande e risposte*> (*CPG* 7746), inc. mut. : λέγει Κύριος. *PG* 89, coll. 332a14-333a8, 336A1-336A15, 336C1-337A13, 340B8-342B3, 337C8-340A6 (I). 343-345C3, 348B11-349A10 (II). 351-356A3, 356A14-B9, 356C9-D2, 357A1-357C (III). 357-360C6, 360D7-361B1 (IV). 361-364B6, 365B1-369C11 (V). 369-376A10, 376B9-377B5, 377C4-380A3, 377B6-C3, 380C7-13, 381A8-384B6, Κυρίλλου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν πάσης σαρκός. Ἄνθρωπος, ἄνθρωπος– ὁ Θεὸς ἀναμάρτητος, 384D4-385C3 (VI). 385-388B5 (VII). 389-396B3, 396B14-400A6, 400B1-404B13 (VIII). 409-412C9, 413A14-413C13, 416A5-C6, 416D1-4, 417B10-D6, 421C11-425A9, 425B3-428B7 (IX). 431-433A10, 433C4-436 (X). 436B-C6, 436C13-D7, 437A11-B8 (XI). 445B-448C1, 449A1-452B7, 452C4-456A5, 456D1-7 (XII). 460D-461C11 (XIII). 464-464B1 (XIV). 468B-476B (XV). 476B-477A15 (XVI). 484A-489A14, 492C7-D4 (XVII). 500A-506C11, 508C7-D9, 509B1-B15, 512A1A1-512C1 (XVIII). 513B-C11 (XIX). 517C-525C9, 528C1-528D1 (XX). 532B-533B2, 533C2-536C (XXI). 536C-D4, 537C1-15, 537D5-540B (XXII), 540B-C6, 576B1-D1, 593A9-C6 (XXIII), IPPOLITO, <*Commento sui Salmi*> (*CPG* 1883) : M. RICHARD, *Les fragments du Commentaire de S. Hyppolyte sur les Proverbes de Salomon*, in *Le Muséon*, 79 (1966), pp. 84-94 (nr. 46-76). 600 B9-601A9, PSEUDO-NONNO, *Scholia mythologica*, XXXIX, 24, 2 : J. NIMMO SMITH, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV Orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii* (*CCSG*, 27), Turnhout - Leuven, 1992, pp. 240-242. 613AD (LII). 616A12-616C (LIII). 616C-617A (LIV). 617A-620C (LV). 620CD (LVI). 621A (LVII), γρηγο]ρήσατε ὅτι ὁ ἀντιδίκος ὑμῶν ὁ διάβολος (1 Pt. 5, 8) - καὶ οὐ δικαιοσύνης κριτὴς ἐστὶν ἀδίκων δικαίῳ γὰρ νόμος οὐ κεῖται. Ἐρωτ. Πῶς ὀφειλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτήν ; Ἀποκρ. Ὁ μὲν φιλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ - αὐτὴν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 637B-640D7 (LX), ἐπίστησον τὴν ψυχήν σου (Sir. 12, 11) - εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας (II Cor. 6, 18). 645B-C12 (LXI). 664B2-668A1, 668B11-669B3 (LXIV). 672B-677D1 (LXV). 685A-685C3 (LXVI). 693BC (LXVIII). 693C-696A (LXIX). 696CD (LXXI).

2. (ff. 102v-105v) TALASSIO L'AFRICANO, *Centurie I-IV sulla carità e la continenza*, tit. : *Θαλασσίου ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ περὶ εἰλικρινοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ ἐγκρατείας ἀληθοῦς καὶ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν πολιτείας πρὸς Παῦλον πρεσβύτερον* (*CPG* 7848), exc. : I, 1, 24, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 52, 53, 64, 66, 77, 82, 85, 91, 96, 98, 99 ; II, 3, 4, 7, 10, 16, 27, 32, 35-38, 41, 59, 61-63, 65, 67-69, 71, 72, 74-77, 80, 84, 99. *PG* 91, coll. 1428-1470. *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, II, Athinai, 1960^{3}, pp. 205-229.

3. (ff. 105v-108r) SIMEONE DI MESOPOTAMIA, *Discorso sulla necessità di avere sempre in mente il giorno della morte*, tit. : *Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ὁσίου Συμεὼν Μεσοποταμίας περὶ τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν νῷ ἔχειν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐξόδου τοῦ βίου* (*CPG* 4035), inc : Ἀγνοεῖτε ἀδελφοί μου, des. : χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, A. MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VIII/3, Roma, 1871, pp. 1-3.

4. (ff. 108r-124v) Apoftegmi e narrazioni, tit. : *Λόγοι ἁγίων πατέρων γερόντων*. I. (f. 108r), inc. : Ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωυσῆς εἶπεν τὸν παιδίον Ζαχαρίαν, des. : οὐ δύναται μοναχὸς γενέσθαι. *PG* 65, col. 180AB. II. (ff. 108r-109r) *Sull'ubbidienza*, tit. : *Περὶ ὑπακοῆς*, inc. : Εἶπεν γέρων, ὅτι ὁ καθήμενος ἐν ὑπακοῇ, des. : καὶ διὰ σοῦ ἐτελειώθησαν. *Apophthegmata* (collectio systematica), XIV, 29 : J.-C. GUY, *Les apophtegmes des Pères. Collection systématique, chapitres X-XVI* (*SC*, 474), Paris, 2003, pp. 276-278. III. (ff. 109r-110r) inc. : Διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἡλίας, des. : εἰς τὸν τόπον μου εὐχαριστῶν : exc. GIOVANNI MOSCO, *Prato spirituale*, 19 : *PG* 87/III, coll. 2865B-2868A (*BHG* 2120). IV. (ff. 110r-115v) *Su s. Nifone e la sua penitenza*, tit. : *Περὶ τοῦ ὁσίου Νήφοντος καὶ τῆς μετανοίας αὐτοῦ*, inc. : Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου ἦν ὁ Νήφων οὗτος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, des. : αὐτόχειρ τύπτειν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον. Cfr. X. LEQUEUX, *Glanures d'hagiographie grecque II*, in *AB*, 112 (1994), p. 175. V. (ff. 115v-120r) <Su Paolo abate di Alessandria>, inc. : Παρεβάλομεν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς Σωφρόνιος, des. : πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὠφέλειαν. *BHG* 1442p : L. CLUGNET, *Vies et récits d'anachorètes*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 10 (1905), pp. 51-54 (nr. 8). VI. (ff. 120r-121v) <Sull'apocrisario salvato dai confratelli>, inc. : Ἄλλος πάλιν ἀδελφός, des. : αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. *BHG* 1445h : A. AMANTE, *I frammenti ascetici inediti del codice Bolognese 2702 (già 579)*, in *Didaskaleion*, 1 (1912), pp. 537-538. VII. (ff. 121v-122v) <Sulla prostituta pentita>, inc. : Δύο τινὲς τῶν γερόντων, des. : τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Μαρία : GIOVANNI MOSCO, *Prato spirituale*, 31 : *PG* 87/III, col. 2880ac. VIII. (ff. 122v-123v) <Sul vecchio pentito dopo aver fornicato>, inc. : Γέρων τις ἀγωνιστής, des. τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτοῦ τάξιν. *BHG* 1440h : F. NAU, *Histoires des solitaires égyptiens*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 13 (1908), pp. 268-269 (nr. 176). IX. (ff. 123v-124v) <Sul monaco goloso>, inc. : Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Σεραπίων, ὅτι ἤμην νεώτερος καὶ ἐκαθήμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεωνᾶ, des. : παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἀπόδειξιν διὰ τοῦ γενομένου σημείου. *Apophthegmata patrum (collectio systematica)*, IV, 27 : J.-C. GUY, *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres I-IX* (*SC*, 387), Paris, 1993, pp. 198-200.

5. (ff. 124v-125v) BASILIO DI CESAREA, *Regola per il cenobio e per le monache*. tit. : *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιεράρχου Βασιλείου ὑποτύπωσις κοινοβίου καὶ ὅπως χρὴ ταῖς μοναζούσαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῇ προεστώσῃ*, inc. : Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνδρῶν μόνον, des. : διακρίσεως ἀπαλλάσσονται : exc. da *Sermone ascetico*, 2 (*CPG* 2883) : *PG* 31, col. 888AC, *Regole diffuse*, 27 (*CPG* 2875) : *PG* 31, col. 988AB.

6. (ff. 126r-193r) DOROTEO DI GAZA, *Dottrina* (*CPG* 7352). (ff. 126r-133v) Cap. 10, tit. : *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δωροθέου περὶ τοῦ μετὰ σκοποῦ καὶ νήψεως* *ὁδεύειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *Dorothée de Gaza, Œuvres spirituelles* (*SC*, 92), Paris, 1963, pp. 336-354 (cap. 104). (ff. 133^{v}-145^{r}) Cap. 2, tit. : *Περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης*. Ivi, pp. 186-206. (ff. 145^{r}-149^{v}) Cap. 3, tit. : *Περὶ συνειδήσεως*. Ivi, pp. 208-218. (ff. 150^{r}-159^{r}) Cap. 6, tit. : *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ κρίνειν τὸν πλησίον*. Ivi, pp. 268-286. (ff. 159^{r}-167^{v}) Cap. 7, tit. : *Περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν μέμφεσθαι*. Ivi, pp. 288-304. (ff. 167^{v}-184^{r}) Cap. 1, tit. : *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δωροθέου διδασκαλίαι διάφοροι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς. Περὶ ἀποταγῆς*. Ivi, pp. 146-184. (ff. 184^{r}-193^{v}) Cap. 11, tit. : *Περὶ τοῦ σπουδάζειν ταχέως ἐκκόπτειν τὰ πάθη πρὸ τοῦ ἐν ἕξει κακῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν ψυχήν*. Ivi, pp. 358-378.

7. (ff. 193^{v}-196^{v}) Anastasio il Sinaita*, *Sui diversi modi di salvezza dell'anima*, tit. : *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου, Περὶ διαφόρων τρόπων σωτηρίας ψυχῆς καὶ μετανοίας*, inc. : Εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη πρὸ βραχέων, des. : κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐνεργεῖται. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. N. Suvorov, *K istorii nravstvennago učenija v vostočnoj cerkvi*, in *VV*, 10 (1903), pp. 55-57, l. 38 (sulla base del *Monac. gr.* 498) e cfr. p. 31.

8. (ff. 197^{r}-219^{v}) Marco il monaco*, *Lettera a Nicola* (*CPG* 6094), tit. : *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μάρκου, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Νικόλαον μοναχόν*. G.-M. de Durand, *Marc le moine, Traités*, II (*SC*, 455), Paris, 2000, pp. 106-154.

9. (f. 220^{rv}) Basilio di Cesarea, *Regole diffuse*, 51-52 (*CPG* 2875), exc., tit. : *Τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, Ποίῳ τρόπῳ διορθοῦσθαι τὸ πλημμέλημα τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος*, inc. : Καὶ τὰς διορθώσεις, des. : ὡς ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν, tit. : *Μετὰ ποίας διαθέσεως καταδέχεσθαι δεῖ τὰ ἐπιτίμια*, inc. : Ὥσπερ δὲ τὴν προεστῶσαν εἴπομεν, des. : λύπην ἡμῖν ἐμποιοῦντα. *PG* 31, coll. 1040-1041.

10. (ff. 221^{r}-235^{r}) Luca Adialeiptos, *Discorso parenetico alle vergini*, tit. : *Λουκᾶ ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ἀδιαλείπτου λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς παρθένους*. Più in basso, pp. 329-357.

11. (f. 235^{r}) Filoteo, *Interpretazione sui segni degli astri* (fragm.) : *Περὶ ἐπισημασιῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλοθέου*. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ἐξηγητέον καὶ τὰς προεπισημασίας τῶν φωστήρων· τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ καιροὺς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν· ἔστωσαν γάρ φησιν εἰς σημεῖα [Gen. 1, 14] προδηλω<τι>κὰ ἀερικῶν ἀλλοιώσεων, καθὼς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ κτίσας. (f. 235^{v}). Prove di penna e noterelle.

12. (ff. 236^{r}-238^{r}) Parafrasi in prosa di Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Epigrammi*, II/2, 10-12, 15-17, 19, 18, 13, 20, tit. : *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, Λόγος εἰς ἀγαπητοὺς καὶ παρθένους καὶ εἰς μοναχοὺς περὶ τῶν συνεισάκτους ἐχόντων*, inc. : Ἤδη μοι ἡ πολιὰ καὶ τῇ νόσῳ τὸ σῶμα τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν δαμάζω, des. : ἀγαπητοῖς, μήπως τοὺς μεγάλους καμάτους σκορπίσοι ὁ διάβολος. *PG* 38, coll. 86A-93A.

13. (ff. 238^{r}-242^{v}) Visione di Macario d'Alessandria sul destino delle anime, tit. : *Διήγησις θαυμαστὴ περὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν μεθισταμένων ψυχῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φαύλων καὶ πῶς εἰσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὁσίου Μακαρίου τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως*, inc. : Τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως ὁ μαθητὴς διηγήσατο, ὅτι ποτὲ ὁδευόντων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ἐρήμῳ, des. : δοξάζοντες Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. *BHG* 999w : *PG* 34, coll. 385-392 ; cfr. J. A. Munitiz, *Theognosti Thesaurus* (*CCSG*, 5), Turnhout - Leuven, 1979, pp. LXXI-LXXII e n. 87.

14. (ff. 242^{v}-246^{r}) Atanasio di Alessandria*, *Domande al duce Antioco* (*CPG* 2257), tit. : *Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου ἑρμηνεῖαι*, exc. 97, 107, 18, 69, 75, 76, inc. : Πόσα κρίματα καὶ πόσα ἁμαρτήματα πορνεία εἰσίν ; des. : καὶ ἡ ἀνελεημοσύνη. *PG* 28, coll. 656D-657B, 664AC, 607BD, 636B-637A, 645B.

15. (ff. 246^{v}-253^{r}) Marco il monaco, *Disputa con un causidico* (*CPG* 6097), tit. : *Τοῦ ὁσίου Μάρκου ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ τῶν κατηχητικῶν, ὧν ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς*, exc. capp. 16-21, inc. : Ὠφεληθέντων, des. : εἶναι βουλόμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας κ. τ. λ. de Durand, *Marc le moine, Traités*, II, pp. 72-92.

16. (ff. 253^{r}-254^{v}) Diadoco di Fotice, *Capitoli gnostici* (*CPG* 6106), tit. : *Ἐκ τῶν κεφαλαίων Διαδόχου· κεφάλαιον ϙδ'*, exc., cap. 94, inc. : Ὃν τρόπον, des. : προσέσχε μοι. E. des Places, *Diadoque de Photicé. Œuvres spirituelles* (*SC*, 5ter), Paris, 1966, pp. 155-157. J. E. Rutherford, *One Hundred Practical Texts of Perception and Spiritual Discernment from Diadochos of Photike* (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 8), Belfast, 2000, pp. 140-142.

17. (ff. 254^{v}-259^{v}) Giovanni di Karpathos, *Capitoli esortatori* (*CPG* 7855), tit. : *Ἐκ τῶν κεφαλαίων τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς Ἰωάννου ὅρους τοῦ Καρπαθείου*, exc. Prologo (inc. : Λαμβάνομεν λόγους ἀγαθούς, des. : ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὑρεθήσεται) capp. 6, 11, Nilo d'Ancira, *Epistole*, 154 : *PG* 79, col. 457B, 20, 23, 32, 43, 51, 60, 64, 75, 71, 79, 83, 84 (des. mut : σχήματος με[]), 88, 97, 95, 84 (inc. mut. :] τὰ δακρύων), 85, 77. *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, I, Athinai, 1957^{3}, pp. 276-296.

18. (ff. 260^{r}-283^{v}, 293^{r}-300^{v}, 284^{r}) Isacco il Siro, *Discorsi ascetici* (*CPG* 7868). (ff. 260^{r}-269^{v}) LVI, tit. : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἕτερος τρίτος τοῦ Ἰσαάκ*. In marg. : Κατήχησις τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσαάκ. Nikephoros Theotokis, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπισκόπου Νινευὶ τοῦ Σύρου τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀσκητικά*, a c. di Ioakeim Spetsieris, Athinai, 1895, pp. 224 Ὁ ταπεινόφρων - 232. (ff. 270^{r}-272^{v}) LXX. tit. : *Περὶ τῶν λόγων τῆς θείας γραφῆς τῶν πρὸς μετανοίαν ἐρεθιζόντων, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρρήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπόλωνται ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πρὸς ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἁμαρτανεῖν* *ἐκλαβεῖν αὐτούς*. Ivi, pp. 274-276. (ff. 272v-276r) II, tit. : *Περὶ ἀποταγῆς κόσμου καὶ ἀποχῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίας*. Ivi, pp. 8-11. (ff. 276r-280r) XLVI, tit. : *Περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν τῶν διαφόρων πειρασμῶν καὶ πόσην ἔχουσιν ἡδύτητα οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας γινόμενοι καὶ ὑπομενόμενοι καὶ βαθμοὶ καὶ τάξεις, ἐν αἷς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ συνετὸς πορεύεται*. Ivi, pp. 190-193. (ff. 280v-283v) LVIII, tit. : *Κεφάλαια μικρά, ἐν οἷς ὑπάρχουσι νόες παρηλλαγμένοι, ἐν οἷς διδάσκει τὴν βλάβην τοῦ ζήλου τοῦ μωροῦ τοῦ ὡς ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον τε καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πραότητος σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις τρόποις*. Ivi, p. 238 σπόρος - 241. (ff. 283v, 293r-295r) XLVI, tit. : *Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας*. Ivi, pp. 193-195. (f. 295r) LXXXV, tit. : *Περὶ διαφορᾶς δακρύων*. Ivi, p. 338. (ff. 295v-298v) XXVI-XXVII, tit. *Περὶ τῆς ἀδιαλείπτου νηστείας καὶ τοῦ συνάξαι ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ*. Ivi, pp. 109-112, l. 9, 117-118, l. 19. In marg. (f. 295v) : Δεῖ γινώσκειν, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὐκ ὀφείλει ἀναγινώσκεσθαι εἰς τὸ κοινὸν διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοὺς κοσμικοὺς κακοϋπολήπτους. (ff. 298v-300v, 284r) LX. Ivi, pp. 243, l. 33-244, l. 5, 244, l. 25-247.

19. (ff. 284r-292v) Basilio d'Ancira, *Sulla verginità* (*CPG* 2827), tit. : *Τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου, Περὶ τῆς ἐν παρθενίᾳ ἀληθοῦς ἀφθορίας λόγοι μερικοὶ ἐκλεχθέντες*, inc. : Οὐκοῦν οὔτε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, des. : τῶν ἐκεῖ παρ'αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσειε, exc. *PG* 30, coll. 680A1-B6, C6-9, 684B10-13, C1-4, 693C9-D5, 704B5-C12, 712A9-13, B3-5, 716B10-C1, C8-717B6, 717B12-720A1, 720B7-C3, 725B12-728A2, A8-9, C8-9, 741A4-7, 744B3-10, 745B12-C2, C6-8, 748A6-9, B3-5, B12-752C11, D2-753B13, 788D4-789A14, B11-15, C4-13.

20. (ff. 292v, 301r-304v) Filoteo, *Asketikà*, II, tit. *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλοθέου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου λόγος τῶν ἀσκητικῶν αὐτοῦ β'*. Περὶ τῶν πέντε ἡμῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ περὶ τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὅτι πᾶσα ἐντολὴ νήψει κατορθοῦνται καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαι ἐντολαὶ τὸ τριμερὲς παραινοῦσι τῆς ψυχῆς [...

(ff. 301r-304v) inc. mut. : τὸ θέ]λημα σου δι'ἡμῶν γένηται, des. : τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. II, 32-146 (fine). R. Ogliari, *Ὁ ὅσιος Φιλόθεος ὁ Σιναΐτης καὶ τὰ ἔργα του*, Dissertation, Thessaloniki, 2002, pp. 135-142. Di seguito : Διὸ δή, ὦ ἀδελφοί, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ κρίτου τοῦ φοβεροῦ τότε τὴν τρόμου καὶ φρίκης γέμουσαν φωνὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τό· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς οὐδέποτε [cfr. Mt. 25, 12] καὶ τό· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ'ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας [cf. Mt. 7, 23], προλάβωμεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ἑτοιμασθῶμεν ἀπαντῆσαι ἐν ἔργοις θεοφιλέσιν τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην καὶ φρικτὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, δοκιμάζοντες καὶ ἐννούμενοι τί ἐστιν εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ τηρεῖν φροντίσωμεν. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐλλείψεσιν ταῖς καθ'ἡμέραν μεσολαβείτω μετάνοια, μεσιτευέτω ἐξομολόγησις, δάκρυα [...

Alcune osservazioni sui testi presenti nella raccolta di contenuto ascetico-spirituale conservata da v sono di una certa utilità per l'organizzazione del materiale nel codice, e anche per lo stesso discorso di Luca Adialeiptos. Procediamo seguendo l'ordine stesso del manoscritto.

Dei due estratti di Basilio il Cesarea, sotto il titolo *Regola per il cenobio e per le monache* (nr. **5**), è anche conosciuta la traduzione siriaca ([14]).

La selezione della *Dottrina* di Doroteo di Gaza (nr. **6**) rappresenta delle «traditions mêlées mais très anciennes» del testo di Doroteo : il testimone più antico del gruppo numeroso di manoscritti del quale v fa parte è l'attuale *Hierosol. Patr.* 32 (X secolo) ([15]).

Dell'opuscolo posto sotto il nome di Anastasio il Sinaita, *Sui diversi modi di salvezza dell'anima* (nr. **7**), si conosce anche una recensione più lunga, *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου περὶ διαφόρων τρόπων σωτηρίας* nel *Monac. gr.* 498, ff. 227r-230v ([16]).

v era già stato segnalato come uno dei manoscritti contenenti «d'autres opuscules» di Marco il monaco (nr. **8**, **15**) ([17]).

La selezione dei capitoli di Giovanni vescovo di Karpathos (nr. **17**) è qui preceduta da una rubrica, nella quale Giovanni è indicato con un appellativo singolare, «Giovanni τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καρπαθείου» ([18]).

Il *De virginitate* di Basilio d'Ancira (nr. **19**) presenta in v una recensione particolare «en texte continu, une suite de 32 extraits de chap. 5 à sa fin» ([19]).

L'ultimo testo presente nella collezione di v (nr. **20**) è Filoteo di Batos, *Asketikà*, II (inc. Ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος). La rubrica che lo precede è propria di un gruppo di manoscritti, *Athen. EB* 510 (XIV s.),

(14) Cfr. P. J. Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis*, III, Turnhout, 1997, p. 512 (i 2624), 45 (i 210 : *London, British Library, Additional* 12167 [Syriac 785] copiato dal monaco Giovanni a. 876) ; v. S. Brock, *Traduzioni siriache degli scritti di Basilio*, in *Basilio il Grande e il monachesimo orientale*, a c. della Comunità di Bose, Magnano, 2001, p. 174.

(15) Regnault, de Préville, *Dorothée de Gaza, Œuvres spirituelles*, p. 100, n. 1.

(16) Suvorov, *K istorii nravstvennago učenija v vostočnoj cerkvi*, pp. 55-61, cfr. St. N. Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν*, Thessaloniki, 1964, p. 158.

(17) G.-M. de Durand, *La tradition des œuvres de Marc le moine*, in *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 29 (1999), p. 15.

(18) Come osservava M. Th. Disdier, *Jean de Carpathos, l'homme, l'œuvre, la doctrine spirituelle*, in *EO*, 31 (1932), p. 288.

(19) Cfr. F. Leroy, *La tradition manuscrite du «De virginitate» de Basile d'Ancyre*, in *OCP*, 38 (1972), p. 197 e n. 3.

Hierosol. Patr. 171 (XIV s.), *Paris. BNF Suppl. gr.* 1277 (XIII s.) ([20]). Segnaliamo inoltre che la parte finale (purtroppo mutila) non si ritrova in nessun altro manoscritto conosciuto di *Asketikà*, II. Da quanto ci risulta, v è il più antico manoscritto conosciuto dell'opera di Filoteo di Batos. Le testimonianze seguenti sono la presenza di *Asketikà*, II, nell'*Ambros. gr.* 452 (I 9 sup.) (a. 1142), ff. 66r-71v e, una generazione più tardi, la citazione di Filoteo da parte di Michele Glykas ([21]). La presenza dell'opera di Filoteo in v permette di collocare questo autore nel X secolo, agli albori della prima grande stagione di rinascita spirituale a Bisanzio ([22]). Si sarebbe tentati infine di collegare a questo Filoteo anche il frammento di contenuto astrologico-esegetico presente in v (nr. **11**) sotto il nome «del nostro santo padre Filoteo» (τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλοθέου).

La raccolta ascetico-spirituale di v ha alcune caratteristiche evidenti, prima fra tutte il fatto che gran parte dei testi non sono riprodotti per intero, ma in selezioni non prive di logica interna. La collezione era destinata alla lettura da parte di un pubblico monastico, come evinciamo dal contenuto di molti testi e dalla nota marginale a un testo di Isacco il Siro (f. 295v). La presenza di estratti di Basilio di Cesarea (nr. 5, 9) destinati alle monache o volti al femminile e del discorso di Luca Adialeiptos fa credere che la raccolta di v fosse stata organizzata per un monastero femminile in vista dell'edificazione spirituale delle monache ([23]).

Il *Discorso parenetico* di Luca è contenuto in un secondo manoscritto, che si rivela già da un'analisi del contenuto e poi dalla collazione dei testi come una copia di v.

A ***Athinai EB 2427***, XIV secolo (inizio), cart., 215 x 140, ff. 204 (+ f. 143a).

Già di proprietà del monastero del Prodromos di Serre. Numerazione primitiva dei quaternioni (α'-κς'). Eseguito da un unico copista (ll. 23-33). Note di un ieromonaco Kallistos (*PLP* 93711) della fine del XIV secolo ai ff. 24v (Καληστῶς ἱερόμόναχος καὶ πνευματικός) e 38v (Μεμνῆσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Καλείστου). Al f. 204v Giambi (Οὗτος ὁ λίθος) di Konstantinos di Ohrid (*PLP* 93942) dell'anno 1431. Più in basso una nota in slavo nella quale lo stesso Konstantinos chiede le preghiere per sé e i suoi genitori : K. Stančev, A. Džurova, *Archeografski beležki ot Nacionalnata biblioteca v Atena*, in *Starobalgarska literatura*, 9 (1981), p. 64 e tav. 18.

Descrizione : L. Politis, M. Politi, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀρ. 1857-2500*, Athinai, 1991, pp. 424-426.

1. (ff. 1r-68v) Anastasio il Sinaita*, *Domande e risposte*, tit. : Ἀναστασίου, Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπερωτήσεις παρά τινων ὀρθοδόξων περὶ διαφόρων κεφαλαίων, inc. : Τί ἐστιν τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ τελείου χριστιανοῦ ; *PG* 89, coll. 329-329c7, 332a11-333a8, il seguito uguale a v **1.**

2. (ff. 68v-70v) Talassio l'Africano, *Centurie I-IV sulla carità e la continenza* = v **2.**

3. (ff. 70v-72r) Simeone di Mesopotamia, *Discorso sulla necessità di avere sempre in mente il giorno della morte*, = v **3.**

4. (ff. 72r-83v) Apoftegmi e narrazioni = v **4.**

5. (ff. 83v-84v) Basilio di Cesarea, *Regola per il cenobio e per le monache* = v **5.**

6. (ff. 85r-131v) Doroteo di Gaza, *Dottrina* = v **6.**

7. (ff. 131v-133v) Anastasio il Sinaita*, *Sui diversi modi di salvezza dell'anima* = v **7.**

8. (ff. 133v-147v) Marco il monaco*, *Lettera a Nicola* = v **8.**

9. (ff. 147v-148v) Basilio di Cesarea, *Regole diffuse* = v **9.**

10. (ff. 148v-165r) Luca Adialeiptos, *Discorso parenetico alle vergini* = v **10.**

11. (ff. 165r-166v) Parafrasi in prosa di Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Poemi* = v **12.**

12. (ff. 166v-169v) Atanasio di Alessandria*, *Domande al duce Antioco* = v **14.**

13. (ff. 169v-175v) Marco il monaco, *Disputa con un causidico* = v **15.**

14. (ff. 175v-176v) Diadoco di Fotice, *Capitoli gnostici*, exc. 94 = v **16.**

15. (ff. 176v-179v) Giovanni di Karpathos, *Capitoli esortatori*, exc. Prologo (inc. : Λαμβάνομεν λόγους ἀγαθούς) capp. 6, 11, Nilo d'Ancira, *Epistole*, 154 : *PG* 79, col. 457b, 20, 23, 32, 43, 51, 60, 64, 75, 71, 79, 83, 84, 85, cfr. v **17.**

16. (ff. 179v-202v) Isacco il Siro, *Discorsi ascetici* = v **18.**

17. (ff. 202v-204v) Basilio di Ancira, *Sulla verginità*, des. : εἰς χηρείαν κατενεχθεῖσα, οὔτε : *PG* 30, col. 717a12, cfr. v **19.**

A è evidentemente una copia di v eseguita in un'epoca nella quale v era ancora integro all'inizio (grazie ad A vediamo inoltre che in v è successivamente caduto un solo foglio all'inizio). A è una copia fedele di v, con due omissioni : il frammento di Filoteo (v **11**) e la visione di Macario

(20) Cfr. Ogliari, *Ὁ ὅσιος Φιλόθεος ὁ Σιναΐτης*, p. 135 app.

(21) *Quaestiones in sacram Scripturam* : S. Eustratiadis, *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλυκᾶ. Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*, Alexandria, 1912, p. 385 : *Asketikà*, III, 34-44 = *Neptikà kephalaia*, 25 : *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, II, Athinai, 1960³, p. 277 (nr. 13).

(22) Cfr. A. Rigo, *Mistici bizantini*, Torino, 2008, pp. xxii-xxiv.

(23) Come aveva osservato Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur*, III, p. 933.

(v 13). La copia in A si interrompe all'improvviso, per ragioni a noi sconosciute, nel *De virginitate* di Basilio di Ancira. Per questo motivo non sappiamo in che condizioni fosse allora l'ultima parte di v, oggi mutilo. Va infine rilevato che il copista di A, di fronte a un errore di copiatura in v nel capitolo 84 di Giovanni di Karpathos, peraltro segnalato da una nota nel margine inferiore del foglio (v, f. 258r), riproduce correttamente il capitolo nel suo ordine, ma poi si arresta in modo definitivo con il capitolo successivo (85).

2. Il testo del *Discorso parenetico* di Luca

Il discorso, unica opera a noi pervenuta di Luca, è stato edito da K. I. Dyobouniotis (D) sulla base di v. Presentiamo qui il testo sulla base di v e A, segnalando altresì in apparato gli errori di lettura e le omissioni di D. Abbiamo seguito la suddivisione in capitoli presente in v, anche se la numerazione è nostra.

D DYOBOUNIOTIS 1935/1936, pp. 9-23.
v *Vind. theol. gr.* 305, ff. 221r-235r
A *Athinai EB* 2427, ff. 148v-165r

Λουκᾶ ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ἀδιαλείπτου λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς παρθένους

1. Ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης καὶ κύριος, ὁ συναΐδιός τε καὶ ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καλὸν γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἄρξασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναπαύσασθαι· εὐδόκησε τοιγαροῦν δι᾽οἶκτον ἄπειρον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπὶ γῆς κατιέναι καὶ σάρκα προλαβέσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸς ἠβουλήθην, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου καὶ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεοτόκου συναναστραφῆναί τε τοῖς βροτοῖς ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ φύσει, Θεὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ὑπέδειξε καὶ εἰσηγήσατο πᾶσι διαγωγὴν ἀρίστην καὶ πολιτείαν λυσιτελεστάτην προτρεπόμενος μονονουχὶ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας ἐπιτυχεῖν εἰς τὸ μέλλον τῆς ἀϊδίου δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλείας μιμητικῶς αὐτῷ ἕκαστος καὶ ἑκάστη ἕπεσθαι ὡς οἷόν τε καὶ ζηλοῦν προθυμότατα.

2. Διάτοι τοῦτο καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἱεράς τε καὶ θείας ἐντολὰς γεγράφθαι τοῖς μετέπειτα πάνυ καλῶς ᾠήθησαν οἱ θεσπέσιοι μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ λαμπτῆρες τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς ὠφέλειάν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν βουλομένων σωθῆναι, αἵτινες διαγορεύουσιν ἀριδήλως τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ δεσποτικὰ ἐντάλματα, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ λέξεως φέρουσαι τάδε· **ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοί**, φησί, **οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ** τοῦ τῆδε πλάνου κόσμου, **ἀλλ᾽ἕξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς**· καὶ πάλιν· **μάθετε ἀπ᾽ἐμοῦ ὅτι πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν**· καὶ αὖθις· **ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους**· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους· **ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν, ἔφη, ἐμοῦ ἀκούει καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ**. Ἅπερ οὖν ὁ πίστει δεχόμενος καὶ ταῦτα προθύμως διαπραττόμενος, μακαριστὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ ζηλωτὸς πρὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

3. Οὐκ οὖν ἴσθι σαφῶς, τιμιώτατε ἀδελφέ, ὅτιπερ τουτωνὶ τῶν θείων καὶ δεσποτικῶν ἐνταλμάτων φύλακες γενέσθαι ποτὲ καὶ ζηλωταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ τάλανες βουλόμενοι τῇ συνεργίᾳ Θεοῦ ἀναγκαῖον προεθυμήθημεν μὴ παρακοῦσαι ὅλως τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ ἱκανότητος, ἀλλὰ συντάξαι ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἐμοὶ τὸν περὶ παρθενίας λόγον κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τῇ ἐνθέῳ συνέσει σου, ἁπλοϊκῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπεριέργως ὡς ἂν εὔληπτα εἴη καὶ εὐμνημόνευτα ταῖς ἐντυγχανούσαις παρθένοις τὰ τῷ λόγῳ ἐγκείμενα. Φέρε δὴ λοιπὸν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι θαρρήσαντες οἱ ἀνάξιοι ἀπαρχὴν ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ λόγου ποιησώμεθα.

17-18 Gv. 8, 12 || **19-20** Mt. 11, 29 || **20-21** Gv. 13, 34 || **21-22** Lc. 10, 16.

5 ηὐδόκησε **D** || **7** ἠβουλήθη **D** || **11** ἕκαστον καὶ ἑκάστην **D** || **14** ἐκλήθησαν **D** : ᾠήθησαν || **17** φησί om. **D** || **25** τουνωνὶ **D**.

**Luca Adialeiptos misero monaco e presbitero,
Discorso parenetico alle vergini**

1. Il padrone e Signore del tutto, coeterno e consustanziale al Padre e al santissimo Spirito, il Figlio e Verbo di Dio. È realmente bene iniziare da Dio e riposarsi in Dio. Gli piacque appunto, per la sua misericordia infinita e amore dell'uomo, scendere sulla terra, assumere la carne, come Egli stesso volle, dalla santa Vergine, veramente e realmente Madre di Dio, e vivere assieme ai mortali con entrambe le nature, Dio e insieme uomo. Egli mostrò e insegnò a tutti una condotta eccellente e una vita molto proficua quasi esortando quelli che vogliono ottenere in futuro l'eterna sua gloria e regno, che ciascuno e ciascuna a sua imitazione lo seguisse il più possibile e lo bramasse nel modo più ardente.

2. Per questo motivo i suoi discepoli ispirati da Dio e lampade del mondo molto opportunamente ritennero di scrivere i suoi sacri e divini comandamenti per quanti sarebbero venuti dopo, in vista dell'utilità e della salvezza di coloro che si vogliono salvare. <Comandamenti> che dispongono con chiarezza i divini precetti del Signore e, per dirla in breve, riportano alla lettera queste parole : «Chi segue me, non camminerà nella tenebra di questo mondo ingannevole, ma avrà la luce della vita» (Gv. 8, 12) ; e di nuovo : «Imparate da me che sono mite e umile di cuore e troverete ristoro per le vostre anime» (Mt. 11, 29) ; di nuovo : «Vi do un comandamento nuovo : che vi amiate gli uni con gli altri» (Gv. 13, 34). Ai santi Apostoli disse : «Chi ascolta voi ascolta me, chi disprezza voi disprezza me» (Lc. 10, 16). Chi accoglie con fede questi comandamenti e li pratica con zelo, costui diventerà beato e sarà ammirabile da parte di Dio e degli uomini.

3. Sai dunque con sicurezza, fratello molto venerato, che anche noi miseri, poiché abbiamo voluto una buona volta diventare con l'aiuto di Dio custodi e imitatori di questi divini precetti del Signore, abbiamo necessariamente desiderato non disubbidire alla tua pietà e capacità, ma comporre, per quanto ci è stato possibile, il discorso sulla verginità, in maniera conforme a quanto è parso al tuo intendimento ispirato da Dio, in una forma semplice e non ricercata perché il contenuto del discorso possa essere facile da apprendere e da ricordare dalle vergini che lo leggeranno. Ecco dunque, fiduciosi nel Santo Spirito, noi indegni daremo ora inizio al discorso.

4. Σὺ δέ, ἀλλὰ προθυμήθητι, ὦ παρθένε, καὶ καθυπακοῦσαι ἡμῖν προσεχόντως θέλησον, ἐπιλαθομένη δηλονότι τῶν τε ἀνονήτων φροντίδων καὶ πονηρῶν λογισμῶν, ὡς ἂν τῶν λεγομένων παρ'ἡμῶν ἐν σῇ ψυχῇ καρπώσῃ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις ἀκούουσαι λέγοντος· **ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς Γραφάς**, ἵνα ἐν αὐταῖς εὑρήσετε **ζωὴν αἰώνιον**· αὗται γάρ **εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ.**

5. Τοιγαροῦν ὀφείλεις λοιπὸν προηγουμένως μετὰ τὴν τελείαν ἀποταγὴν τοῦ τῇδε πλάνου κόσμου σκοπῆσαι καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι ἀκριβῶς· τίνι ἄρα προσῆλθες; καὶ συνετάξω τῷ παμβασιλεῖ δηλονότι Χριστῷ, διὰ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν ἀφαιρέσεώς τε καὶ ἀμφιάσεως τοῦ ἀγγελομιμήτου σχήματος καὶ τῷ ἀρχεκάκῳ ἀπετάξω διαβόλῳ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκείνου θελήμασι. Καὶ δεῖ σε λοιπόν, ὦ κυρία μου καὶ πνευματικὴ ἀδελφή, ὅλῃ προθέσει καὶ πίστει ἀδιστάκτῳ καὶ φόβῳ τῷ ἀγαθῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δουλεύειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὁσημέραι καὶ αὐτὸν συνεχῶς ἐπὶ λογισμὸν φέρειν καὶ ἐν διανοίᾳ ὡς ἐφικτὸν κατέχειν, οἱονεί τινα θησαυρὸν πολύολβον ἢ μαργαρίτην πολύτιμον, ἵν'ὡς ἐκ τούτου φωτισμὸν ὅ, τι πλεῖστον καὶ παράκλησιν εἰσδέχεται ἡ ψυχή σου. Κατορθωθήσεται δὲ ἐν σοι τουτὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ ἑλέσθαι βαδίζειν ἐκ προοιμίων τὴν μέσην καὶ βασιλικὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκκλίνειν δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερά, πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἢ ἔλλειψιν δηλαδή. Κατορθοῦται δὲ ὅ τε φόβος Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπη ἐν τῷ μεμνῆσθαι συνεχῶς θανάτου τε καὶ κρίσεως καὶ τῶν χαλεπῶν κολάσεων, τῶν τε εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ποιεῖ μεθ'ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πόσων κακῶν ἡμᾶς ῥύεται καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις Θεοῦ ἀναφαιρέτων ἀγαθῶν ἡ μέλλουσα ἀπόλαυσις, δι'ἐπιμελείας δὲ καὶ συνεχεστέρας προσευχῆς καὶ ἐγκρατείας συμμέτρου σπεύδειν ἡμᾶς κατορθοῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πολλῷ πλέον διὰ τῆς χριστομιμήτου ταπεινώσεως, ἥτις **θυσία εὐάρεστος** ὑπάρχει **τῷ Θεῷ**, ὃς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου **ἐπί τινα ἐπιβλέψω**, ἔφη, καὶ ἐπαναπαύσομαι, **ἀλλ'ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τοὺς λόγους**· καὶ πάλιν· **θυσία τῷ Θεῷ**, φησὶ ὁ ὑμνῳδός, **πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον, καρδίαν συντετριμμένην** καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τούτων ἡ διαπορευομένη παρθένος καὶ σχολάζουσα μετὰ διακρίσεως ἔνδον τοῦ κελλίου κατὰ τό· **σχολάσατε καὶ γνῶτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς** ἐν ἐγκρατείᾳ τε γαστρὸς καὶ προσευχῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ ἐκθύμῳ ἀναπαύεται τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἑαυτῆς καὶ αἱ φροντίδες ταύτης μικραὶ καὶ

36-38 Gv. 5, 39 || **40-43** Cfr. Ufficio per la vestizione dell'abito monastico : M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina. Officiorum schematis monastici magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio* (*OCA*, 180), Roma, 1968, pp. 1*, 4*, 7*, 43*, 47*, 51*, 61*, 66* || **49-50** Cfr. Doroteo di Gaza, *Dottrina*, X, 106 : L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *Dorothée de Gaza, Œuvres spirituelles* (*SC*, 92), Paris, 1963, p. 340 || **58** Rm. 12, 1 ; Fil. 4, 18 || **58-60** Is. 66, 2 || **60-61** Sal. 50, 19 || **63-64** Sal. 45, 11.

46 οἷον εἴ **D.**

4. Tu, oh vergine, sii zelante e, volendo ascoltarci con attenzione, dimentica cioè le vane preoccupazioni e i pensieri malvagi in modo che quanto è da noi detto dia come frutto nella tua anima di ascoltare l'utilità di Cristo che dice nei Vangeli : «Scrutate le Scritture», affinché vi troviate «la vita eterna». Esse infatti «testimoniano su di me» (Gv. 5, 39).

5. Ebbene, devi dunque in primo luogo, dopo la perfetta rinunzia a questo mondo ingannevole, considerare e conoscere con esattezza : «Per quale ragione sei venuta ?» «Mi unisco al sovrano del tutto, cioè a Cristo, con la recisione dei capelli e la vestizione dell'abito angelico e rigetto il diavolo origine dei mali e tutti i suoi voleri» (1). Devi dunque, oh mia signora e sorella spirituale, servire e amare con tutta la tua disposizione, con fede salda e timore il buon Dio nostro ogni giorno e averlo di continuo nel pensiero e mantenerlo, per quanto è possibile, nella ragione come fosse un tesoro molto costoso o una perla preziosissima, affinché con ciò la tua anima accolga l'illuminazione quanto più è possibile e la consolazione. Questo bene sarà raggiunto in te se avrai scelto di percorrere fin dagli inizi la via mediana e regale, senza deviare a destra o a sinistra, cioè per eccesso o mancanza (2). Saranno conseguiti il timore di Dio e l'amore verso di lui nel far memoria continuamente della morte, del giudizio, dei duri castighi, dei suoi benefici e dei molti beni che fa con noi e da quanti mali ci libera e il futuro godimento dei beni che non si possono togliere promessi da Dio. Con sollecitudine, con la preghiera più che continua e la continenza misurata cerchiamo di conseguire tali cose e ancora di più, con l'umiltà a imitazione di Cristo, che è un «sacrificio gradito a Dio» (Rm. 12, 1 ; Fil. 4, 18), il quale disse per mezzo del profeta : «Su chi volgerò lo sguardo e mi riposerò ? Sul mite, sull'umile, sul quieto e su chi teme le mie parole» (Is. 66, 2). E di nuovo : «Sacrificio a Dio – dice il salmista – è uno spirito contrito, un cuore spezzato, ecc.» (Sal. 50, 19). La vergine trascorre il tempo in queste e simili cose e sta all'interno della cella secondo quanto è scritto :

(1) Cfr. Ufficio per la vestizione dell'abito monastico : M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina. Officiorum schematis monastici magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio* (*OCA*, 180), Roma, 1968, pp. 1*, 4*, 7*, 43*, 47*, 51*, 61*, 66*.

(2) Cfr. Doroteo di Gaza, *Dottrina*, X, 106 : L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *Dorothée de Gaza, Œuvres spirituelles* (*SC*, 92), Paris, 1963, p. 340 ; per il significato e la fortuna della nozione di "via regale" v. F. Tailliez, *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΟΔΟΣ. Les valeurs d'un terme mystique et le prix de son histoire littérale*, in *OCP*, 13 (1947), pp. 299-354.

οὐ μεταμελεῖται ἔν τινι, πρόνοιαν ἀεὶ ποιουμένη, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρετῆς, φυλάττουσα τοίνυν ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὰ πάθη χαλινοῦσα κἀντεῦθεν εὑρίσκουσα χαρὰν ἀμέριμνον καὶ ζωὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πρὸς λιμένα ἀκίνδυνον τὴν ἑαυτῆς ψυχὴν εἰσάγουσα.

6. Εἰ δέ γε ῥαθυμήσει ἡ παρθένος ἐξ ἀφοβίας Θεοῦ καὶ ἀμνημοσύνης τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀμελήσει τοῦ φυλάσσειν ἐξαιρέτως τὰ τρία ταῦτα, τὴν ἡσυχίαν δηλονότι καὶ προσευχὴν καὶ τὴν σύμμετρον ἐγκράτειαν τῆς γαστρός, εὐθέως ἀνοίγει καὶ μὴ βουλομένη θύραν τοῖς πάθεσιν, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν πατέρων, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπολύει τῶν δεσμῶν τῆς συστολῆς. Καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου γίνεται καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ νεαζούσῃ παρθένῳ; Πύρωσις ὀξεῖα τοῦ σώματος κρατοῦσα καὶ συνέχουσα, λογισμοὶ ἀκρατεῖς πρὸς πτῶσιν σπουδάζοντες, χλιαρότης καὶ ῥαθυμία τοῦ πόθου τοῦ Θεοῦ, καρηβαρία καὶ βάρησις τοῦ σώματος, ἀμέλεια τῶν συνήθων προσκυνήσεων, σκότωσις καὶ ψυχρότης τῆς διανοίας καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς φαντασίαι ἀκάθαρτοι ταῖς νυξὶ ταύτην ἐπερχόμεναι φαντάζουσαι καὶ μολύνουσαι τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν αὐτὴν παρὰ μικρὸν ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν ἐν καιρῷ τῆς νενομισμένης ὥρας, σχολάζειν τε, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ προσεύχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ κόρος ὕβρεως πατὴρ τυγχάνει οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν βλάβην ἐμποιῶν τῇ τε ψυχῇ σὺν τῷ σώματι· φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι **ἡ σπαταλῶσα παρθένος ζῶσα τέθνηκεν**.

7. Οὐκ οὖν, εἰ βούλει, ὦ παρθένε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦτον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐγκρατῶς καὶ ἀγρύπνως μετὰ πολλῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης τὸν σὸν διανύειν σπούδασον βίον· καὶ ἀγὼν ἔστω σοι τοῦ ἀποστρέφειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τῶν βλαπτόντων ἀνδρῶν πρόσωπα, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιθυμία πονηρὰ ὡς πῦρ ἀναφλέγεται, εἰ μή τι ἄρα γέρουσι πνευματικοῖς χάριν ὠφελείας προσομιλεῖν, καὶ τούτοις μετὰ προσοχῆς καὶ φυλακῆς καρδίας τηροῦσα καὶ ἐκκαθαίρουσα διὰ προσευχῆς τὴν σὴν καρδίαν ἐκ τῶν πονηρῶν λογισμῶν, εἴπερ ἐθέλοις τυχεῖν τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ τῶν ἁγίων, οὓς μακαρίζει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· **μακάριος**, φησίν, **ὃς κρατήσει καὶ ἐδαφιεῖ τὰ νήπιά σου πρὸς** Χριστόν, **τὴν πέτραν** τῆς ζωῆς. Εὔδηλον ὅτι Βαβυλὼν ἡ σύγχυσις τῆς διανοίας ἑρμηνεύεται καὶ νήπια αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοί. Οὐκ οὖν ὁ ἀποκτένων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκδιώκων αὐτίκα πρὸ τοῦ αὐξηθῆναι δι'ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ σεβασμίου ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ **ἐξολοθρεύει ἐκ τῆς πόλεως** αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τῆς ψυχῆς, **πάντας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν ἀνομίαν** πονηροὺς λογισμούς, ὡς

73 Cfr. Teodoro lo Studita, *Parva catechesis*, 53 : E. Auvray, *S.P.N. et Confessoris Theodori Studitis Praepositi Parva Catachesis*, Paris, 1891, p. 192 ; 124 : ivi, pp. 430, 432, *Epistulae*, 410 : G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, II (*CFHB*, 32), Berlin - New York, 1992, p. 571 || **83-84** 1 Tm. 5, 6 || **93-94** Sal. 136, 9 || **97-98** Cfr. Sal. 100, 8.

77 καριβαρία D || **80** παραμικρὸν D || **85** οὐκοῦν D || **95** ἀποκτείνων D.

«Fermatevi e sappiate che io sono Dio» (Sal. 45, 11), nella continenza del ventre e nella preghiera continua e ardente. Si riposa realmente nella sua libertà, le sue preoccupazioni sono piccole e non rimpiange alcunché, ma sempre si prende cura, come è bene, della virtù, custodendo se stessa e imbrigliando le passioni. Di qui trova una gioia priva di preoccupazioni e una buona vita e introduce la sua anima in un porto privo di pericoli.

6. Se invece la vergine sarà indolente a causa dell'assenza del timore di Dio e della dimenticanza dei beni futuri e trascurerà di custodire in modo speciale queste tre cose, cioè la *hesychia*, la preghiera e la misurata continenza del ventre, apre subito, anche se non lo vuole, la porta alle passioni, come ha detto uno dei Padri (3), e libera i sensi dai legami della limitazione. Ebbene quale ne é la conseguenza e soprattutto per la giovane vergine ? Bruciore acuto che domina e avviluppa il corpo, pensieri intemperanti che si danno da fare per la rovina, tepidezza e trascuratezza nel desiderio di Dio, pesantezza di testa e oppressione del corpo, negligenza nelle abituali prostrazioni, oscuramento e freddezza della ragione e, in generale, fantasie impure che le sopraggiungono di notte, che illudono e contaminano l'anima, cosicché ella quasi non vuole mangiare e bere nel tempo delle ore fissate, stare, come si è detto, <nella cella> e pregare. L'essere sazi è infatti padre dell'arroganza e provoca all'anima e al corpo un danno non lieve. È detto infatti : «La vergine che si dà ai piaceri, pur vivendo, è già morta» (1 Tm. 5, 6).

7. Dunque, se vuoi, oh vergine, fuggire questa morte, sforzati di trascorrere la tua vita nella continenza e nel digiuno con grande umiltà. Tuo combattimento sia il distogliere gli occhi per non vedere i volti degli uomini che arrecano danno, dai quali il desiderio malvagio si accende come fuoco, tranne che tu conversi con anziani spirituali per l'utilità <dell'anima>. Intrattieniti con loro nell'attenzione e nella custodia di cuore, guardando e purificando con la preghiera il tuo cuore dai pensieri malvagi, se vuoi conseguire la beatitudine dei santi che lo Spirito santo chiama beati tramite il profeta : «Beato – è detto – chi afferrerà i tuoi piccoli e li sbatterà contro» Cristo, «la pietra» della vita (Sal. 136, 9). È evidente che Babilonia significa la confusione della ragio-

(3) Cfr. Teodoro lo Studita, *Parva catechesis*, 53 : E. Auvray, *S.P.N. et Confessoris Theodori Studitis Praepositi Parva Catachesis*, Paris, 1891, p. 192 ; 124 : ivi, pp. 430, 432, *Epistulae*, 410 : G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, II (*CFHB*, 32), Berlin - New York, 1992, p. 571.

εἴρηται, μακάριος γίνεται καὶ νοερῶς καθορᾶν δυνήσεται, ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸν Θεόν· **μακάριοι** γάρ, φησίν, **οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται**· ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν οὕτω τίμιον παρὰ Θεῷ ὡς καθαρότης ἢ κάθαρσις κατὰ τὴν θεολόγον φωνήν· **οὗ γάρ** φησι, **κάθαρσις, ἔλλαμψις, οὗ δὲ ἔλλαμψις, ἀνάβασις**.

8. Ὅθεν ἡ βουλομένη παρθένος τὴν ψυχὴν σὺν τῷ σώματι παρθένον φυλάξαι σὺν ῥοπῇ Κυρίου ἐναγώνιος γινέσθω· μὴ μόνον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν φυλάσσειν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐπιμελῶς κατέχειν καὶ κωλύειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐμπεσὼν ἔξωθεν λόγος πονηρὸς φθείρῃ εὐθὺς πρὸς ἀκολασίαν τὸν νοῦν. Μήτε μὴν ἡ γλῶσσα πονηρὰ καὶ ἄκαιρα λαλοῦσα ἑαυτῇ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι βλάβην ἐμποιήσειε, ἀλλὰ χρειωδῶς ὀφείλει ἀκούειν καὶ λαλεῖν· μὴ οὔσης δὲ χρείας καλὸν σιωπὴν ἄγειν, τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀκούουσα λέγοντος· **ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ἐν χάριτι, ἅλατι** ἔστω **ἠρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι** καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

9. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸν ἄκαιρον γέλωτα παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν· διότι ἀρχὴ καταστροφῆς ψυχῆς, κατά τινα τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, γέλως καὶ παρρησία, καὶ καύσωνι ἔοικε μεγάλῳ κατακαίοντι τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Κύριος· **οὐαὶ οἱ γελῶντες**, ἔφη, **ὅτι κλαύσετε αἰωνίως**. Εἰργέσθω δὲ καὶ πάντῃ κωλυέσθω παρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ καὶ ἡ πρόχειρος τῆς κακίας ὁδὸς καὶ εἴσοδος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἡ τῶν κάτω μελῶν, φημί, τοῦ σώματος ἀφή· καὶ καθαρὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκ ταύτης ἐχέτω, τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου φόβῳ στοιχειουμένη, ὡς ἂν μὴ διὰ τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης πράξεως καὶ εἰς χείρονα περιπέσοι· ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἁψάμενος τοῦ πυρὸς τὰς χεῖρας εὐθὺς κατακαίει, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἐκ τῆς προσψαύσεως τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐν ἑαυτῇ σφοδροτέραν ἀνάπτει τὴν φλόγα τῆς ὀλεθρίου ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς καταφλέγει ψυχήν. Διὸ σπουδαζέτω πάσῃ δυνάμει καθαρὰ καὶ ἁγνὴ σώματι τε καὶ ψυχῇ γενέσθαι ἡ παρθένος, ἅτε δὴ ὡς τῷ ὡραίῳ καὶ παμβασιλεῖ Χριστῷ νυμφευθῆναι ἐπαγγειλαμένη ἀποστολικῷ πειθομένη παραγγέλματι, τῷ φάσκοντι· **ἐκκαθάρωμεν ἑαυτούς, ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ.** Κοινὸν γὰρ τὸ παράγγελμα ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξὶ

100-101 Mt. 5, 8 || **102-103** Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Oratio* 39. *In sancta lumina*, 8 : *PG* 36, col. 344A ; cfr. *Oratio* 11, 4 : *PG* 35, col. 836C ; *Oratio* 32, 23 : *PG* 36, col. 201A || **107-108** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 13 : *PG* 30, col. 696A || **111-112** Col. 4, 6 || **114-115** Efrem il Siro, *Quod non oporteat ridere et extolli* : J. S. Assemani, *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia graece et latine*, I, Romae, 1732, p. 254 || Lc. 6, 25 || **121-123** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 14 : *PG* 30, col. 700AB || **126-128** 2 Cor. 7, 1.

102 ἔλαμψις **D** || **109-110** ἀλλ'ἀχρειωδῶς **D** || **111** ἠρτισμένος **A** || **119** Περὶ ἀφῆς in marg. **VA**, om. **D**.

ne e i suoi piccoli sono i pensieri malvagi. Chi dunque li uccide e li caccia subito, prima che crescano, con l'invocazione del venerando Nome di Cristo e distrugge completamente dalla sua città, cioè l'anima, tutti i pensieri malvagi che operano il male (Sal. 100, 8), come è detto, è beato e potrà vedere intelligibilmente, per quanto è possibile all'uomo, Dio. «Beati – è detto infatti – i puri di cuore, perché vedranno Dio» (Mt. 5, 8), in quanto niente ha un valore così grande presso Dio come la purezza o la purificazione, secondo la voce del Teologo : «Sua purificazione è infatti illuminazione, sua illuminazione ascesa» (4).

8. Di qui la vergine che vuole custodire vergine la sua anima assieme al corpo, diventi grazie all'ausilio del Signore una combattente : non solo domini gli occhi e custodisca il cuore, come si è detto, ma anche trattenga e contenga con diligenza l'udito e la lingua in modo che, se fuoriesce una parola malvagia, non corrompa subito la mente nella licenza (5), né la lingua malvagia e che parla fuori luogo provochi danno a lei e a coloro che ascoltano, ma ella deve ascoltare e parlare se c'è necessità. Se non c'è necessità è bene che mantenga il silenzio perché ascolta l'Apostolo quando dice : «La vostra parola sia sempre con grazia, condita con il sale, per sapere come rispondere a ciascuno» (Col. 4, 6).

9. Oltre a ciò recida del tutto la familiarità e il riso inopportuno, perché inizio della rovina dell'anima, secondo uno dei santi Padri, sono il riso e la familiarità (6) e assomigliano a una grande calura che brucia i frutti della vergine. Il Signore dice nei Vangeli : «Guai a voi che ridete perché piangerete eternamente» (Lc. 6, 25). Sia allontanata e totalmente proibita alla vergine anche la facile via della malvagità e l'entrata del peccato, intendo dire il tatto delle parti basse del corpo. Abbia le mani pure da questo, conformata al timore del Signore, in modo da non precipitare nel peggio con questo atto malvagio. Come infatti quella che tocca il fuoco si brucia subito le mani, così anche la vergine toccando il proprio corpo accende dentro di sé la violentissima fiamma del desiderio funesto e brucia la propria anima (7). Per questo motivo la vergine cerchi con ogni forza di essere pura e casta nel corpo e nell'anima, in

(4) Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Oratio* 39. *In sancta lumina*, 8 : *PG* 36, col. 344a ; cfr. *Oratio* 11, 4 : *PG* 35, col. 836c ; *Oratio* 32, 23 : *PG* 36, col. 201a.
(5) Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 13 : *PG* 30, col. 696a.
(6) Efrem il Siro, *Quod non oporteat ridere et extolli* : J. S. Assemani, *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia graece et latine*, I, Romae, 1732, p. 254.
(7) Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 14 : *PG* 30, col. 700ab.

ποιεῖται ὁ ἀπόστολος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ θεῖαι Γραφαὶ ἀμφότερα τὰ γένη τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν προσδιαλέγονται καὶ παραινοῦσι, καθὼς φησιν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος· **διὰ τί οὖν ὁ προφήτης τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκλεξάμενος μακαρίζει; Ἆρα μὴ τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέκλεισε; Μὴ γένοιτο. Μία γὰρ ἀρετὴ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ κτίσις ὁμότιμος, ὥστε καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέροις**.

10. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεις καθαιρέσθω εἰκότως ἡ παρθένος πρὸς περισσοτέραν ἑαυτῆς ἀσφάλειαν, ὅρασιν δηλονότι καὶ ὄσφρησιν, ἀκοήν τε καὶ γεῦσιν καὶ ἁφήν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ὅρασιν ὀφείλει εἴργειν τε καὶ κωλύειν διὰ τοῦ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ, τοῦ μὴ καταμανθάνειν κάλλος ἀλλότριον ἢ τὰς εὐχροίας περιεργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κάτω μὲν τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς νεύειν ὀφθαλμούς, ἄνω δὲ τοὺς νοεροὺς πρὸς Θεόν, ὡς τό· **πρός σε ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.** Τὴν δὲ ἀκοὴν πρὸς ἀκρόασιν εὐτρεπίζειν οὐχὶ ματαίων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀκουσμάτων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν διήγησίν τε καὶ ἀκρόασιν, δι'ὧν λαλεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός. Καὶ τῇ ὀσφρήσει προσήκει χρῆσθαι δεόντως καὶ ὀσφραίνεσθαι τῆς ἡδίστης εὐπνοίας τε καὶ εὐωδίας τοῦ ἐκκενωθέντος μύρου δι'ἡμᾶς Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι γέγραπται· **μῦρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου, διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε**, τῶν δικαίων αἱ ψυχαὶ δηλονότι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκθηλύνεσθαι τοῖς μύροις, θεολογικῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ **ἀντὶ ὀσμῆς ἡδείας κονιορτοῦται**.

11. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ γεύσει κεχρήσθω πρεπόντως, μὴ πρὸς τρυφάς τε καὶ ἡδονὰς τοῦ σώματος, **οὗ κατασύρεται πᾶν τὸ διδόμενον**, κατὰ τὴν θεολόγον φωνήν, **καὶ πρὶν ληφθῆναι τιμώμενον, μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν ἀτιμάζεται**, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὰ θεῖα λόγια μελετᾶν, τό τε σῶμα παιδαγωγεῖν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δι'αὐτῶν φρουρεῖν τε καὶ τρέφειν κατὰ τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Δαβίδ· **ὡς γλυκέα** γάρ, φησί, **τῷ λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγια σου, ὑπὲρ μέλι τῷ στόματί μου**. Τῇ δὲ ἁφῇ ἀποτάξασθαι, ὡς προέφην, ὀφείλει καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς βίον ῥυθμίζειν ἡ παρθένος διὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης, καὶ οὕτως ἰθύνειν καλῶς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα καὶ τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅ ἐστι λογιστικόν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμητικὸν καὶ θυμικόν, διακατέχῃ ἐνθέως, καὶ τοῦτο κινῇ, ὅτε καὶ δέοι, πρός τε λογισμοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἁγίαν εἰς Θεόν.

131-134 Basilio di Cesarea, *Homilia in Psalmum I* : *PG* 29, col. 216d || **140-141** Sal. 122, 1 || **146** Ct. 1, 3 || **148** Cfr. Is. 3, 24 || **150-151** Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Oratio* 44. *In novam dominicam*, 6 : *PG* 36, col. 613b || **153-154** Sal. 118, 103 || **154-155** Basilio di Cesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae (Asceticon Magnum)*, 33 : *PG* 31, col. 997c.

130 καὶ (1°) ditt. **D** || **136** Περὶ τῶν ε' αἰσθήσεων καὶ περὶ τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς in marg. **VA**, om. **D** || **139** εὐχρίας **A** || **142** εὐτρεπίζων (εὐτρεπίζειν s. l.) **A** || **148** ἰδίας **VAD** : ἡδείας || **158** ἐν Θεῷ **D** : ἐνθέως.

quanto promessa in sposa allo splendido sovrano del tutto, Cristo. Ascolti il precetto apostolico che dice : «Purifichiamoci, fratelli, da ogni macchia della carne e dello spirito, portando a compimento la santificazione nel timore di Dio» (2 Cor. 7, 1). L'Apostolo dà un precetto comune agli uomini e alle donne, meglio anche tutte le divine Scritture si rivolgono ed esortano entrambi i generi degli uomini e delle donne, come dice Basilio il Grande : «Perché dunque il profeta sceglie l'uomo e lo chiama beato ? Precluse forse la beatitudine alle donne ? Non sia mai. C'è infatti una sola virtù per l'uomo e per la donna, perché la creazione è di uguale dignità. Cosicché anche la ricompensa è la stessa per entrambi» (8).

10. Ma la vergine, per una maggiore sua sicurezza, purifichi anche in modo conveniente i sensi del corpo, cioè la vista, l'olfatto, l'udito, il gusto e il tatto. Deve trattenere e impedire per mezzo del pensiero temperante la vista, per non prendere in considerazione una bellezza estranea o prestare un'inutile attenzione ai bei colori, ma deve volgere verso il basso gli occhi sensibili e in alto verso Dio quelli intellettuali, perché «A te levo i miei occhi, Tu che abiti in cielo» (Sal. 122, 1). Deve preparare l'udito all'ascolto non di notizie vane e malvage, ma al racconto e all'ascolto delle divine Scritture, tramite le quali Dio ci parla. Conviene che faccia uso dell'olfatto in modo opportuno e annusi la dolcissima esalazione e profumo di Cristo, il profumo esalato per noi, come è scritto nel Cantico : «Profumo che esala è il tuo Nome, per questo le giovinette ti amano» (Ct. 1, 3), cioè le anime dei giusti, ma che non sia infiacchita dai profumi, per parlare in modo teologico, e sia invece coperta dalla polvere del dolce odore (cfr. Is. 3, 24).

11. Faccia uso del gusto in modo conveniente, non per le mollezze e i piaceri del corpo, «del quale – secondo la voce del Teologo – è saccheggiato ogni dono : prima di essere assunto è onorato e dopo l'assunzione è disprezzato» (9), ma per meditare le parole divine, educare il corpo e tramite questi sorvegliare e nutrire l'anima, come è cantato dal divino Davide : «Quanto sono dolci al mio palato le tue parole, più del miele per la mia bocca» (Sal. 118, 103). La vergine deve rinunziare al tatto, come è stato detto in precedenza, e dare ordine alla propria vita per mezzo della temperanza e così ben dirigere i cinque sensi del corpo in modo da arrestare santamente le tre parti dell'anima, cioè la parte

(8) Basilio di Cesarea, *Homilia in Psalmum I* : *PG* 29, col. 216D.
(9) Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Oratio 44. In novam dominicam*, 6 : *PG* 36, col. 613B.

12. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως· τὰς δέ γε συνεχεῖς ἐκδημίας τε καὶ προόδους ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας καταμονῆς χρὴ τῇ παρθένῳ διὰ Θεὸν καταλιμπάνειν, ἐκτὸς τῶν χρειωδῶν τε καὶ ἀναγκαίων. Ἀλλά, καὶ χρείας κατεπειγούσης τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐξελθεῖν, μὴ μόνη ἐξιέτω, συμπαραλαμβανέτω δὲ μεθ'ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἑτέραν ἀδελφὴν πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν· **τὸ γὰρ ἓν πρόσωπον**, φησίν, **εὐεπηρέαστον**. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ πορευομένη, μετὰ σεμνοῦ τοῦ βαδίσματος καὶ τῆς εὐσχημοσύνης πορευέσθω καὶ καθ'ἑαυτὴν προσευχέσθω, ὡς ἂν μήτε ἑαυτῇ βλάβην προξενήσῃ, μήτε τοὺς ὁρῶντας αὐτήν. Καὶ οὐ μόνον δι'αἰδοῦς τε καὶ εὐλαβείας δεῖ κατακοσμεῖν ἑαυτὴν καὶ φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δῷ τισιν ἀφορμὴν κακίας, εἴτε διὰ βλέμματος, εἴτε διὰ λόγου, τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀφορμὴν πρὸς κατάκρισιν ἑαυτῆς. Ἀλλ'οὐδέ, ὅταν καθ'ἑαυτὴν μόνη γένηται ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ, τήν τε αἰδῶ καὶ ἐντροπὴν ἀπορριπτέτω, μηδὲ ποιείτω τί τῶν μὴ ἀρεσκόντων Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ δακρύων αἰτείσθω συνεχῶς τὸν Θεὸν λέγουσα· **καθήλωσον ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου** καὶ **μὴ παραδῷς τοῖς θηρίοις δαίμοσι ψυχὴν ἐξομολογουμένην σοι**, ἀλλὰ **ποίησον** μετὰ τῆς δούλης σου, δέσποτα, **σημεῖον εἰς ἀγαθὸν** καὶ ἀξίωσόν με ῥυσθῆναι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπαγωγῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ προθύμως δουλεῦσαί σοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθοεργίᾳ τε καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ παρ'ὅλον βίον τὴν ἀναξίαν καὶ τυχεῖν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς τῶν φρονίμων παρθένων κληρουχίας καὶ δόξης, ὅτι εὐλογητὸς εἶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἡ γὰρ ἡσυχία χωρὶς προσευχῆς καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ πονηρίας διδάσκαλος γίνεται τῇ μετιούσῃ ταύτῃ παρθένῳ καὶ τῷ ἀσκητῇ, ἀλλ' ἥκιστα λανθάνουσι τὴν θείαν δίκην, διότι **ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου μυριοπλάσιον ἡλίου φωτεινότεροί** εἰσιν, ὡς γέγραπται, καὶ σκοπεύουσι πάντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν κρυπτῷ γινόμενα. Οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἡμῶν ἄγγελοι διὰ παντὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰσὶ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς λανθάνει τῶν πραττομένων παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φαύλων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς καλῶς τε καὶ θεαρέστως πορευομένους, χαίρουσι τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ἡμῖν, ἅτε δὴ πρὸς Θεοῦ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου ταχθέντες πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἡμετέραν, καὶ φιλοπονώτερον παραμένουσί τε καὶ φυλάσσουσιν, ἂν δὲ ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς περὶ τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολὰς διακειμένους καὶ ἁμαρτίαις περιπίπτοντας, λυποῦνται καθ'ἡμῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πόρρω ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑποχωροῦσιν· ὡς γὰρ καπνὸς ἐκδιώκει μελίσσας καὶ περιστερὰς δυσωδία, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις διάγουσα ψυχὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς φύλακα ἄγγελον λυπεῖ καὶ ἐκδιώκει διὰ τὸ δυσῶδες καὶ ἀκάθαρτον τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων. Διό, ἵνα μὴ

164 Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 22 : *PG* 30, col. 713D || **172-173** Sal. 118, 20 || **173-174** Sal. 73, 19 || **174-175** Sal. 85, 17 || **181** Sir. 23, 19.

160 γε om. **D** || **167** τοῖς ὁρῶσιν **D** || **170** ἀυτῆς **D** : ἑαυτῆς || **173** Εὐχή in marg. **VA**, om. **D** || **174** τὰ **D** : μετὰ || **178** εἰ **D** : εἶ || **182** αἱ **A** : οἱ || **187** Ὅρα καὶ φύλαξον in marg. **V**, om. **AD**.

razionale, la concupiscibile e l'irascibile e muoverle, quando questo può essere necessario, verso i buoni pensieri e il santo desiderio di Dio.

12. E così in merito a queste cose. La vergine secondo Dio deve abbandonare le frequenti uscite e comparse al di fuori della propria dimora, tranne quelle necessarie e indispensabili. Ma se una necessità la costringe a uscire dal monastero, non deve uscire da sola, ma prenda con sé anche un'altra sorella per custodia e sicurezza. «Una persona sola – è infatti detto – è facilmente esposta all'offesa» ([10]). Andando per strada, avanzi con passo serio e con decoro ([11]) e preghi tra di sé in modo da non provocare danno né a sé né agli altri che la vedono. Non solo, ma deve adornarsi del pudore e della pietà e preoccuparsi di non dare a qualcuno occasione di malizia e né con lo sguardo né con la parola a quelli che cercano un pretesto per condannarla. Nemmeno quando è sola nella cella deve deporre il pudore e la vergogna, né deve fare qualcosa che non piace a Dio, ma piuttosto con gemiti e lacrime supplicare di continuo Dio dicendo : «Ho inchiodato con il tuo timore le mie carni (Sal. 118, 20). Non consegnare ai demoni feroci un'anima che ti confessa (Sal. 73, 19), ma fa' con la tua serva, Signore, un segno per il bene (Sal. 85, 17) e rendimi degna di essere riscattata dalla loro prigionia e malvagità e che l'indegna ti serva con zelo in ogni opera buona e nell'umiltà per tutta la vita e che ottenga in quella futura l'eredità e la gloria delle vergini sagge, perché sei benedetto nei secoli». Infatti la *hesychia* senza la preghiera e il timore di Dio diventa un maestro di malvagità per la vergine e l'asceta che l'abbraccia, ma ciò non sfugge affatto alla giustizia divina, perché «gli occhi del Signore sono infinite volte più luminosi» (Sir. 23, 19), come è scritto, e vedono tutte le cose da noi compiute in segreto. Non solo, ma anche gli angeli nostri custodi sono sempre con noi e niente sfugge a loro delle cose buone e malvage che noi facciamo. Ma se ci vedono avanzare in modo eccellente e gradito a Dio, si rallegrano al massimo grado per noi (poiché sono stati posti da Dio amante dell'uomo a custodia e per sicurezza nostra e in maniera molto assidua ci stanno vicino e ci custodiscono), se invece ci vedono avere una disposizione negligente e trascurata verso i comandamenti di Dio e cadere nel peccato, si rattristano enormemente contro di noi e si ritirano lontano da noi. Come infatti il fumo caccia le api e il fetore le colombe, così

(10) Basilio di Cesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae (Asceticon Magnum)*, 33 : *PG* 31, col. 997c.

(11) Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 22 : *PG* 30, col. 713d.

τοῦτο γίνηται καὶ λυποῦνται καθ'ἡμῶν οἱ φύλακες τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἡμεῖς κατακρινώμεθα τε καὶ ὀνειδιζώμεθα ὑπὸ πάντων, **οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι κρυπτόν, ὃ οὐ φανερὸν γενήσεται**, φύγωμεν λοιπὸν πᾶσαν τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδυπάθειαν καὶ ἐπιγνῶμεν ὅτι **ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐσμέν**, ὥς που φησὶν ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος, **καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν**. Εἴ τις οὖν ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν φθείρει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις, φθείρει τοῦτον ὁ Θεός.

13. Πλὴν οὐ παρασιωπητέον οὐδὲ ταύτην τὴν ἔννοιαν ὠφέλιμόν τε οὖσαν καὶ δυναμένην εὖ μάλα τὸν βίον τῆς παρθένου ῥυθμίσαι· τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι, εἰ θέμις, παντάπασι τάς τε κοσμικὰς συναυλίας καὶ ἀριστοποιΐας καὶ μάλιστα τὸ γάμου προμνήστρια γίνεσθαι ἡ διὰ Θεὸν τὸν γάμον ἀπαρνησαμένη καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἑαυτὴν νυμφευσαμένην καὶ δοῦσα τὰς συνθήκας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι Θεῷ φυλάξαι τὰ συνταχθέντα. Ποῖα δὴ ταῦτα; Ἀποτάσσομαι, φησί, γονεῦσι καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ταῖς κοσμικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ τοῦ φυλάξαι ὡς δυνατὸν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἁγίας ἐντολὰς καὶ τὸ τῆς παρθενίας κάλλος ἀμόλυντον, τοῖς τε ἰδίοις θελήμασιν ἀποτάσσομαι πάντῃ καὶ ὑποτάσσομαι τῇ προεστώσῃ καὶ ταῖς κατὰ Κύριον ἀδελφαῖς. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἑπόμενα καθομολογεῖ καὶ συντάσσεται ἡ παρθένος, ὁπόταν τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα ἀμφιέννυται, διὸ καὶ σπεύδειν ἔκτοτε χρὴ τὴν παρθένον φυλάξαι σὺν ῥοπῇ Κυρίου τὰ συνταχθέντα· εἴπερ ἐθέλει τῆς ἀμείνω δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς τοῦ νυμφίου αὐτῆς Χριστοῦ καταξιωθῆναι, ὃς ἐν εὐαγγελίοις **ὁ ἔχων τὰς ἐντολάς μου**, ἔφη, καὶ **ποιῶν αὐτάς**, οὗτός **ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπῶν με, κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσω**. Καὶ μακαρία ἐκείνη ἡ παρθένος ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῆς αὐτοαγάπης, ἀγαπηθεῖσα διὰ τὸ φυλάσσειν τὰς αὐτοῦ θείας ἐντολὰς καὶ πολλῷ πλέον, εἴπερ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ πείθεται λέγοντι· **ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου**, δηλονότι ἡ παρθένος, **πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ἡ δὲ γήμασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ ἀνδρί**, καὶ μεμέρισται ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς βιωτικῆς γυναικὸς μεμέρισται ἡ παρθένος, πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐναγώνιος γίνεσθαι ὀφείλει, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐκείνη τῷ θνητῷ ἀνδρὶ σπουδάζῃ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτὴ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ νυμφίῳ αὐτῆς

194-195 Proverbio citato in questa forma da Gregorio Palamas, *Homiliae*, 18, *PG* 151, col. 240a || **196-197** 1 Cor. 3, 16 || **201-202** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 21 : *PG* 30, col. 712c || **204-208** Cfr. Ufficio per la vestizione dell'abito monastico : Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina*, loc. cit. || **212-213** Gv. 14, 21 || **216-218** 1 Cor. 7, 32-34 ; cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 24 : *PG* 30, col. 720ab.

193 λυπῶνται **D** || **203** νυμφευσαμένη **D** || **211** Τὰ συνταχθέντα φύλαξον ὅπως σωθήσῃ in marg. **V**, om. **AD** || **212** ἐν post τὰς add. **D** || **213** αὐτός **A** : οὗτος || **217** ἀρέσει **D** || **218** ἀρέσει **D** || **221** μᾶλλω **A**.

anche l'anima che vive nel peccato rattrista e caccia il suo angelo custode per la puzza e l'iniquità delle sue azioni malvage. Perciò, in modo che ciò non avvenga, che i custodi delle nostre anime e corpi non si rattristino contro di noi e che noi siamo condannati e rimproverati da tutti, «infatti non c'è cosa nascosta che non diventerà manifesta» ([12]), fuggiamo allora ogni mollezza della carne e riconosciamo che «siamo tempio di Dio», come dice san Paolo e che «lo Spirito di Dio abita in noi» (1 Cor. 3, 16). Se dunque qualcuno di noi, uomini e donne, distrugge il tempio di Dio con i peccati, Dio distrugge costui.

13. Non deve inoltre essere taciuto nemmeno questo pensiero che è utile e può dar ordine alla vita della vergine : si devono evitare completamente, se è possibile, i concerti e i banchetti mondani e soprattutto che sia mediatrice di matrimonio ([13]) colei che ha rigettato per Dio il matrimonio, che ha sposato se stessa a Cristo e che ha promesso dinanzi a Dio quale testimone di custodire i voti. Quali sono ? «Rinunzio – è detto – ai genitori, ai parenti, al marito e ai figli, ai desideri e piaceri del mondo e prometto a Cristo di custodire, per quanto è possibile, i suoi santi comandamenti e incontaminata la bellezza della verginità. Rinunzio totalmente alla volontà propria e mi sottometto alla superiora e alle sorelle nel Signore» ([14]). La vergine promette questo e quello che segue, quando veste il santo abito. Perciò la vergine deve cercare da quel momento di custodire con l'aiuto di Dio i voti, se vuole essere resa degna della gloria superiore e della gioia di Cristo suo sposo che ha detto nei Vangeli : «Chi ha i miei comandamenti» e li compie, «è colui che mi ama e io lo amerò» (Gv. 14, 21). Beata quella vergine che è amata da Dio, l'amore in sé, perché ama i suoi divini comandamenti e ancor di più, se presta ascolto all'Apostolo quando dice : «Chi non è sposato», cioè la vergine, si preoccupa delle cose del Signore, «come possa piacere al Signore per essere santa nel corpo e nello spirito. La donna sposata si preoccupa invece delle cose del mondo, come possa piacere al marito» (1 Cor. 7, 32-34). La donna e la vergine sono distinte perché la vergine si differenzia dalla donna del mondo : deve con ogni forza essere una combattente perché, come quella cerca di piacere al marito mortale, tanto

(12) Proverbio citato in questa forma da Gregorio Palamas, *Homiliae*, 18, *PG* 151, col. 240A.

(13) Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 21 : *PG* 30, col. 712C.

(14) Cfr. Ufficio per la vestizione dell'abito monastico : Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina*, loc. cit.

Χριστῷ ἔν τε βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀρεσκέτω μνημονεύουσα συνεχῶς τῆς αὐτοῦ ὡραιότητός τε καὶ δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυμηδίας καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας θνητοὺς ἀποβλεπέσθω μηδὲ λογισμοὺς πονηροὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ ἐπὶ πολὺ λογιζέσθω, ἀλλὰ θᾶττον αὐτοὺς δι' ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκδιώκειν ὀφείλει. Μήτε μὴν πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτὴν καλλωπιζέτω, ἵνα μή, ἀντὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ παρθένου καὶ νύμφης Χριστοῦ, πόρνη καὶ μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσῃ καὶ ἀκούσῃ καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὸ καὶ **πονηρὰ** λέγοντος **ἐποίησεν** ἡ ἐμοὶ νυμφευθεῖσα παρθένος, **ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπε πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος** καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὀπίσω τοῦ ἐραστοῦ αὐτῆς, ἐξ οὗ οὐκ ὠφεληθήσεται. Διάτοι τοῦτο σπεῦσον ὁπόση σοι δύναμις τοῦ φύλαξαι τὴν σὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ παρθενίαν παραφυλαττομένη τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἔφην, συντυχίας καὶ μάλιστα τῶν εὐνούχων. Οἱ γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι τὰ τῆς σπερμογονίας ὄργανα διὰ σιδήρου ἀποβαλλόμενοι, καθά φησιν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, ἀναιδῶς τε καὶ ἀκρατῶς πρὸς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν μίξεις αὐτομολοῦσι· αἱ δὲ φαῦλοι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένων τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον παρωσάμεναι, τοῖς εὐνούχοις μᾶλλον καταθαρροῦσαι, διά τε τὸ ἄγονον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνυπονόητον τῶν ἀνθρώπων συγκαταμιαίνονται αὐτοῖς, ἀγνοοῦσαι ὅτιπερ εἰ καὶ τοὺς διδύμους ἐξετμήθησαν οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει αὖθις ἄνδρες εἰσίν. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κερατίζων βοῦς τῶν αὐτοῦ κεράτων ἐκκοπέντων, οὐκ ἀποβάλλει τὴν φύσιν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ὡς πρῴην, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἐστὶ βοῦς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ μόρια τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τέχνης ἀποβάλλονται, ἀλλ'οὖν ἄνδρες κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν συμπλοκῆς μολυσμῶν αἱ παρθένοι ἀνάπλεοι γίνονται καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν παρθενίαν ἀποβάλλουσι, καθὼς ἡ θεία γραφὴ μαρτυρεῖ· **ἐπιθυμία** γάρ, φησί, **εὐνούχου ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεᾶνιν**· καὶ πάλιν· **εὐνοῦχος περιλαμβάνων παρθένον καὶ στενάζων.** Εὔδηλον, ὅτι ὡς μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὴν θέλησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πονηρὰν πρᾶξιν πληρῶσαι στενάζει. Οὐ περὶ πάντων δὲ εὐνούχων ταῦτα εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ μόνον περὶ τῶν ἀμελῶς πως καὶ ῥαθύμως βιούντων καὶ πρὸς ἀτόπους πράξεις τε καὶ ἀσελγείας αὐτομολούντων. Περὶ τῶν θεοφίλων εὐνούχων φησὶν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης· **τάδε λέγει Κύριος τοῖς εὐνούχοις, τοῖς φυλασσομένοις τὰ σάββατά μου καὶ ἐκλεγομένοις ἃ ἐγὼ θέλω, καὶ ἀντεχομένοις τῆς διαθήκης μου, δώσω αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ ἐν τῷ** προτειχίσματί **μου τόπον ὀνομαστόν**, κρεῖττον **υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ὄνομα αἰώνιον δώσω αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει.** Οὐ γὰρ εὐνουχίαν νομοθετεῖ ἢ ἐπι-

228-230 Cfr. Ger. 2, 13 || **233-239** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 61-62 : *PG* 30, coll. 793B-797C || **239-249** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 63-64 : *PG* 30, coll. 797C-801B || **245** Sir. 20, 4 || **245-246** Sir. 30, 20 || **249-256** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 57-58 : *PG* 30, col. 785BC || **250-254** Is. 56, 4-5.

222 μνημονεύουσα **D** || **228** ἐκπροσώπου **D** || **229** ἐγκατέλειπεν **A** || **231** Διά τοι **D** || **233** Περὶ εὐνούχων in marg. **V**, om. **AD** || **235** ἀυτομολοῦσιν **D.**

più ella deve piacere a Cristo, suo sposo immortale ([15]), nella vita e nella parola, facendo di continuo memoria della sua bellezza e grazia e della gioia e del gaudio dei santi. Non deve guardare verso gli uomini mortali né ancora meno considerare pensieri malvagi nel suo cuore, ma deve invece al più presto cacciarli con l'invocazione di Cristo. Non si deve adornare per piacere agli uomini, per non diventare, invece di una pura, vergine e sposa di Cristo, una prostituta e un'adultera e ascoltare anche lei per mezzo del profeta, come da Dio in persona, le parole : «La vergine sposata con me ha compiuto cose malvage, ha lasciato me, la sorgente dell'acqua viva, ed è andata dietro al suo amante dal quale non trarrà nessuna utilità» (cfr. Ger. 2, 13). Perciò cerca con tutta la tua forza di custodire la tua nobiltà e verginità, guardandoti dalle relazioni con gli uomini, come è stato detto, e soprattutto con gli eunuchi. Infatti gli eunuchi, privati degli organi genitali con il ferro, come dice Basilio il Grande, vanno spontaneamente senza pudore e senza controllo alla commistione con le donne. Le donne e le vergini malvage, poiché trascurano il timore di Dio, hanno una fiducia particolare negli eunuchi perché sono sterili e non suscitano i sospetti degli uomini, e si contaminano con loro, perché ignorano che gli eunuchi, sebbene abbiano i genitali castrati, per natura rimangono uomini ([16]). Come il bue provvisto di corna, dal momento che le sue corna sono tagliate, non perde la sua natura in modo da non essere come prima, ma rimane sempre un bue, così anche gli eunuchi. Anche se sono privati dei genitali del corpo per mezzo dell'arte umana, restano per natura uomini e dall'unione con loro le vergini si riempiono di contaminazione e perdono la loro verginità, come testimonia anche la divina Scrittura : «Il desiderio di un eunuco – è detto infatti – deflora una fanciulla» (Sir. 20, 4) ; e di nuovo : «Un eunuco abbraccia una vergine e sospira» (Sir. 30, 20). È chiaro che egli sospira perché non può condurre a compimento l'atto malvagio secondo la sua volontà. Questo non è detto per tutti gli eunuchi, ma soltanto di quelli che vivono in modo negligente e trascurato e che spontaneamente si danno alle azioni sconvenienti e alle dissolutezze ([17]). Sugli eunuchi amati da Dio dice il profeta Isaia : «Questo dice il Signore agli eunuchi che osservano i miei sabati e preferiscono quello che dico e restano fermi nella mia alleanza : darò loro nella mia casa e tra le mie

(15) Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 24 : *PG* 30, col. 720AB.
(16) Cfr. ivi, 61-62 : *PG* 30, coll. 793B-797C.
(17) Cfr. ivi, 63-64 : *PG* 30, coll. 797C-801B.

τάττει ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ, ἀλλὰ τίνων ἄξιοι γερρῶν εἰσὶν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ εὐνοῦχοι ὑποδεικνύει. Ὅθεν, εἰ σκοπός ἐστι τῇ παρθένῳ ἄφθορον ἑαυτῆς τὴν παρθενίαν φυλάξαι, καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς εὐνούχους συντυχίας παραφυλαττέσθω. Οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ὁμοταγῶν θηλειῶν συγκαθεύδουσα ἑαυτὴν φυλασσέτω καὶ ἀπ'αὐτῶν· πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ κακουργίαι τοῦ διαβόλου, διὸ καὶ πολλὰς ἀναπείθει τῶν παρθένων πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν ἐρεθίζων συμπλέκεσθαι ἀλλήλαις, ἵν'ὡς ἐκ τούτου τάς τε ψυχὰς αὐτῶν σκοτίσῃ καὶ καταμολύνῃ καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πλείονα ἔκκαυσιν καὶ γαργαλισμὸν ἐμποιήσῃ.

14. Ἀκούσωμεν τοιγαροῦν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραινέσεως, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ πάσῃ νήψει καὶ φυλακῇ ἑαυτοὺς τηρήσωμεν· φησὶ γάρ· βούλομαι **πάντας ὑμᾶς**, ἀδελφοί, **φρονίμους** μὲν **εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀκεραίους δὲ εἰς τὸ κακόν**· καὶ πάλιν· **μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶ τέλειοι γίνεσθε. Ἡρμοσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ παρθένον ἁγνήν**, τουτέστι ψυχὴν καθαράν, **παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μήπως ὡς ὁ ὄφις Εὔαν ἐξηπάτησεν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν**. Ὁρᾶτε τοίνυν καὶ προσέχετε οἱ ἀσύνετοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμηταὶ καὶ βλαπτικοὶ οἷα παραγγέλλει ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ φεύγετε τοῦ βλάπτειν ψυχάς, μάλιστα τὰς τῷ Θεῷ ἀνακειμένας, αἵτινες τῷ Θεῷ ἐνυμφεύθησαν καὶ κἂν γοῦν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ὀνειδιζούσης ὑμᾶς καὶ κατακρινούσης αἰδέσθητε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης σκοτομήνης ὀψέποτε ἀνανήψατε· φησὶ γάρ· **ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν** οἱ κατ'εἰκόνα Θεοῦ κτισθέντες καὶ **ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρεμέτιζον**· καὶ πάλιν· **ὁ δὲ μοιχὸς δι'ἔνδειαν φρενῶν ἀπώλειαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ περιποιεῖται, ὀδύνας καὶ ἀτιμίας** ὑφέξει, **τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα**. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ δεσποτικῆς κοίτης κατατολμήσας οἰκέτης οὐ μικρὰν ὑφέξει δίκην καὶ τιμωρίαν φωραθεὶς παρά τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου αὐτοῦ, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱερείας καὶ νύμφης ἀφρόνως κατατολμῶν καὶ μολύνων ταύτην;

15. Οὐκ οὖν δέον ταῖς σπουδαιοτέραις παρθένοις μηδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν προσομιλεῖν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον γέρουσι πνευματικοῖς, ὡς λέλεκται, πρὸς ψυχικὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ τούτοις πεφυλαγμένως, κἀκείνους ἀποφεύγειν πάντῃ καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι, ὡς λοιμοὺς καὶ φθορέας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὡραῖον κάλλει Χριστὸν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι καὶ συνεχῶς ἐνατενίζειν κἀκεῖθεν τὰς ὑμετέρας ψυχὰς

257-262 Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 62, 66 : *PG* 30, coll. 797BC, 804B || **265-266** Rm. 16, 19 || **266-267** 1 Cor. 14, 20 || **267-270** 2 Cor. 11, 2-3 || **275-277** Ger. 5, 8 || **277-279** Pr. 6, 32-33 || **279-282** Cfr. Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 41 : *PG* 30, col. 749CD.

265 ὑμῶν **D** : ὑμᾶς || **283** Οὐκοῦν **D.**

mura un posto rinomato, un nome eterno, meglio dei figli e delle figlie, e non sarà cancellato» (Is. 56, 4-5). Nel libro di Isaia l'essere eunuchi non è stabilito come legge o è comandato, ma è indicato di quali doni sono degni i buoni eunuchi ([18]). Di conseguenza, se scopo della vergine è quello di custodire incorrotta la sua verginità, si guardi anche dalle relazioni con gli eunuchi. Non solo, ma anche quando dorme assieme alle donne della sua stessa condizione, si custodisca anche da loro. Sono infatti molte le malizie del diavolo : perciò convince anche molte vergini al peccato, eccitandole a unirsi tra loro in modo da oscurare e insozzare con ciò le loro anime e da suscitare nei loro corpi una passione e un'eccitazione ancora più grandi ([19]).

14. Allora ascoltiamo l'esortazione apostolica, uomini e donne, e custodiamoci con grande sobrietà e custodia. Dice infatti : Voglio che «tutti voi», fratelli, «siate saggi nel bene e immuni dal male» (Rm. 16, 19) ; e di nuovo : «Non comportatevi da bambini nei giudizi. Siate come bambini quanto a malvagità, ma perfetti quanto ai giudizi» (1 Cor. 14, 20). «Avendo unito a ciascuno di voi, per presentare a Cristo, una vergine casta, cioè l'anima pura. Temo però che come il serpente sedusse Eva nella sua malizia, così corrompa i vostri pensieri dalla loro semplicità in Cristo» (2 Cor. 11, 2-3). Badate dunque e fate attenzione, voi stupidi tra gli uomini, bramosi delle cose estranee e nocivi, cosa annuncia l'Apostolo ed evitate di recare danno alle anime e soprattutto a quelle consacrate a Dio, quelle che sono sposate con Dio. Poiché la divina Scrittura vi svergogna e vi condanna, abbiate timore e, anche se tardi, ridestatevi da tale fitta oscurità. È scritto infatti : quelli creati a immagine di Dio «sono come cavalli focosi e ciascuno scalpita dietro la moglie del suo prossimo» (Ger. 5, 8) ; e di nuovo : «L'adultero per mancanza di senno causa la rovina della sua anima», e si procurerà «dolori e disonori. Il suo disonore non sarà cancellato nei secoli» (Pr. 6, 32-33). Se infatti il domestico che osa penetrare nel giaciglio del padrone si procurerà un pesante giudizio e condanna, dopo essere stato scoperto dalla legge e dal suo padrone, quanto di più chi senza alcun senno oserà profanare e insozzare la sacerdotessa e la sposa di Cristo ([20]) ?

15. Perciò nessuna delle vergini più zelanti deve intrattenersi con uomini siffatti, ma solo con anziani spirituali, come si è detto, per l'uti-

(18) Cfr. ivi, 57-58 : *PG* 30, col. 785BC.
(19) Cfr. ivi, 62, 66 : *PG* 30, coll. 797BC, 804B.
(20) Cfr. ivi, 41 : *PG* 30, col. 749CD.

καταφωτίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγλαΐας καὶ χάριτος καὶ αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐν εὐαγγελίοις· **ἐὰν ἐμοὶ διακονῇ τις**, ἔφη, **ἐμοὶ ἀκολουθείτω καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγώ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἐμὸς ἔστω**· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πάλιν· **ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς**, φησί, **καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι λαὸς** καὶ **ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα καὶ προφητεύουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν καί γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου.**

16. Πλὴν οὖν **μηδεὶς ἐπισκωπτέτω τῷ λόγῳ ὡς παρὰ τὸ πρέπον τῷ παρθενικῷ ἤθει εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἄρρενος ἐμβαθύνοντι**· οὐκ ἀπὸ γὰρ σκοποῦ, εἴ γε πνευματικῶς ἐκλαμβάνεις καὶ συνιεῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴ περιέργως τὰ εἰρημένα, γέγονε τοῦτο, ἵνα **μὴ αὐτὴ ἡ ἄγνοια**, καθώς φησιν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, **δέλεαρ γένηται ταῖς παρθένοις** πρὸς **ἁμαρτίαν**, ὅτου χάριν πρὸς **ἀσφάλειαν** αὐτῶν **τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἔχει** τεθεωρήκαμεν, **ἵν'ὥσπερ ἀκέραιοί εἰσιν, ὡς αἱ περιστεραί, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὡς ὁ ὄφις φρόνιμοι οὖσαι πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἀφθορίας αὐτῶν ἀδικίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐγκειμένης διδασκαλίας ὑποφωνούμεναι προφυλάσσωνται.** Διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ ἀναγκαῖον ᾠήθην, ὡς οἶμαι, κατὰ μέρος διεξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπομνῆσαι ταῦτα ταῖς παρθένοις πρὸς ψυχικὴν πάντως αὐτῶν λυσιτέλειαν, ὡς ἂν τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἐλάττωμα ἐκ τούτου ἑκάστη ἐπιγινώσκουσα διά τε τῆς τούτου ἐκκοπῆς, διά τε τῆς προσηκούσης σπουδῆς καὶ μετανοίας εὐθέως διορθοῦται καὶ δι'ἐνθέου βιώσεως τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ εὐαρεστῇ πρὸ τέλους καὶ θεραπεύῃ, ὃς οὐ βούλεται τὸν θάνατον ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἀλλ'ἀναμένει ὡς ἀγαθὸς τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἡμῶν καὶ μετάνοιαν. Τοιγαροῦν μὴ παρέργως, ὦ μητέρες καὶ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ τέκνα, μηδὲ ῥαθύμως τῆς τε ψυχωφελοῦς παραινέσεως καὶ τῶν λογίων τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος προσδέχεσθε καὶ ἀκούετε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς τε καὶ φιλοπόνου ἀναγνώσεως ταῦτα εἰσδέχεσθαι καὶ ὡς οἷόν τε ποιεῖν προθυμήθητε, ἵνα βασιλείαν πλουτήσητε· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ κοιλίας ταῦτα φωνοῦμεν, τουτέστι διανοίας ἡμετέρας, ἀλλ'ἅπερ ἂν ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ παράσχοι πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ὑμετέραν. Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ σπουδάσαι βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τηρῆσαί τε καὶ φυλάξαι καλῶς διά τε τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεων ἐργασίας καὶ ἀποχῆς τῶν κακῶν, **ἐπείπερ ἡ ἐνταῦθα ἐργασία**, ὥς που φησὶν ὁ κλεινὸς καὶ μέγας Βασίλειος, **ἐφόδιόν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ ὁ διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων δόξαν φέρων καὶ τιμὴν τῷ Κυρίῳ, οὗτος δόξαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τιμὴν κατὰ τὴν δικαίαν τοῦ κριτοῦ ἀνταπόδοσιν θησαυρίζει**· καὶ εἴπερ βούλεσθε τῶν ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις Θεοῦ

289-290 Gv. 12, 26 || **290-292** 2 Cor. 6, 16 || **292-294** At. 2, 17-18 || **295-296** Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 65 : *PG* 30, col. 801B5-7 || **298-303** Basilio d'Ancira, *De virginitate*, 65 : *PG* 30, coll. 801D-804A || **318-321** Basilio di Cesarea, *Homilia in Psalmum XXVIII* : *PG* 29, col. 281B.

311 προσδέχοισθε **V**, προσδέχεισθε **A** || **321** βούλοισθε **VA**.

lità dell'anima, e con prudenza anche con costoro. Deve fuggire e distogliersi da quegli altri, perché funesti e corruttori e volgersi a Cristo, splendido per la sua bellezza, e continuamente fissare il proprio sguardo, e da lì le nostre anime sono illuminate grazie al suo splendore e alla sua grazia, e seguirlo, come Egli stesso ha detto nei Vangeli : «Se uno è mio servo mi segua e dove sono io, là sarà anche il mio servo» ; e altrove di nuovo : «Abiterò – è detto – e camminerò in loro e sarò il loro Dio ed essi saranno il mio popolo» (2 Cor. 6, 16) ; e : «Io effonderò il mio Spirito sopra ogni carne e i vostri figli e le vostre figlie profeteranno e anche sui miei servi e sulle mie serve» (At. 2, 17-18).

16. Nessuno tuttavia derida il discorso perché oltre il dovuto, per il costume verginale, si addentra nella contemplazione della natura maschile [21]. Non è infatti fuori dello scopo, se recepisci e comprendi in modo spirituale quanto è stato detto e non invece in modo vano. Ciò è stato fatto perché «l'ignoranza stessa – come dice Basilio il Grande – non diventi un'esca per le vergini verso il peccato». Per questa ragione, per loro «sicurezza», abbiamo contemplato «la natura come è, affinché siano innocenti come colombe e anche così accorte come il serpente, perché si guardino, suggerendosi l'ingiustizia contro la loro castità che viene loro dall'insegnamento presente» [22]. Per questo motivo anch'io ho ritenuto, come credo, di esporre in parte e di menzionare questo alle vergini per un pieno profitto della loro anima, in modo che ciascuna riconosca da qui il proprio difetto e con la recisione di questo, con il conveniente zelo e penitenza, subito si raddrizzi e sia gradita a Dio santo prima della morte per la sua vita ispirata da Dio e sia curata. Egli non vuole la morte di noi peccatori, ma, poiché è buono, attende la nostra conversione e penitenza. Quindi, oh madri, sorelle e figlie, non accogliete e ascoltate in modo superficiale e negligente l'esortazione utile all'anima e le parole dello Spirito santo, ma con grande attenzione e laboriosa lettura accettatele e, per quanto vi è possibile, desiderate di operare per ottenere il regno. Non diciamo infatti cose dal ventre, cioè dalla nostra ragione, ma quello che la grazia di Dio ha potuto offrire per la vostra utilità. Vi esorto perciò di lottare e di sforzarvi per custodire bene e conservare la vostra chiamata nella professione monastica con la pratica delle opere buone e l'astensione dalle malvage. «Perché la

(21) Ivi, 65 : *PG* 30, col. 801B5-7.
(22) Ivi, 65 : *PG* 30, coll. 801D-804A.

ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν πόνων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς μὴ ἀμελείητε, διότι **ἀγαθῶν πόνων**, ὡς Σολομῶντι δοκεῖ, **ὁ καρπὸς εὐκλεὴς καὶ ἀδιάπτωτος ἡ ῥίζα τῆς φρονήσεως**, πᾶσαν τε ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἡδονὴν ματαίαν τοῦ τῆδε πλάνου κόσμου βδελυξάμεναι ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ βασιλεῖ Χριστῷ, ᾧ ἐνυμφεύθητε, σπουδάσατε ἀρέσαι εὐπρέπειάν τε καὶ κόσμον καὶ καλλωπισμὸν ἑαυταῖς οὐχὶ σωματικόν, ἀλλὰ ψυχικὸν περιποιούμεναι τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἁγίας ἐντολάς, ἅσπερ σὺν Θεῷ ἀνωτέρω συνετάξαμεν, καθὼς καὶ Δαβὶδ ὁ θεοπάτωρ τὸ ψυχικὸν κάλλος προθεωρῶν τῶν δικαίων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν· **ἀκολουθήσωσιν**, ἔφη, **τῷ βασιλεῖ παρθένοι ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ**· καὶ πάλιν· **παρέστη ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἐν ἱματισμῷ διαχρύσῳ περιβεβλημένη πεποικιλμένη.** Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀχράντου παμβασιλίδος Θεοτόκου τοῦτο νοεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σεμνῇ πολιτείᾳ διαλαμψάντων παρθένων εἰκότως ἐκλαμβάνεται· νοητῶς γὰρ ὁ λόγος καλεῖ τὰς ἀρετὰς χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθους τιμίους.

17. Ἀλλ'ἐπανίωμεν αὖθις, ὅθεν ἐξίημεν. Τοίνυν εἴ γε φροντίς, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ σπουδὴ προσγένηται ὑμῖν τοῦ φέρειν συνεχῶς ἐπὶ λογισμῶν, ὅπως ἐρρύσατο ὑμᾶς φιλανθρώπως ὁ Κύριος ἔκ τε τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος καὶ πολυμόχθου βίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ περισπασμῶν καὶ σκανδάλων καὶ θλίψεων τῆς τε ἀνονήτου διαγωγῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ πολυκινδύνου τῶν ἐκλεξαμένων κοσμικῶν γυναικῶν τὰς κοσμικὰς ἡδονάς τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὸν φθοροποιὸν γάμον, τὰς ἐκείνων ἀώρους χηρείας τε καὶ ἀτεκνίας, δυστοκίας τε καὶ ὠδῖνας, παίδων τε ὀρφανίας καὶ τὰ ἑπόμενα τούτοις· ὑμῖν δὲ ὑπέδειξεν, ὡς ἀγαθός, ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ἀπερίσπαστον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον καὶ ἁγιοπρεπῆ διαγωγὴν καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐκείνων τῶν κακῶν ῥυσάμενος, ὡς ἔφην, παρεσκεύασεν ἐν οἴκῳ Θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ αὐτῷ προσλαλεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν ἔν τε ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, σφόδρα θαυμάσητε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα. Οὐκ οὖν εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ πρὸς ἀγάπην Θεοῦ ὅ, τι μάλιστα διεγείρεσθέ τε καὶ μὴ **ἐπιλανθάνεσθε** ψαλμικῶς εἰπεῖν **πάσας τὰς ἀνταποδόσεις αὐτοῦ**, ἀλλ'ἕως καιρὸν ἔχοιτε πρὸ τοῦ ἀδήλου θανάτου σπουδάσατε δι'ἀγαθοεργίας ἁπάσης καὶ ταπεινώσεως Κυρίῳ θεραπεῦσαι, ὃς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· **παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν** πρὸς πάντας παρεγγυᾶται ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας λέγων· **μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν καὶ κρίνατε** δικαιοσύνην· καὶ μετ'ὀλίγα· **καὶ ἐὰν ὦσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ, ἂν δὲ ὦσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ.**

322-323 Sap. 3, 15 || **329-330** Sal. 44, 15 || **330-331** Sal. 44, 10 || **344** 1 Tm. 3, 15 || **345-346** Cfr. Ef. 5, 19 ; Col. 3, 16 || **348** Sal. 102, 2 || **350-351** Is. 1, 16 || **352-354** Is. 1, 18.

322 ἀμελοίητε **VA** || **328** Δαυβίδ **D** || **344** ῥυσαμένας **D**.

nostra opera quaggiù – come dice l'illustre Basilio il Grande – è viatico per il futuro e chi con le opere buone glorifica e onora il Signore, costui accumula per sé il tesoro della gloria e dell'onore secondo la giusta ricompensa del giudice» ([23]). Se volete ottenere i beni promessi da Dio, non trascurate le fatiche per la virtù, perché «delle opere buone – come afferma Salomone – il frutto è glorioso e imperitura la radice della saggezza» (Sap. 3, 15), e disprezzate, come è opportuno, ogni riposo e il vano piacere di questo mondo ingannevole. Sforzatevi di essere gradite al sovrano immortale, Cristo, che avete sposato, di procurarvi quale decoro, ornamento e abbellimento non del corpo, ma dell'anima, i santi comandamenti di Cristo che con l'aiuto di Dio più in alto abbiamo esposto. Come ha detto anche Davide, il progenitore di Dio, quando ha visto in anticipo la bellezza dell'anima dei giusti, uomini e donne : «Le vergini seguono il sovrano» (Sal. 44, 15) ; e di nuovo : «È presente la sovrana alla tua destra, e indossa una ricca veste d'oro» (Sal. 44, 10). Anche se questo è detto per l'immacolata sovrana universale, la Madre di Dio, in modo opportuno va riferito anche alle anime delle vergini che hanno brillato per la purezza e per la loro vita santa. Il discorso infatti chiama in modo intellettuale le virtù oro, argento e pietre preziose.

17. Ma ritorniamo di nuovo da dove siamo partiti. Se dunque sono presenti, come è opportuno, la preoccupazione e lo zelo di sostenere i pensieri, dal momento che il Signore da amante dell'uomo vi ha liberato dalla vita ingannatrice e travagliata e dai suoi impegni e scandali e dalle afflizioni di una condotta vana, meglio piena di pericoli delle donne prescelte del mondo, i piaceri mondani, i desideri, il matrimonio soggetto a corruzione, l'imprevista vedovanza e sterilità, i parti difficili, le doglie, l'essere orfano dei bambini e quando deriva da questo. Poiché è buono vi ha indicato una vita tranquilla, priva di preoccupazioni e quieta e una santa condotta. Avendovi liberato, come si è detto, da tutti questi mali, e avendo disposto che dimoraste nella casa di Dio (1 Tm. 3, 15) e conversaste con lui e lo glorificaste con salmi, inni e odi spirituali (cfr. Ef. 5, 19 ; Col. 3, 16), provate una grande meraviglia per la sua bontà. Per questo dovete rendere grazie e soprattutto innalzatevi verso l'amore di Dio e «non dimenticate – per parlare con il salmista – tutti i suoi benefici» (Sal. 102, 2), ma sino a quando avete tempo, prima dell'ignota morte, sforzatevi con ogni opera buona e con l'umiltà di ado-

(23) Basilio di Cesarea, *Homilia in Psalmum XXVIII* : *PG* 29, col. 281B.

18. Διάτοι τοῦτο ἐν διαθέσει τε ἀγαθῇ καὶ πνευματικῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὀφείλετε διαγωνίζεσθαι, διότι **πλήρωμα** τοῦ νόμου **ἡ ἀγάπη ὑπάρχει** καὶ ἡ ἔχουσα παρθένος τὴν ἀγάπην τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχει καὶ θεραπεύει, ἡ δὲ τὸ μῖσος ἔχουσα τὸν διάβολον ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχει καὶ τρέφει, καθώς φησιν Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος ὅτι· ὁ λέγων **τὸν Θεὸν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ μισῶν, ψεύστης ἐστίν· ὁ γὰρ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἑώρακεν, τὸν Θεόν, ὃν οὐχ ἑώρακεν, πῶς δύναται ἀγαπᾶν**; Τετύφλωκε γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον διὰ τοῦ μίσους ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ οὐκ οἶδε ποῦ ὑπάγει· ἡ δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν **ἀγάπη οὐ λογίζεται τὸν κακόν**, ὡς λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἀλλὰ ἀντέχεται τῶν ἀσθενῶν καὶ **μακροθυμεῖ** πρὸς πάντας· καὶ ἡ μακροθυμία φυλάσσει τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὸ μῖσος καὶ τὴν ὀξυχολίαν ἐκδιώκει, ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία καὶ ὀργὴ τοὐναντίον ποιοῦσι. **Θυμὸς** γάρ φησιν **ἐν κόλπῳ ἀφρόνων ἀναπαύσεται, μακρόθυμος δὲ ἄνθρωπος** κατὰ τὸν Σολομῶντα **πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, ὁ δὲ ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρὸς ἄφρων.** Διόπερ ταπείνωσιν σπουδαστέον κατορθοῦν τῇ παρθένῳ κατά τε ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ περιγενήσεται ταχέως τήν τε ὀξυθυμίαν καὶ ὀργὴν σὺν ῥοπῇ Κυρίου καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ εἰρήνην προσλάβοιτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐξ ὑπερηφανείας, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, τίκτεται ὅ τε θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ ἡ μνησικακία, καὶ μακαρία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιγινώσκουσα τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ εἴ τι δ'ἂν κατορθώσειεν, εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτὸ λογίζεται τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης ἀκούουσα ὅτι **Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν**· ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ τούτων φεύξεται διὰ τῆς ταπεινώσεως· ἡ γὰρ ταπείνωσις οὐκ ὀργίζεται, ὥς φασιν οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ'οὐδὲ παροργίζει τινά· ταύτην γὰρ κτησάμεναι ὁλικῶς αἱ φρόνιμοι παρθένοι ἅμα τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ καὶ προσευχῇ ἐπέτυχον ὁμοῦ τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ νυμφίου Χριστοῦ· αἱ δὲ μωραὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσπλαγχνίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερήφανον γνώμην ἔξω τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἀπεκλείσθησαν. Μέγα τῷ ὄντι ἀγαθὸν ἡ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν ταπεινώσει γινομένη διὰ Θεὸν καὶ οὐ δι'ἔπαινον ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι προσευχὴ καὶ νηστεία ἐκ θανάτου ῥύονται, ἡ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνη ἰσχύει ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρας.

19. Πλὴν ἐπειδὰν κατορθώσεις ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, ὦ παρθένε, τῇ συνεργίᾳ Θεοῦ, εἶτα πειρασμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσι κρίσει Θεοῦ περιπέσῃς

356 Rm. 13, 10 || **359-361** 1 Gv. 4, 20 || **362-363** 1 Cor. 13, 5 || **363** 1 Cor. 13, 4 || **365-366** Qo. 7, 9 || **367** Pr. 14, 29 || **371-372** Cfr. Isacco il Siro, *Discorsi*, 21 : Nikephoros Theotokis, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπισκόπου Νινευὶ τοῦ Σύρου τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀσκητικά*, a c. di I. Spetsieris, Athinai, 1895, p. 82 || **373-374** Gc. 4, 6 || **375-376** *Apophthegmata patrum (collectio systematica)*, prologo : J.-C. Guy, *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres I-IX* (*SC*, 387), Paris, 1993, p. 94 || **376-379** Cfr. Mt. 25, 1-13 || **381-382** Cfr. pseudo-Atanasio di Alessandria, *De virginitate*, 6, l. 2 : E. von der Goltz, *Λόγος σωτηρίας πρὸς τὴν παρθένον eine echte Schrift des Athanasius* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., 14), Leipzig, 1905, p. 40.

355 Διά τοι **D** || **360-361** ἑώρακε (bis) **D** || **367** ἰσχυρῶς **D.**

rare Dio che tramite il profeta raccomanda a tutti, uomini e donne : «Cessate le vostre azioni malvage. Imparate a fare il bene, ricercate la giustizia e giudicate con giustizia» ; e poco dopo : «Anche se i vostri peccati fossero scarlatti, diventeranno bianchi come la neve. Se fossero rossi come porpora, li renderò bianchi come la lana» (Is. 1, 18).

18. Perciò dovete lottare con una buona disposizione e con amore spirituale reciproco, perché «l'amore è compimento della legge» (Rm. 13, 10) e la vergine che possiede l'amore, ha e adora Dio dentro di lei. Quella invece che possiede l'odio ha e nutre dentro di sé il diavolo, come dice Giovanni il Teologo : Chi dice «di amare Dio e di odiare il suo fratello è un mentitore. Chi infatti odia il suo fratello che vede, come può amare Dio che non vede ?» (1 Gv. 4, 20). Satana lo ha infatti accecato con l'odio ed egli non sa dove è condotto. L'amore conforme a Dio non pensa il male, come dice l'Apostolo, ma sostiene i deboli ed è paziente con tutti (1 Cor. 13, 5, 4). La sopportazione infatti custodisce l'amore e caccia l'odio e l'irascibilità. L'irascibilità e la collera fanno il contrario. «L'ira – è scritto – dimora nel seno degli stolti» (Qo. 7, 9) ; «Un uomo paziente – secondo Salomone – ha grande prudenza, l'iracondo è uno stolto» (Pr. 14, 29). La vergine deve perciò sforzarsi di conseguire l'umiltà nell'anima e nel corpo e in breve tempo vincerà l'irascibilità e la collera con l'aiuto di Dio e potrà acquisire l'amore e la pace. Poiché dall'orgoglio, il più delle volte, nascono l'ira, la collera e il risentimento. Beata colei che riconosce la propria debolezza ([24]). Se riuscirà a conseguire qualcosa lo reputerà nulla perché ascolta la Scrittura che dice : «Il Signore resiste ai superbi, agli umili dà invece la sua grazia» (Gc. 4, 6). Fugge entrambe tramite l'umiltà. L'umiltà non va in collera, come dicono i Padri, e nemmeno suscita la collera di qualcuno ([25]). Le vergini sagge, poiché la possiedono completamente assieme all'elemosina e alla preghiera, ottengono anche la gioia dello sposo, Cristo. Le vergini stolte, per la loro crudeltà e il loro pensiero superbo, sono chiuse fuori dalla stanza nuziale (cfr. Mt. 25, 1-13). È realmente un grande bene l'elemosina, secondo le

(24) Cfr. Isacco il Siro, *Discorsi*, 21 : Nikephoros Theotokis, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπισκόπου Νινευὶ τοῦ Σύρου τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀσκητικά*, a c. di I. Spetsieris, Athinai, 1895, p. 82.

(25) *Apophthegmata patrum (collectio systematica)*, prologo : J.-C. Guy, *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres I-IX* (*SC*, 387), Paris, 1993, p. 94.

πρὸς δοκιμὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς σου, μὴ θαμβηθῇς καὶ ἀθυμήσῃς, μηδέ γε εἰς χαύνωσιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ δειλίαν ἔλθῃς, ἀλλὰ φέρε γενναίως τε καὶ ὑπομονητικῶς πάντα, ἅτε συνετὴ οὖσα καὶ εὖ καθυπακούσασα τοῦ εἰπόντος· **τέκνον** γάρ φησι **εἰ προσέρχῃ δουλεύειν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἑτοίμασον τὴν ψυχήν σου εἰς πειρασμούς, εὔθυνον τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ καρτέρησον**· καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος· **διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων**, ἔφη, **δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν** τῶν οὐρανῶν **βασιλείαν**. Μὴ δῆτα οὖν ἐκ τούτου ἀπογνῷς ἢ ῥαθυμήσῃς, παρακαλῶ, ἀλλ'ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ καὶ καρτερίᾳ σου νίκησον τὸν ἀνταγωνιζόμενόν σε ἐχθρόν, διότι παράταξίς ἐστι καὶ ἀγὼν ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος τῶν δαιμόνων διὰ τὴν σφῶν βασκανίαν κατὰ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων μάλιστα παρθένων. Ὅθεν δεῖ λοιπὸν ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβέσθαι **τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως**, καθώς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, **ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ, τὰ πεπυρωμένα, σβέσαι καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθαι καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ**, καὶ οὕτω προσβοηθούμεναί τε καὶ συνετιζόμεναι κραταιῶς ἄγαν τροπώσοισθε, ὡς ἡ πάλαι Ἰουδήθ, τὸν νοητὸν Ὀλοφέρνην διάβολον καὶ ὡς ἐκείνη μεγάλην σωτηρίαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προεξένησεν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς διά τε τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ καρτερίας νικηφόροι ἀναδειχθεῖσαι δόξαν ἑαυταῖς ἀτελεύτητον καὶ ζωὴν ἀμείνω καὶ μακαρίαν ἑτοιμάσητε. Ἐπειδὴ **πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἀληθῶς ἠρίστευσαν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον, εἰσὶ δὲ αἳ καὶ μειζόνως**, ὥς φασιν, **εὐδοκίμησαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην**. Καὶ δέον λοιπὸν καὶ ὑμᾶς μιμεῖσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν εὐσχήμονας καὶ ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένας ἐν βίῳ ἔν τε τῇ παλαιᾷ, ἔν τε τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ, καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε πρὸς διέγερσιν ὑμῶν καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἑνὸς ἢ δευτέρου βίου τῶν ὁσίων γυναικῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ συντάξωμεν. Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἡ μακαρία Σωσάννα διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην αὐτῆς τοῖς αὐτὴν βιαζομένοις δυοῖν ἱερεῦσι καὶ κριταῖς πρὸς μοιχείαν οὐδὲ ἄκροις ὠσὶν ὅλως καθυπήκουσεν ἢ συνθέσθαι ἡ σώφρων ἠθέλησεν, οὐδὲ τῷ φόβῳ ἐκείνων καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σωφροσύνην προὔδωκεν. Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λοιμοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς αὐτήν· ἐὰν ἄρα οὐχ ὑπακούσῃς ἡμῶν καὶ συγγενώμεθα μετὰ σοῦ, προστάσσομεν αὐτίκα ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες λιθόλευστον ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ γενέσθαι σε καὶ θανατωθῆναι. Ἀλλ'ἐκείνη, ἅτε σώφρων οὖσα καὶ φίλανδρος καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὐχ ἥκιστα φοβουμένη, τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσατο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀντέστη βιαζομένοις αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις, ἀντηγωνίσατό τε καὶ κατῄσχυνεν. Ὅθεν ὁ παντέφορος καὶ κρυφιογνώστης Θεὸς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο παριδεῖν τόν τε δι'αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα γινόμενον πρὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ

388-389 Sir. 2, 1-2 || **390-391** At. 14, 22 || **395-398** Ef. 6, 16-17 || **399-400** Cfr. Gdt. 9-16 || **402-404** Basilio di Cesarea, *Sermo asceticus*, 10, 3 : *PG* 31, col. 625A || **408-422** Cfr. Dn. 13, 1-64.

385 θαμβωθῇς **D** || **386** ἔλθοις **VA** || **388** προσέρχει **D** || **390-391** εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν **A** || **409** δυσὶν **AD** || **412** προὔδωκε **D** || **416** ἐκεῖνοι **A**.

proprie possibilità, che si effettua per Dio nell'umiltà e non per la lode degli uomini, come è scritto : la preghiera e il digiuno sottraggono dalla morte, l'elemosina è più potente di entrambe ([26]).

19. Inoltre, poiché, oh vergine, hai conseguito queste cose e altre a loro simili, grazie all'aiuto di Dio, e sei poi caduta in tentazioni e afflizioni per giudizio di Dio, quale prova e salvezza della tua anima, non spaventarti e non perderti d'animo : a causa di ciò non cadere nell'indolenza e nella viltà, ma sopporta con coraggio e pazienza ogni cosa perché sei dotata di senno e hai ben ascoltato chi dice : «Figlio – è scritto – se ti presenti per servire il Signore, prepara la tua anima alle tentazioni, abbi un cuore retto e persevera» (Sir. 2, 1-2). E di nuovo san Paolo dice : «Attraverso molte afflizioni dobbiamo entrare nel regno dei cieli» (At. 14, 22). Dunque, non disperare o essere negligente a causa di ciò, ti esorto, ma con la tua sopportazione e perseveranza vincerai il nemico che ti combatte, perché quaggiù è una battaglia e una lotta e una guerra non dichiarata dei demoni per la loro invidia, in modo particolare contro le vergini che lottano. Di qui è allora necessario che prendiate «lo scudo della fede – come dice l'Apostolo –, con il quale potrete spegnere tutti i dardi infuocati del Maligno, prendendo anche l'elmo della salvezza e la spada dello Spirito, cioè la parola di Dio» (Ef. 6, 16-17). Ricevendo in questo modo aiuto e avendo compreso, operate con vigore e possiate vincere, come l'antica Giuditta, l'Oloferne spirituale diavolo. Come quella procurò una grande salvezza a Israele (cfr. Gdt 9-16), così anche voi vi mostrerete vincitrici grazie alla sopportazione e alla perseveranza e vi preparerete una gloria senza fine e una vita superiore e beata. Poiché «molte donne primeggiano veramente in misura non inferiore agli uomini. Ce ne sono quelle – come dicono – che sono state apprezzate ancora di più per la loro fede e l'amore di Dio» ([27]). Bisogna peraltro che anche voi imitiate ed emuliate le nobili tra le donne che hanno vissuto in maniera santa dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento. Se volete, per vostra elevazione e utilità, esporremo in questo discorso una o due vite delle sante donne. Nell'Antico Testamento la beata Susanna : per la sua fede e amore di Dio la saggia non volle affatto prestare alcun

(26) Cfr. Pseudo-Atanasio di Alessandria, *De virginitate*, 6, l. 2 : E. von der Goltz, *Λόγος σωτηρίας πρὸς τὴν παρθένον eine echte Schrift des Athanasius* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., 14), Leipzig, 1905, p. 40.

(27) Basilio di Cesarea, *Sermo asceticus* 10, 3 : *PG* 31, col. 625A.

θεραπαίνης καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀκολάστων ἱερέων παρανομίαν, ἀλλ'ἐκείνην μὲν παραδόξως, ὡς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, τῆς θανατηφόρου ψήφου αὐτῶν ἐρύσατο καὶ κατ'ἄμφω ἐδόξασεν ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι, ἔν τε τῷ μέλλοντι, τοὺς δέ γε τολμητίας ἐκείνους δικαίᾳ κρίσει θανάτῳ κατεδίκασεν.

20. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ ἡ σεμνοτάτη παρθένος ἐκείνη, ἥτις ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις φέρεται τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων· καὶ αὕτη ἔν τινι πόλει σεμνοπρεπῶς βιοῦσα καὶ ἐν κελλίῳ σχολάζουσα, οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτὴν ὁ μισόκαλος ἐχθρὸς ἀπείραστον διαμεῖναι, ἅτε δὴ μὴ φέρων καθορᾶν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἡττώμενόν τε καὶ καταπατούμενον, ἀλλ'ἐξήγειρέν τινα τῶν ἀκολάστων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἔρωτα καὶ φίλτρον τῆς παρθένου, συνεχῶς τε αὐτὴν παρηνώχλει κολακείαις τε καὶ δώροις ὑποσαίνων καὶ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ εἴα κἂν μικρὰν ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου ἄνεσιν εὑρᾶσθαι ἢ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας συνάξει ἀπελθεῖν. Ἡ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου φόβῳ στοιχειουμένη οὖσα ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκρυπτεν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς ὄψιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φανῆναι, εἰ θέμις, ἠβούλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκθύμως ἐδέετο ἑαυτήν τε κἀκεῖνον ῥυσθῆναι τῆς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐπηρείας καὶ ἀθεμίτου πράξεως. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐνεργούμενος δι'ὄχλου τῇ παρθένῳ ἐγίνετο. Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἑαυτὴν ἐν τῷ παντὶ γενομένην καὶ στενωθεῖσαν παρ'αὐτοῦ σκέπτεται βουλὴν ἡ μακαρία καὶ πρᾶξιν, ὀδυνηρὰν μὲν καὶ ἐπίπονον σωματικῶς, ψυχικῶς δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐπικερδῆ καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτην, ἵνα κἂν οὕτως δυνηθείη ἐκφυγεῖν τῆς τε πονηρᾶς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ καὶ ὀχλήσεως τοῦ ἀκολάστου ἀνδρός, τό γε εἰς αὐτὴν ἧκον. Καὶ δὴ προσκαλεῖται αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ ὡς αὐτὴν ἄφιξιν ποιήσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ μετὰ περιχαρείας ἀπῄει καὶ σπουδῆς, προσδοκῶν ἤδη τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ ἐπαπολαῦσαι. Ἡ δὲ ἁγία παρθένος ἐν ἱστῷ ἐργαζομένη οὖσά φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἵνα τί οὕτως, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, παρενοχλεῖς μοι καθ'ἑκάστην καὶ διαταράττεις καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ συνάξει σοῦ ἕνεκα δεδύνημαι τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τούτου χάριν οὐ μετρίως λυποῦμαι; Εἰπὲ δή μοι τί ποτε ἄρα καλὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐθεάσω καὶ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν πονηρὰν καὶ φίλτρον διαβολικὸν τὸ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐξώκειλας; Ὁ δέ φησι· τὴν περικαλλῆ σου μορφήν, ὦ κυρία μου, καὶ τοὺς ὡραίους ὀφθαλμούς, ὁπόταν θεάσωμαι, ὅλως ὡς πῦρ γίνομαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀναφλέγομαι ἐπιθυμίαν. Ἐκείνη δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσε καὶ καθ'ἑαυτὴν συγκρίνασα τὴν δι'αὐτῆς γινομένην βλάβην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θείῳ ζήλῳ πυρποληθεῖσα ἐξέτεινεν αὐτίκα τὴν ἐπὶ χεῖρας κερκίδα καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ἐξέβαλεν ὀφθαλμούς, προκρίνασα ἡ μακαρία τὴν σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν τῆς ἑαυτῆς ψυχῆς ἤπερ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ῥῶσιν. Ὢ τῆς ἀρραγοῦς πίστεως, ὢ τῆς ἀγάπης

424-452, 457-461 Cfr. Giovanni Mosco, *Pratum spirituale*, 60 : *PG* 87/III, coll. 2912-2913.

420 ἴοτε **D** | ἐρρύσατο **D** || **422** κατεδίκασε **D** || **427** ἐξήγειρέ **D** || **429** ὑποξέων **D** : ὑποσαίνων || **438** ἐπιβουλῆς **D** || **452** ἤ περ **D**.

ascolto e cedere ai due sacerdoti e giudici che la forzavano all'adulterio, né per paura loro e delle loro minacce rinunciò alla sua temperanza. Quegli uomini funesti le dissero : «Se non ci ascolti e noi non ci uniremo a te, subito daremo l'ordine, dal momento che ne abbiamo la podestà, che tu venga lapidata dal popolo e messa a morte». Ma quella, poiché era saggia, virile e, soprattutto, temeva Dio, non tenne in nessuna considerazione il timore nei loro confronti e anzi resistette a quelli che la forzavano, lottò e li svergognò. Allora Dio che sorveglia ogni cosa e che conosce i cuori non tollerò di ignorare la lotta condotta per lui dalla sua adoratrice e la trasgressione dei sacerdoti dissoluti, ma in modo straordinario, come anche voi sapete, la liberò dalla loro condanna a morte e al contempo la glorificò nel secolo presente e nel futuro, mentre condannò a morte con giusto giudizio quei temerari (cfr. Dn. 13, 1-64).

20. Inoltre, nel Nuovo Testamento, quella santissima vergine che è ricordata nelle storie dei santi Padri. Costei viveva santamente in una città e passava il tempo nella sua cella. Il Maligno nemico del bene non permise che ella rimanesse senza tentazioni, poiché non poteva sopportare di vedersi vinto e calpestato da una donna. Indusse quindi uno tra gli uomini dissoluti all'amore e alla passione della vergine. Costui la molestava di continuo con adulazioni e la blandiva con doni ed ella non poteva trovare nemmeno un minimo sollievo da quel fastidio o andare alla sinassi nella santa chiesa. Ella, fondata sul timore del Signore, si nascondeva il più possibile e non voleva, per quanto poteva, comparire alla vista di quell'uomo, meglio supplicava con ardore Cristo di liberare lei e quell'uomo dall'insolenza e dall'empia azione del nemico. Ma quello, ancor di più sotto l'azione del nemico, diventò un fastidio per la vergine. La beata, come si vide nel colmo del pericolo e messa in difficoltà da quell'uomo, escogitò un piano e un'azione, dolorosa e penosa per il corpo, ma molto vantaggiosa e utile per l'anima, in modo da poter così sfuggire, almeno per quanto le era possibile, all'insidia malvagia del nemico e al disturbo dell'uomo dissoluto. Un giorno lo convocò, come se stesse partendo. Egli venne con grande gioia e ardore, già aspettandosi di soddisfare il suo desiderio. La santa vergine, lavorando al telaio, gli disse : «Perché, oh uomo, mi molesti e mi turbi ogni giorno e a causa tua non posso nemmeno andare alla sinassi nella santa chiesa e perciò sono molto addolorata. Dimmi cosa di bello hai mai visto in me che ti ha trascinato rovinosamente al desiderio malvagio e alla passione diabolica ?» Egli rispose : «La tua bellissima figura, oh mia signora, e i tuoi splendidi occhi. Quando li vedo, divento tutto come di fuoco e brucio di desiderio

καὶ φιλοθεΐας τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης παρθένου. Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ παρθένοι, διάκρισιν καὶ σύνεσιν γυναικός, παρθενίαν τε καὶ σωφροσύνην διὰ Θεὸν τιμώσης, ἥτις οὐδὲ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐφείσατο, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα δηλονότι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν. Οὐκ οὖν ζηλώσατε ταύτην καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ σωφρόνως τὸν ὑμέτερον διανύετε βίον, εἴπερ ἐθέλοιτε τῆς ἀϊδίου δόξης Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. Θεασάμενος τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἔργον διεπράξατο ἡ παρθένος, καὶ λογισάμενος δι'αὐτὸν τοῦτο γεγονέναι, ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα λύπην σωτήριον καὶ εὐθέως μελήσεως χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν εἰς μοναστήριον, γέγονε μοναχὸς καὶ μέχρι τέλους διῆγεν ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει, διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης προφάσεως εὐαρεστήσας τῷ Θεῷ.

21. Διάτοι τοῦτο προσήκει καὶ νῦν ὑμᾶς, ὦ παρθένοι, μιμεῖσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν τὰς εἰρημένας ὡς λέλεκται παρθένους καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖναι οὐχ ὑπήχθησαν τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἀνδράσι διὰ Θεόν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνθίστασθε γενναίως καὶ τοὺς λοιμοὺς καὶ ἀκολάστους ἀποτρέπεσθε ἄνδρας, ἵνα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων παρθένων μερίδος τε καὶ δόξης, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀχράντου Θεοτόκου ἀξιωθείητε, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· **ἀπενεχθήσονται τῷ βασιλεῖ παρθένοι ὀπίσω αὐτῆς, ἀπενεχθήσονται ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει**, τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης καὶ ἀχράντου δηλονότι Θεοτόκου, **καὶ ἀχθήσονται εἰς ναὸν βασιλέως**, εὔδηλον ὅτι εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν. Ἀλλ'ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν λόγον μηκύνωμεν καὶ προσκορὴς γένηται, ἐνταῦθα τὸ προσῆκον τέλος τούτῳ ἐπιθῶμεν. Ταῦτα δὴ οὖν, ὦ τιμιώτατε, κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐφικτὸν συνθέντες ἐστείλαμεν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου. Σὺ δὲ ἀντιδοίης ἡμῖν τὰς συνήθεις εὐχάς, τοῖς σοι κατὰ Κύριον ἀγαπῶσί τε καὶ πειθομένοις, λισσόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

467-469 Sal. 44, 15-16.

462 Διά τοι D | Ἠθικόν in marg. V, om. **AD** || **476** τῶν αἰώνων om. **A**.

per te». Come quella udì queste parole, considerando tra di sé che la rovina era sopraggiunta all'uomo per colpa sua, infiammata dallo zelo divino, subito prese la forbice in mano e si cavò gli occhi. La beata preferì la salvezza e l'utilità della propria anima al vigore del corpo. Oh l'integra fede! Oh la carità e l'amore di Dio di quella beata vergine! Guardate, oh vergini, il discernimento e il senno di quella donna che onorò la verginità e la temperanza per Dio da non risparmiare nemmeno il proprio corpo nella speranza, evidentemente, dei beni futuri. Emulatela dunque anche voi e con la temperanza trascurate la vostra vita, se volete conseguire la gloria eterna di Dio. Quando quell'uomo vide l'impresa compiuta dalla vergine ed ebbe considerato che ciò era accaduto a causa sua si addolorò grandemente di una tristezza salvifica e subito senza indugio andò in un monastero, diventò monaco e visse sino alla morte nell'ascesi e per tale motivo fu gradito a Dio ([28]).

21. Per questo motivo è bene che ora anche voi, oh vergini, imitiate, come si è detto, le vergini summenzionate e, come quelle non cedettero agli uomini dissoluti per Dio, anche voi resistiate valorosamente ed evitate gli uomini funesti e dissoluti, affinché siate sempre resi degni della parte e della gloria delle sante vergini, meglio dell'immacolata Madre di Dio, come dice il profeta : «Le vergini sono guidate dal sovrano dietro di lei, sono guidate in gioia ed esultanza», cioè dietro la molto benedetta e immacolata Madre di Dio, «e sono condotte nel tempio del re» (Sal. 44, 15-16), cioè nel regno dei cieli. Ma per non prolungare ulteriormente il discorso e non diventi fastidioso, diamogli ora la necessaria conclusione. Abbiamo quindi messo per iscritto queste cose, oh molto venerato, secondo le nostre possibilità e le inviamo alla tua carità. Tu in cambio concedi le consuete preghiere a quelli che nel Signore ti amano e ti prestano ascolto, supplicando per noi Cristo Dio nostro, al quale spetta ogni gloria, onore e adorazione assieme al Padre senza principio e al santissimo Spirito ora e sempre e nei secoli dei secoli. Amen.

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(28) Cfr. Giovanni Mosco, *Pratum spirituale*, 60 : *PG* 87/III, coll. 2912-2913.

Résumé

L'article présente un auteur spirituel, Loukas Adialeiptos, actif près de Nicomédie au xe siècle. Les données sur l'œuvre et la physionomie de Loukas sont tirées de la description faite par Nikos A. Beês du manuscrit 34 du Mega Spêlaion, malheureusement perdu. La deuxième partie de l'article contient l'édition du seul ouvrage de Loukas conservé, le *Discours aux vierges* (mss. *Vindob. theol. gr.* 305 et *Athinai EB* 2427).

THE PROFESSION OF THE ARCHITECT IN LATE ANTIQUE BYZANTIUM

Introduction

In the second half of the first century BCE, Vitruvius defined the ideal profile of a professional architect, distinguishing between the practical (*fabrica*) and the theoretical (*ratiocinatio*) aspects of architecture and emphasising the need to accomplish the whole of the *encyclios disciplina* (1). Vitruvius' *On Architecture* is the only treatise of architectural theory preserved from antiquity and it was perhaps the first comprehensive work to systematize the profession of the architect and the principles of architectural design (2). In so doing, Vitruvius aimed to establish architecture firmly as a liberal art in its own right (3). In view of Vitruvius' definition, scholars have argued that the Roman architect

(1) VITRUVIUS, *On Architecture*, edited and translated by F. GRANGER, I (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London and Cambridge (MA), 1931 : I, 1, 1 ; I, 1, 11-12. This text is traditionally dated between 50 BCE and 20 BCE ; cf. VITRUVIUS, *Ten Books on Architecture*, edited by I. D. ROWLAND, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 3-7. Various translations give the term *fabrica* as 'practice'. Pont however argues that *fabrica* means 'the practice of architectural contemplation' : G. PONT, *The Education of the Classical Architect from Plato to Vitruvius*, in *Nexus Network Journal*, 7 (2005), pp. 76-85.

(2) References to Vitruvius can be found in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder (died in 79 CE), in the *Compendium* of Faventinus (3rd century) and in two letters of Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 430-485 CE), indicating that Vitruvius' writings were in circulation. See H. KOCH, *Vom Nachleben des Vitruv*, Baden-Baden, 1951 ; H. PLOMMER, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals*, Cambridge, 1973. Kruft however expressed doubt about Vitruvius' influence on the architectural practice of the imperial age : H.-W. KRUFT, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, translated by R. TAYLOR, E. CALLANDER and A. WOOD, Princeton, 1994.

(3) F. E. BROWN, *Vitruvius and the Liberal Art of Architecture*, in *Bucknell Review*, 11 (1963), pp. 99-107.

was comprehensively educated, both practically and theoretically (4). This definition has also been extended to the Byzantine Empire. According to Downey, the early Byzantine architect, who was known as a *mechanikos* (5), complied with the Vitruvian ideal (6). Only after the sixth century CE, many scholars have argued, did the profession of the architect undergo a substantial transition from a mostly theoretical to a more practical vocation. This transition was matched by a shift in terminology from *mechanikos* to *oikodomos* in the Greek east ; from *architectus* to *artifex*, *operarius* or *caementarius* in the Latin west (7).

Scholars have failed to agree on the exact meaning of the term *mechanikos* and it is the objective of this article to explore the nature and education of the *mechanikos* in an attempt to more accurately define the architectural profession in late antiquity. Following Downey, some scholars support the identification of the *mechanikos* with a practising, professional architect (8). Others maintain that, unlike the *architekton*, who was an experienced master builder with practical training, the *mechanikos* was educated in the liberal arts and had a predominantly theoretical approach to architecture (9). Building upon Downey's work,

(4) W. L. MACDONALD, *Roman Architects*, in S. KOSTOF (ed.), *The Architect : Chapters in the History of the Profession*, New York and Oxford, 1977, pp. 28-58 ; IDEM, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire : An Introductory Study*, I (*Yale Publications in the History of Art*, 17), New Haven and London, 1982[2] ; M. DONDERER, *Die Architekten der späten römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit*, Erlangen, 1996, pp. 57-61.

(5) Throughout the article I have transliterated μηχανικός rather than giving a translation, because there is no English equivalent that could reproduce the complex meaning of the term.

(6) G. DOWNEY, *Byzantine Architects : Their Training and Methods*, in *Byz.*, 18 (1946-1948), pp. 99-118 ; IDEM, *Pappus of Alexandria on Architectural Studies*, in *Isis*, 38 (1948), pp. 197-200 ; A. CAMERON, *Isidore of Miletus and Hypatia : On the Editing of Mathematical Texts*, in *GRBS*, 31 (1990), pp. 103-127.

(7) N. PEVSNER, *The Term 'Architect' in the Middle Ages*, in *Speculum*, 17 (1942), pp. 549-562 ; DOWNEY, *Byzantine Architects* ; IDEM, *Pappus* ; H. A. Meek, *The Architect and His Profession in Byzantium*, in *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 59 (1952), pp. 216-220 ; S. KOSTOF, *The Architect in the Middle Ages, East and West*, in KOSTOF, *The Architect : Chapters*, pp. 59-95 ; R. OUSTERHOUT, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1999.

(8) MEEK, *The Architect and His Profession in Byzantium* ; CAMERON, *Isidore of Miletus*.

(9) R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, New York, 1979, pp. 215 and 220 ; OUSTERHOUT, *Master Builders*, pp. 4 and 43-44 ; M. MUNDELL-MANGO,

this paper aims to show that the architectural profession of early Byzantium was indeed firmly embedded in the Roman tradition and that the architect had to undergo a comprehensive liberal arts education. When compared to Vitruvius' characterisation of the training of the architect, the *curriculum* of a *mechanikos*, as outlined in Pappos of Alexandria's *Collection* (c. 320 CE), provides evidence that the practical element of the architectural education was a development of the late antique period. I will thus argue that the profession of the architect had evolved from a purely theoretical discipline in the Roman period to a craft with a decidedly practical component by the fourth century CE.

The ideal *curriculum* of an architect/*mechanikos*, according to Vitruvius and Pappos, was exceedingly ambitious and only those who completed the entire *curriculum* successfully reached the top levels of their profession. That such comprehensively learnt architects existed in the sixth century CE is evident from the two architects of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, Anthemios of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletos. They can be placed in the midst of a continuous tradition of the mathematical sciences : fragments of Anthemios' writings are preserved ; and Isidoros' editorial and teaching activities are relatively well documented. *Mechanikoi* like Anthemios and Isidoros seemed to have enjoyed a relatively high social status, despite the practical aspect of their profession. Architecture and architects were valued on the basis of their practical utility for the common good and architecture's potential to convey images of power and piety ([10]). The public relationship between the emperor and his architects and the seemingly increasing involvement of the imperial patron in the construction process offers insights into the prestigious reputation of the architect and the use of architecture as a tool to promote political, religious and social power.

Pappos of Alexandria's definition of the *mechanike theoria*

By way of textual analysis and in comparison with Vitruvius' *On Architecture*, Downey identified 'the science of mechanics' (ἡ μηχανικὴ θεωρία) in book eight of Pappos of Alexandria's *Collection* (c. 320 CE) as being a portrayal of 'the art of architecture', arguing that Pappos offered a detailed description of the education and training of an architect ([11]). In this passage of his work, Pappos outlined the requirements needed to become a *mechanikos*. That the terms *mechanikos* / *mechanopoios* ([12]), in contrast to terms like *architekton* or *oikodomos*, signified a highly learned and esteemed architect in early Byzantium is further exemplified by the stringent usage of these terms in contemporary writings and inscriptions. In the sixth century, for instance, Procopius of Caesarea employed *mechanikos* / *mechanopoios* in his eulogies on the two architects of Hagia Sophia, Anthemios of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletos, and he bestowed the title on only three other architects in *The Buildings* ([13]). Agathias of Myrina (ca. 532-582 CE) in his *History* described Anthemios as an outstanding *mechanopoios* and a superb mathematician ([14]). In Butler's survey of Byzantine Syrian inscriptions (third to sixth centuries) that identified different kinds of builders and craftsmen, the term *mechanikos* occurs only once, referring to Isidore the Younger, while all other designations of specialists involved in construction appear more frequently ([15]). All of this implies that a *mecha-*

Building and Architecture, in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (ed.), *The Cambridge Ancient History : Late Antiquity : Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 918-971 and 923.

(10) S. Cuomo, *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 149.

(11) Pappos of Alexandria, *Collection*, ed. F. Hultsch, *Pappi Alexandrini Collectionis quae supersunt*, III, Berlin, 1878, col. 1022, 3 - col. 1028, 3 ; Downey, *Pappus*.

(12) For the purpose of this paper, the two terms are used synonymously, which can be justified on the basis of Procopius, who seems to have used them interchangeably. See also Liddell-Scott-Jones (with *Revised Supplement*), ὁ μηχανικός – engineer ; ὁ μηχανοποιός – maker of engines or machines, engineer. Pappos distinguished the μηχανοποιός as the one responsible for the design of instruments that facilitated the drawing of water from great depths. However, the fact that Pappos explicitly pointed out that this type of engineer is properly called μηχανοποιός suggests that by the fourth century these terms were employed indiscriminately. See Pappos, III, col. 1025, 2.

(13) Procopius, *Buildings*, edited and translated by H. B. Dewing (*The Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (MA) and London, 1940 : I, 1, 24 ; I, 1, 50 ; I, 1, 71 ; I, 1, 76.

(14) Agathias, V, 6, 3, ed. R. Keydell, *Agathiae Myrinaei. Historiarum libri quinque* (*CFHB*, 2), Berlin, 1967 ; translation with introduction by J. D. Frendo, *Agathias. The Histories* (*CFHB*, 2A), Berlin, 1975.

(15) ἀρχιτέκτων (4), τέκτων (4), τεχνίτης (20), οἰκοδόμος (39), λιθοξόος (4), λατόμος and λευκουργός (2). H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria : Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, ed. E. B. Smith, Princeton, 1929, pp. 255-257 ; Downey, *Byzantine Architects*, pp. 104-105 ; J. Warren, *Greek Mathematics and the Architects to Justinian*, London, 1976, pp. 13-14 ; A. Petronotis, *Der Architekt in Byzanz*, in *Bauplanung und*

nikos was someone associated with the architectural profession from at least the sixth century on, and that a *mechanikos* was exceptional both in quantity as well as in quality. This is important for the interpretation of Pappos of Alexandria's definition of the *mechanike theoria*. Pappos explicitly characterized a *mechanikos* as someone who was proficient in a wide range of theoretical and practical disciplines.

> The science of mechanics (ἡ μηχανικὴ θεωρία) ... takes almost first place in dealing with the nature of the material elements of the universe. For it deals generally with the stability and movement of bodies about their centre of gravity, and their motions in space, inquiring not only into the causes of those that move in virtue of their nature (κατὰ φύσιν), but forcibly transferring others from their own places in a motion contrary to their nature (παρὰ φύσιν) ... mechanics can be divided into a theoretical and a manual part (εἶναι λογικόν, τὸ δὲ χειρουργικὸν); the theoretical part (τὸ μὲν λογικόν) is composed of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and physics, the manual (τὸ δὲ χειρουργικόν) of work in metals, construction (οἰκοδομικῆς), carpentering and the art of painting, and the practical execution of these matters. The man who has been trained from his youth in the aforesaid sciences (ἐπιστήμαις) as well as practised in the aforesaid arts (τέχναις) and in addition has a versatile mind, will be, they say, the best inventor of mechanical devices (μηχανικῶν ἔργων εὑρετὴν) and master builder (ἀρχιτέκτων). But when it is impossible for the same person to familiarize himself with so many academic studies and at the same time to learn the above-mentioned crafts (τέχναις), they instruct a person wishing to undertake practical tasks in mechanics to use such crafts as he already possesses in the tasks to be performed in each particular case (16).

Bautheorie der Antike, Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung, 4 (1983), pp. 329-342, especially p. 329 and p. 341, n. 3.

(16) Pappos, III, coll. 1022, 3 - 1024, 11. Translated in Downey, *Byzantine Architects*, pp. 106-107 : μὴ δυνατοῦ δ' ὄντος τὸν αὐτὸν μαθημάτων τε τοσούτων περιγενέσθαι καὶ μαθεῖν ἅμα τὰς προειρημένας τέχνας παραγγέλλουσι τῷ τὰ μηχανικὰ ἔργα μεταχειρίζεσθαι βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι ταῖς οἰκείαις τέχναις ὑποχειρίοις ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἕκαστα χρείαις. I followed Downey's translation, who demonstrated that the genitive absolute with which the last sentence begins is to be translated in either the temporal or conditional sense ("when it is impossible" or "in case in which it is impossible") opposing earlier translations that had applied the causal sense ("since it is impossible"). Downey, *Pappus*. Former translations read the last sentence as if it is altogether impossible to reach the ideal of a perfect architect. It seems more feasible, though, that Pappos acknowledged that not everyone would reach this ideal, but that it was potentially attainable.

Pappos' profile of the education and aptitude of the *mechanikos* is reminiscent of Vitruvius' account on the training of an architect (17). Both authors divided their respective sciences (mechanics and architecture) into a theoretical (*logikos* and *ratiocinatio*) and a practical side (*cheirourgikos* and *fabrica*). At first this seems to be an unambiguous distinction between theory and practice. *Cheirourgikos* and *fabrica* have indeed often been recognised as practice or craftsmanship in terms of an actual hands-on activity. However, Pont has recently reconsidered Vitruvius' *fabrica* and has argued in favour of a more Platonic reading of Vitruvius' treatise. He has convincingly reasoned that the more exact meaning of *fabrica* transpires from the sentence *Fabrica est continuata ac trita usus meditatio* ... [I, 1, 1] and the close connection between *fabrica* and *meditatio*. Accordingly, Vitruvius distinguished with *fabrica* the 'frequent and continued contemplation' of the various practices involved in the art of architecture and not an actual manual exercise (18). As such, the Vitruvian concept of *fabrica* is comparable to Plato's *praktike*, which is the imperative or executive knowledge (know how) of architecture, without the requirement of manual skills (19). This is made explicit in Plato's *Statesman*, where Socrates said, 'Every architect, too, is a ruler of workmen, not a workman himself' (20). For Plato as well as for Vitruvius, therefore, the architect's expertise lay in the understanding of the practical aspects of construction in order for him to be able to oversee the entire building campaign, rather than in any practical engagement with the actual building process.

In contrast, the term *cheirourgikos*, used by Pappos to distinguish the practical side of the mechanical sciences from the theoretical seems to suggest some kind of manual exercise. Indeed, Pappos specified that 'the manual [part is composed] of work in metals, construction, carpentering and the art of painting, and the practical execution of these matters' (21). The use of the conjunction καὶ (and) to link the list of var-

(17) Vitruvius I, 1, 1 ; I, 1, 3-4 ; I, 1, 11.

(18) Pont, *Education*, pp. 77-78.

(19) Plato, *Statesman*, 259E, ed. and translated by H. N. Fowler (*The Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (MA) and London, 1925 (= 2006) ; Pont, *Education*, p. 78.

(20) Plato, *Statesman*, 259E : Καὶ γὰρ ἀρχιτέκτων γε πᾶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐργατικὸς ἀλλὰ ἐργατῶν ἄρχων.

(21) Pappos, III, coll. 1022, 17 - 1024, 2. Translated in Downey, *Byzantine Architects*, pp. 106-107 : Τὸ δὲ χειρουργικὸν ἔκ τε χαλκευτικῆς καὶ οἰκοδομικῆς καὶ τεκτονικῆς καὶ ζωγραφικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις κατὰ χεῖρα ἀσκήσεως.

ious crafts to the actual manual exercise of these illustrates that *cheirourgikos* included both the theoretical and the practical 'hands-on' study of these techniques. Pappos furthermore differentiated between the training in the sciences (*episteme*) and the practical arts (*techne*). The relation of *episteme* to *techne* in antiquity is a complex one and it would be mistaken to identify this dichotomy with a modern distinction between theory and practice (22). Suffice to note that *techne* often implied the theoretical understanding of the principles or methods rather than the practical execution of the crafts, and as such resembled *episteme*. However, there was a practical side to *techne* as well that ultimately aimed at implementing and/or teaching this knowledge (23). So, while Pappos' characterisation of the *mechanikos* parallels in part the definition of the architectural profession by Vitruvius, in that it required theoretical knowledge of the practical branches of its trade, there is a striking difference as Pappos' text specified additionally the component of actual practical training.

To add to this argument, I would like to draw attention to Pappos' remark that the person, who succeeded in the diverse theoretical and manual disciplines of a *mechanikos* would be both 'the best inventor of mechanical devices / mechanical engineer (μηχανικῶν ἔργων εὑρετήν) and master builder (ἀρχιτέκτων)' (24). The *architekton* was evidently considered a specialised branch of the science of mechanics and, as such, subordinate to the profession of the *mechanikos* that incorporated both the mechanical engineer as well as the *architekton*. It can furthermore be assumed that the *architekton* was mainly accomplished in the theoretical parts of the overall education of the *mechanikos*. According to the definition given in the *Lexica Segueriana*, '*architekton* has two meanings : supervisor of construction work, chief of carpenters (or builders) ; one who conceives of (invents) the arrangement of buildings' (25). This middle Byzantine source clearly acknowledged the Platonic and Vitruvian meaning of the term *architekton* as someone who was responsible for the design of an edifice and the oversight of its construction. Hence, it is safe to assume that this definition was well-known during the Byzantine period. Judging from Cassiodorus' description of the imperial architect as responsible for the instruction of 'the builder of walls, the carver of marbles, the caster of brass, the vaulter of arches, the plasterer, the worker of mosaic' (26), the architect was considered a designer and supervisor rather than an executioner at least in the west as late as the sixth century. However, in early Byzantium a comprehensively learned architect was known as a *mechanikos* since the first half of the fourth century. This change in terminology indicates that the highest level of the architectural profession was no longer confined to the planning and supervision of the building process, but had also expanded into the practical tasks of construction.

(22) See for example Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*, chapter 1.

(23) R. Audi (ed.), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 789.

(24) I follow Downey's translation, emphasizing the future tense. Downey, *Pappus*, p. 198.

(25) *Anecdota Graeca, I, Lexica Seguerina*, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin, 1814, p. 450 : δύο σημαίνει, τὸν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων εἶναι ἐπιστάτην καὶ κυρίως τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν τεκτόνων, ὃς καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος ἐπινοεῖ.

One reason for the re-definition of the architectural profession might have been the emergence of new forms of architecture that posed hitherto unknown problems of engineering that thus required the additional practical training of the *mechanikos* (27). Architects in late antiquity do not seem to have been able to calculate thrusts of newly emerging vaulted architectural structures because of the unpredictability of construction materials and their limited knowledge of statics (28). Instead, they needed to be able to draw upon practical experience and actual building. As an apprentice, the *mechanikos* was supposed to acquire this practical experience and to obtain knowledge about the various construction methods and architectural materials (metal, wood, paint) presumably within specialized workshops. This is what Pappos called the manual part (*cheirourgikos*) in the education of the *mechanikos*. The ultimate goal of his education was the *mechanike theoria* that 'takes almost first place in dealing with the nature of the material elements of the universe. For it deals generally with the stability and movement of

(26) Cassiodorus, *Variae* VII, 5, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH. Scriptores*, 1, *Auctores antiquissimi*, 12), Berlin, 1894. Translation quoted in M. S. Briggs, *The Architect in History*, Oxford, 1927, p. 48.

(27) Downey, *Byzantine Architects*, p. 110.

(28) R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia : Justinian's Church of Divine Wisdom, later the Mosque of Ayasofya, in Istanbul*, in *The Structural Engineer*, 68 (1990), pp. 65-71.

bodies ...' [29]. The science of mechanics was the attempt to understand the nature and behaviour of matter, an essential factor in the successful pursuit of new and innovative architectural designs. This is why the architectural profession had to develop from a purely theoretical trade, as it had been in case of its Greco-Roman predecessors, to incorporate the practical expertise of the mechanical engineer. A similar fusion of mason and architect appears to have occurred in the western architectural traditions as judged on the basis of the early seventh-century writings of Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636 CE) [30].

Architecture as a liberal art

The shift of architecture from a pure science to an increasingly applied profession is possibly also reflected in the omission of music as one of the fundamental requirements in Pappos' profile. In Vitruvius' text, architectural education was made up of the traditional *quadrivium* of the four mathematical sciences, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, following the mathematical *curriculum* outlined in Plato's *Republic* [31]. Additionally, four out of the six basic Vitruvian categories of architectural beauty (*venustas*) were associated with ancient Greek musical theory, namely *ordinatio* (taxis), *dispositio* (diathesis), *eurythmia* and *symmetria* [32]. For Vitruvius, *venustas* was one of the key principles architecture had to satisfy, along with strength (*firmitas*) and utility (*utilitas*) [33]. In order to meet these requirements, an architectural

(29) Pappos, III, col. 1022, 6-11. Translated in Downey, *Byzantine Architects*, pp. 106-107 : σχεδὸν πρώτη τῆς περὶ τὴν ὕλην τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ στοιχείων φυσιολογίας ἅπτεται. Στάσεως γὰρ καὶ φορᾶς σωμάτων.

(30) Pevsner, *The Term 'Architect' in the Middle Ages*, p. 550.

(31) Vitruvius I, 1, 3-4. The significance of mathematical harmonics, according to Plato, was its usefulness for the understanding of the beautiful and the good. Plato, *The Republic*, edited and translated by P. Shorey (*The Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (MA) and London, 1930 (= 1963), pp. 527-531. M. F. Burnyeat, *Archytas and Optics*, in *Science in Context*, 18 (2005), pp. 35-53.

(32) In Greek musical theory τάξις was 'the disposition of notes or intervals in a melody', εὐρυθμία referred to the graceful and rhythmical movement in music and dance, and συμμετρία meant harmonic and commensurable proportion. S. Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece : An Encyclopaedia*, London, 1978, pp. 117, 307 and 321.

(33) Vitruvius I, 3, 2.

structure had to obey the rules of consistent, harmonic and rhythmic proportioning [34]. In relating architecture to music, Vitruvius once more emphasised the underlying message of his treatise, namely that architecture was to be reckoned a liberal art.

In comparison, Pappos' version seems more pragmatic at first, stressing the need for practical training and not mentioning music [35]. Nonetheless, Pappos' *logikos*, the theoretical part of the science of mechanics, encompassed the remaining fundamental disciplines of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry and astronomy). A 'versatile mind' (φύσιν εὐκίνητον) was moreover acknowledged as an essential component, if one was to become a *mechanikos*. Such a 'versatile mind', I would argue, presupposed a comprehensive education that was able to provide and nourish the architectural genius. It is philosophy, according to Vitruvius that 'makes the architect high minded' and philosophy was considered the outcome of the encyclical studies [36]. It can thus be extrapolated that Pappos' *logikos* embraced the liberal arts, leading to philosophy and teaching the architect the principles (*logoi*) of nature, which were relevant for the successful completion of the *curriculum* of architectural training. Hence, although Pappos' text seems in many respects less idealistic than Vitruvius' ten books, Pappos equally aimed to augment the prestige of the science of mechanics [37]. For this purpose, he shaped the image of the *mechanikos* as someone who was thoroughly versed in the liberal arts, and, by emphasising that mechanics investigated and tried to formulate the principles of nature, he portrayed the science of mechanics as a liberal art [38].

The need for a 'liberal arts' education of architects is similarly reflected in a fourth-century Constantinian edict addressed to Felix, then prefect of North Africa at Carthage. There had been a short supply of architects. Constantine therefore instructed Felix to encourage as many

(34) Vitruvius I, 2, 1 ; I, 3, 2. Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory*, pp. 24-26 ; Pont, *Education*, p. 81.

(35) Downey claimed that Pappos' work was written as a handbook rather than to persuade the public of the prestige of the architectural profession. Downey, *Byzantine Architects*, p. 108.

(36) Vitruvius I, 1, 7. Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, introduction 7.

(37) S. Cuomo, *Pappus of Alexandria and the Mathematics of Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 91-95.

(38) Brown, *Vitruvius and the Liberal Art of Architecture*, pp. 99-107.

young people as possible from the African provinces who were about twenty years old and who were acquainted with the liberal arts (*liberales litteras degustaverint*) to study architecture. As an incentive, the apprentices and their parents were to be exempt from all fiscal obligations and a competitive salary was to be promised to those who were willing to teach (39). Similar decrees were issued in the following years, again emphasising the exemption from all official obligations (*munera*) for those who would commit to teaching the next generation of artisans, architects included (40). This legal evidence testifies to the educational background of architects in the fourth century and the importance that was ascribed to teaching and learning and by extension the preservation of architectural traditions and values (41). That high educational standards for *mechanikoi* were in place in sixth-century Byzantium is evidenced by the two *mechanikoi* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Anthemios was known as an architect, geometer and mathematician and Procopius described him as 'the most learned man' in the art of architecture of both his own time and of previous generations (42). From Anthemios' own writings on burning mirrors, it is clear that he was familiar with some of the most influential ancient mathematical works, particularly optics and catoptrics (43). Eutokios of Askalon introduced one of his commentaries on *De sphaera et cylindro* of Archimedes with a reference to Isidoros of Miletos the *mechanikos*, who was his teacher and responsible for the collation of his commentary, testifying to the role of Isidoros as a teacher and editor of ancient mathematical texts (44). Additionally, the sixth-century architectural structure of the church of Hagia Sophia confirms the application of mathematical and astronomical principles in the design of the edifice and may thus serve as material evidence for the high scientific standard of the architectural profession in the sixth century CE (45).

(39) *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, translated by C. Pharr, Princeton, 1952, 13, 4, 1.
(40) *The Theodosian Code* 13, 4, 2/3.
(41) Cuomo, *Pappus*, pp. 30-34 ; Eadem, *Technology and Culture*, pp. 148-149.
(42) Agathias V, 6, 3-4 ; Procopius I, 1, 24.
(43) G. L. Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles : A Study in Later Greek Geometry*, Cambridge (MA), 1959. W. R. Knorr, *Pseudo-Euclidean Reflections in Ancient Optics : A Re-Examination of Textual Issues Pertaining to the Euclidean Optica and Catoptrica*, in *Physis*, 31 (1994), pp. 1-45.
(44) Cameron, *Isidore of Miletus*.

There clearly is ample evidence to deduce that at least some architects in the late antique period were thoroughly educated and possessed a wide range of skills and knowledge. The expertise of those who deserved to be called *mechanikos / mechanopoios* extended most certainly to the mathematical disciplines astronomy, optics, geometry and arithmetic as outlined in the relevant treatises by Vitruvius and Pappos. Furthermore, a liberal arts education seems to have been part of the primary education of the *mechanikos* as well. This comprehensive education was meant to equip the *mechanikos* with the necessary knowledge on the principles of nature, which he could then employ in innovative architectural designs. It has to be emphasised, however, that these findings apply to only a small number of privileged individuals. There existed simultaneously numerous groups of builders who stemmed from the lowest social classes and who were often not very well educated (46). Yet *mechanikoi* seem to have been sophisticated and wealthy enough to be regarded as members of the educated elite. The prestigious status of architects / *mechanikoi* was promoted by official decrees that exempted them from fiscal, and, in fact, any public obligations (47).

Social recognition of the architect

The social recognition of the architect can be reconciled with the practical component of the *curriculum* of the *mechanikos*, because practice was no longer regarded unfavourably in the late antique period.

(45) See for example Downey, *Byzantine Architects* ; Meek, *The Architect and His Profession in Byzantium* ; A. Cutler, *Structure and Aesthetic at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople*, in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 25 (1966), pp. 27-35 ; Kostof, *The Architect in the Middle Ages, East and West* ; Petronotis, *Der Architekt in Byzanz*, pp. 329-342 ; B. Pantelić, *Applied Geometrical Planning and Proportions in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 49 (1999), pp. 493-515 ; V. Hoffmann and N. Theocharis, *Der geometrische Entwurf der Hagia Sophia in Istanbul : Erster Teil*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 52 (2002), pp. 393-428 ; N. Schibille, *Astronomical and Optical Principles in the Architecture of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople*, in *Science in Context*, 22 (2009), pp. 27-46.
(46) Donderer, *Die Architekten* ; Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*, chapter 5.
(47) Cuomo, *Pappus*, pp. 30-34.

Legal texts as well as philosophical and scientific writings increasingly emphasised the applicability, or the practical utility, of a profession for the common good. This trend is manifested especially in the mathematical sciences. While fourth-century Roman laws condemned the pursuit of astrology, for instance, the usefulness of astronomy for civic and agricultural purposes was widely acknowledged (48). Proclus likewise evoked the practical benefits of the mathematical disciplines in his fifth-century commentary on Euclid's *Elements*. Proclus declared that geometry is endowed with great intellectual merits, 'but when it touches on the material world, it delivers out of itself a variety of sciences – such as geodesy, mechanics, and optics – by which it benefits the life of mortals' (49). Similarly, Pappos pointed out that the science of mechanics enquired into the manipulation of bodies contrary to nature (παρὰ φύσιν), alluding to the practical application of mechanics and particularly of mechanical devices. He also listed different branches of mechanics that were 'most necessary for the purposes of practical life' (50). It seems that the practical use of a profession had become paramount by the late antique period and to endow a specific discipline with a favourable reputation meant to promote its useful, practical qualities. Accordingly, Pappos was eager to persuade his audience of the usefulness of mechanics, and by extension the art of architecture. At the same time he stressed the combination of practical applicability (παρὰ φύσιν) and epistemic value (κατὰ φύσιν) of the science of mechanics that made it 'worthy of the highest esteem'. This complementary quality is in a way paralleled in the nature of ecclesiastical architecture where the edifices not only served the practical purpose to house the congregation, but also displayed ideological principles and reflected the patron's power and piety. Church architecture could be used in support of a patron's personal agenda, whether political or religious, because it was there for all to see.

A powerful example was the monumental church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople commissioned by the noblewoman Anicia Juliana

(48) Cuomo, *Pappus*, pp. 33-39.

(49) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*, translated by G. R. Morrow, Princeton, New Jersey, 19922, p. 50.

(50) Pappos, III, col. 1024, 2 : Μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἀναγκαιόταται τέχναι τυγχάνουσιν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν.

(ca. 524-527 CE). A seventy-six-line epigram, praising Anicia Juliana's lineage, piety and architectural activities, ran along the interior of the nave and the narthex. The text of the epigram was preserved in the *Greek Anthology* and fragments of the carved inscription have been uncovered during an excavation campaign in the 1960s (51). The inscription of St. Polyeuktos offered praise to its patron, Anicia Juliana, rather than to the Christian God. It is Juliana's work that is celebrated as divine, and the poem repeatedly conveyed the image of a devout Christian and the rightful heir in a long line of royal ancestors (52). These references to Anicia Juliana's imperial ancestry and her extraordinary virtues were clearly meant to reinforce Juliana's claim to imperial legitimacy and to challenge thereby the authority of the reigning emperor (53). Given the poem's literary language, it seems feasible to assume that it was aimed at the educated, highly literate elite (54), the politically and socially influential circles of society. Hence, the epigram is highly political in nature and the church of St. Polyeuktos served as a monumental reminder of its political claim. However, the epigram's location about six to seven metres above floor level together with its relatively small size of about eleven centimetres in height would have made the text barely legible from below, suggesting a purpose other than to impress an ordinary audience. Aside from a possible decorative quality of monumental inscriptions, it is indeed feasible, as Liz James has argued in a recent article, that the intended reader was God himself and

(51) R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, Princeton, 1986 ; R. M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium. The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul*, London, 1989.

(52) Anicia Juliana's architectural accomplishments are compared with those of Constantine and Theodosius and she is said to have even 'surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon by raising a habitation for God'. *The Greek Anthology* I, 10, edited and translated by W. R. Paton (*The Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (MA) and London, 1953.

(53) J. D. Alchermes, *Art and Architecture in the Age of Justinian*, in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 343-375 ; M. Whitby, *The St Polyeuktos Epigram (AP 1.10) : A Literary Perspective*, in S. F. Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity : Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, Aldershot, 2006, pp. 159-188.

(54) Liz James, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak ?*, in Liz James (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, New York, 2007, pp. 188-206.

that it reflects the patron's hope for salvation (55). So although the epigram of the church of St. Polyeuktos was certainly political, there is also an unmistakably religious undertone. Through its monumentality, church architecture suited both purposes perfectly well and it could convey power and piety at the same time.

As maintained by the epigram, Anicia Juliana did spare neither trouble nor expense and she contributed personally to the building of the church. While her personal involvement cannot be taken literally, the 'righteous toil' that Anicia Juliana allegedly invested in the building project was just another testimonial to her virtues and piety (56). Juliana's name was thenceforth associated not only with the final result that is the church of St. Polyeuktos itself, but also with the building's initial design and its execution (57). From her desire to be presented ultimately as the architect in charge, it can be extrapolated that the profession of the architect was highly regarded partially because of the labours involved in construction and partially because of the creative nature of the art of architecture. The profession of the architect was considered analogous to the *demiourgos*, a concept that was to become instrumental in medieval justifications for the emancipation of the art of architecture in the Latin west (58). The church of St. Polyeuktos was explicitly called a 'divine work' and the building's beauty was said to rival that of nature. With the use of the most exquisite marbles Anicia Juliana had even managed to bring to light the beauty hitherto hidden in the depths of geological deposits (59). Similarly, Procopius called the contemporary church of Hagia Sophia one of 'marvellous beauty', whose height matched the sky and whose luminosity competed with the light of the sun, while the emperor Justinian functioned as the

(55) James, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak ?*, pp. 199-202.
(56) *The Greek Anthology* I, 10, 16 - I, 17, 74.
(57) Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*, pp. 162-164.
(58) Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory*, p. 24. J. Gaus, *Weltbaumeister und Architekt : Zur Ikonographie des mittelalterlichen Baumeisterbildes und seine Wirkungsgeschichte*, in G. Binding (ed.), *Beiträge über Bauführung und Baufinanzierung im Mittelalter*, Cologne, 1974, pp. 38-67. Cuomo has elaborated extensively on the analogy between architecture and the divine creation as well as between the architect and the *demiourgos* on the basis of Eusebius' *Church History*. Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*, pp. 162-164.
(59) *The Greek Anthology* I, 10, 60-65.

divinely inspired supreme architect (60). This cosmic dimension of architecture was not a completely new development. Vitruvius had previously described the design of the universe in architectural terms and nature as an architect (*naturalis potestas ita architectata*) (61). Christianity had adopted this theory, with the only difference that God took the place of nature as the architect of the world (*deus architectus mundi*). What was different in sixth-century Byzantium is that the patron seemed to have replaced the architect as the one who was proclaimed the *creator*, the one who came up with the solutions to architectural problems.

An essential role had long been attributed to the patron in imperial building campaigns. In book 68 of his *Roman History* dealing with the reign of Trajan, Cassius Dio stated that 'Trajan constructed over the Ister [Danube] a stone bridge' and that 'Trajan's design [demonstrated] that there is nothing which human ingenuity cannot accomplish' (62). In effect, Trajan was described as prevailing over nature, and the design and the construction of the bridge are explicitly attributed to him, with no mention of Apollodorus of Damascus, who was the '*architekton* of the whole work' (63). It would thus seem that, already in the late second / early third century CE, when Cassius Dio was writing, the emperor was thought more important for the building process than the architect. A different picture, however, is presented in book 69. Here, Cassius Dio relayed an encounter between Apollodorus and the two emperors Trajan and Hadrian, in which Trajan consulted Apollodorus on some building matters. During the consultation, they were interrupted by Hadrian, upon which Apollodorus insulted the latter, ridiculing Hadrian's amateurish attempts at architectural design and pointing out flaws in Hadrian's plans of the temple of Venus and Roma (64). While in the earlier account, all credit for the bridge over the Danube is given to Trajan, the second story testifies to the expertise of the architect and

(60) Procopius I, 1, 27-30. J. Elsner, *The Rhetoric of Buildings in De Aedificiis of Procopius*, in James, *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 33-57.
(61) Vitruvius IX, 1, 2.
(62) Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 68, 13, ed. and translated by E. Cary and H. B. Foster, Vol. VIII (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London and Cambridge (MA), 1925.
(63) Procopius IV, 6, 12-13.
(64) Dio Cassius 69, 4.

his supremacy with respect to his profession (65). Not only did Trajan consult his architect, but also Apollodorus was apparently in a position powerful enough to criticise Hadrian's lack of architectural expertise.

This is drastically different to the scenario in sixth-century Constantinople, when the emperor Justinian, rather than the architects, is depicted as having ultimate technical knowledge. Although Procopius acknowledged that Anthemius and Isidoros were the best *mechanopoioi* the emperor could have employed for the construction of Hagia Sophia, they were still described as only assisting Justinian (66). When difficulties arose during the building process, the two *mechanopoioi* despaired and it was the emperor who was always ready with advice on technical matters through divine inspiration (67). Based on this textual evidence, there seems to have been a radical change in the public image of the relationship between the architect and the patron and their respective functions in building projects (68).

However, upon closer investigation, both Procopius as well as Cassius Dio recognised the technical expertise of the architect / *mechanikos* and his role in the design of buildings, although Procopius did not express this as explicitly as Cassius Dio (69). This may be explained by the difference in genre. Dio's work is a history written in the tradition of Thucydides in the attempt at some objectivity, while Procopius' *De Aedificiis* was a panegyric on the virtues of the ideal emperor and it has to be read in this way (70). It is therefore not surprising to find that Procopius gave all of the credit for the most important and magnificent church building of the Byzantine Empire to the emperor Justinian and not to his *mechanikoi*. Nonetheless, Procopius remarked that Justinian's technical expertise came as a surprise to him. He assumed that it must have been by divine intervention that Justinian knew how to solve the structural problems that had arisen, 'for he [Justinian] is not himself a *mechanikos*' (71). This rather marginal comment is highly significant, for it is

(65) Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*, pp. 131-133.
(66) Procopius I, 1, 24-26.
(67) Procopius I, 1, 24, 71, 76 ; Downey, *Byzantine Architects* ; Downey, *Pappus*.
(68) Cuomo, *Technology and Culture*.
(69) Anthemius is said to have prepared 'in advance designs of he future construction' and supervised the building process. Procopius I, 1, 24.
(70) J. Elsner, *The Rhetoric of Buildings*.
(71) Procopius I, 1, 71.

unmistakably a reference to the proficiency and status of *mechanikoi*. Procopius expected the *mechanikoi* to be well versed in structural engineering and he evidently held them at the highest esteem. The frequent reminder of divinely-ordained authority bestowed upon the emperor served to glorify Justinian's piety as well as to legitimise his political and religious power. In light of the panegyrical character of his text, Procopius' favourable comments about the two *mechanikoi*, Anthemius and Isidoros, went a long way to acknowledge their true contribution to the architectural masterpiece.

The two architects of Hagia Sophia belonged evidently to the small group of universally trained architects (*mechanikoi*) and, as such, they occupied a prestigious social position. Part of their mathematical education is reflected in the exceptionally harmonious proportioning of the building, as Procopius put it (72). That the church of Hagia Sophia is a scientific building is furthermore evidenced by the astronomical and optical principles that underlie its design (73). As scientific building, architecture has an epistemic value as long as it obeyed the universal laws of order and harmony that Vitruvius had insisted on in the first century BCE (74). At the same time, the sacred interiors of late antique churches were spaces of symbolic significance, begging the question whether it is feasible to assume that ecclesiastical buildings or some of them, followed a programmatic design for which the *mechanikoi* were responsible also. As discussed, the *mechanikoi* were in charge of the design and the instruction of the various workmen. Does this mean that they were decisively involved in the symbolic references inherent in a buildings structure and interior decoration ? How much influence did the *mechanikos* wield on the content of the mosaic decoration of an edifice, for example ? These questions are beyond the scope of this study, questions that are not easily answered, but certainly worthwhile pursuing. Mainstone thought it unlikely that the architects of Hagia Sophia were asked to follow a predetermined symbolic programme, but can we really be sure ? (75)

(72) Procopius I, 1, 47.
(73) Schibille, *Astronomical and Optical Principles*.
(74) Pont, *Education*, pp. 77-78.
(75) R. J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia : Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*, London, 1988, p. 154.

Conclusion

By late antiquity, the profession of the architect had evolved into a mélange of theory and practice. The early Byzantine *mechanikos* was identified with an exceptional type of practising architect who was acquainted not only with a wide range of theoretical but also with practical knowledge. He was thus distinct from the Greco-Roman architect, who was a theorist rather than a practitioner. Whereas in the west this ancient tradition was continued as late as the sixth century, in the Greek east the profession of an architect had already been transformed by the fourth century, along with a change in terminology. While the expression *architekton* retained its original meaning of a master builder, the nature of the profession acquired a practical component and was known as the *mechanike theoria*. In Byzantium, the professional architect was thenceforth called *mechanikos*, and underwent a broader education than the *architekton*. While Pappos agreed with Vitruvius on the definition of the *architekton* as a master builder, responsible for the design and supervision of buildings, the nature of the highest profession associated with the art of architecture had changed to incorporate the practical component of the inventor of mechanical devices (mechanical engineer). The main implication of this is that the practical side of the *curriculum* of the architectural profession was a development of the late antique period. This development is to be seen in direct relationship with a shift to a more favourable attitude towards the practical arts.

The usefulness of a profession to society was increasingly invoked in legal as well as philosophical and scientific writings. In the sixth century, even emperors and the nobility associated themselves with architectural labours in order to display their piety and virtues. The social elite was attracted by architecture's potential as a visible and tangible medium to convey their political and social power. Anicia Juliana and Justinian both created a public image as the sole person responsible for the magnificent design and successful completion of major church buildings in the Byzantine capital. This in turn offers insight into the prominent status and sophistication of the architect. Although Anicia Juliana and Justinian created an air of technical superiority, emphasizing their connection with God, Procopius unequivocally expressed that the *mechanikoi* were in actual fact the ones that were highly skilled in architectural engineering. The architectural profession had a prestigious reputation, partly due to its capacity to create sacred spaces for

the glory of God, modelled on the creation itself, and partly due to the comprehensiveness of its *curriculum* (i.e. liberal arts education) as well as its usefulness to society.

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Summary

This article re-examines the profession of the late antique *mechanikos*, who is identified as a practising architect with a sound liberal arts education as well as practical training. Despite the practical orientation of his profession, the *mechanikos* was of high social standing. This was possible because the practical utility of a vocation was increasingly acknowledged favourably in late antiquity and is reflected in early Byzantine portrayals of patrons, who allegedly invested hard labour in prestigious building campaigns and posed as the supreme architects.

LES SCIENCES EXACTES À BYZANCE

La science byzantine (1) s'est constituée essentiellement à travers deux sources : tout d'abord, les nombreux traités scientifiques de l'Antiquité qui n'ont cessé d'être recopiés à travers tous les siècles de l'histoire byzantine, souvent accompagnés de scolies provenant de l'enseignement des écoles d'Alexandrie, d'Athènes ou de Syrie à la fin de l'Antiquité. Ce sera l'aliment constant de la formation scientifique d'un érudit byzantin ; d'autre part, un matériel étranger, principalement d'ori-

(1) Ces dernières années, plusieurs éditeurs m'ont demandé d'écrire des notices ou des chapitres concernant la science byzantine dans plusieurs encyclopédies ou ouvrages généraux (voir la bibliographie en fin d'article). Ces essais ont dû, comme il est normal, se conformer aux usages et aux limites des entreprises auxquelles ils participaient. Il en est résulté pour l'auteur une certaine frustration, car dans tous les cas des informations scientifiques importantes ont dû être sacrifiées. Comme ces articles ont été publiés ou seront publiés en italien ou en anglais, j'ai pensé que le lecteur français pourrait avoir droit également à un article de synthèse sur la science byzantine, mais cette fois sans que passent à la guillotine les nombreux détails, commentaires ou réflexions qui sont le fruit des recherches poursuivies pendant de nombreuses années à l'Université de Louvain par mon maître, l'abbé Joseph Mogenet, ses élèves et moi-même.

Une autre raison pour laquelle j'ai souhaité publier cette étude dans *Byzantion* est qu'un de mes anciens articles, *L'astronomie byzantine (du Ve au XVe siècle)*, publié dans *Byzantion* 51 (1981), pp. 603-624, est encore souvent cité, bien qu'il doive être corrigé et complété sur de nombreux points. Ce sera donc l'occasion d'en présenter ici une version plus complète et remise à jour.

La présente étude est un essai de synthèse, basé sur les textes édités ou inédits, de ce qu'on connaît des sciences exactes dans le monde byzantin, à savoir les quatre sciences traditionnelles : arithmétique, astronomie, géométrie, musique. J'y ai joint quelques compléments sur des sciences connexes : la géographie, l'optique, la mécanique, et sur l'astrologie. Les sciences naturelles (botanique, zoologie), les pseudo-sciences comme l'alchimie, la magie, de même que les sciences médicales ont été laissées à des chercheurs plus compétents dans ces domaines.

gine islamique, mais aussi latine et juive qui sera importé à différentes époques. Les créations byzantines entièrement originales sont rares, et souvent les adaptateurs byzantins de matériel étranger font figure d'amateurs maladroits, ne maîtrisant pas toujours entièrement la matière qu'ils expliquent.

Ce fait doit se comprendre dans le contexte culturel propre à Byzance. L'éducation byzantine, à toutes les périodes, restait essentiellement basée sur l'étude du *trivium* et du *quadrivium*. Définies par Nicomaque de Gérasa, les «quatre méthodes» (arithmétique, géométrie, astronomie (2), musique) deviendront chez Boèce le *quadruvium* (déformé ensuite en *quadrivium*) des sciences (3) ou τετρακτὺς τῶν μαθημάτων (4). On les retrouvera régulièrement dans les études scientifiques byzantines. L'étude du *quadrivium* pouvait selon les époques se situer à un niveau très rudimentaire, ou au contraire atteindre un niveau très élevé, car l'étude des sciences pouvait se poursuivre sans aucune limite de temps. Certains savants du XIVe siècle y ont consacré des efforts considérables. Mais l'étude des sciences comme telles n'était pas réellement soutenue par le pouvoir impérial. Certains empereurs pouvaient récompenser des œuvres savantes, mais l'État byzantin avait surtout besoin de fonctionnaires et ce que les empereurs récompensaient était avant tout l'érudition. Les souverains byzantins n'ont jamais, comme c'était le cas à Alexandrie ou dans le monde islamique, créé des fondations à vocation purement scientifique, si ce n'est dans une certaine mesure en ce qui concerne les hôpitaux, doublés d'écoles médicales. D'une façon générale, le savant byzantin n'est pas un spécialiste : s'il est capable de faire des calculs astronomiques, il doit aussi savoir commenter les Écritures ou les auteurs anciens, discuter philosophie, composer des poèmes de circonstance, des éloges funèbres, des pamphlets, des œuvres de polémique religieuse, et écrire dans une langue artificielle, imitée du grec ancien. Le savant byzantin est donc avant tout un érudit au savoir encyclopédique.

(2) L'astronomie est appellée «sphérique» chez Nicomaque. Il précise qu'il s'agit des mouvements de la sphère céleste ou des corps qui y circulent. Voir Bertier, *Nicomaque*, p. 59.

(3) Voir Hadot, *Arts libéraux*, pp. 68-69. Par commodité, nous emploierons ici le terme latin, *quadrivium*.

(4) L'expression se trouve chez Anne Comnène (éd. Leib, I, p. 3, ligne 16). Sur la division en quatre des sciences mathématiques, voir par exemple Théodore Métochite, dans Bydén, *Theodore Metochites*, p. 457.

Nos sources sont essentiellement écrites. Des nombreux traités scientifiques byzantins conservés dans les manuscrits attendent encore une édition avec une traduction et un commentaire qui les rendraient accessibles à un lecteur moderne. La tradition manuscrite des traités scientifiques anciens doit aussi être examinée soigneusement : les progrès de la paléographie et la codicologie grecques permettent souvent de dater avec précision et de trouver le lieu d'origine d'une copie byzantine. Une telle étude fournit des indices précieux sur les intérêts scientifiques d'un milieu ou d'une époque.

L'empire byzantin s'étend sur une longue période : plus de onze siècles séparent la fondation de la Ville par Constantin (330) et la prise de celle-ci par les Turcs en 1453. Le siècle de Justinien (VI^e siècle), si brillant sur le plan des arts, de l'architecture ou des lettres, n'a pas laissé énormément d'œuvres scientifiques. Les sciences s'étudient surtout à Alexandrie et c'est de là que viennent la plupart des documents scientifiques de cette époque, principalement des commentaires ou des scolies aux œuvres antiques. Les VII^e et VIII^e siècles, troublés par les invasions arabes (VII^e siècle) et par la crise iconoclaste (VIII^e siècle) sont des périodes très sombres pour la vie intellectuelle et le bilan scientifique est très mince. Le IX^e siècle connaîtra une Renaissance intellectuelle, qui se manifeste surtout par la copie de splendides manuscrits, et parmi eux de nombreux manuscrits contenant des œuvres scientifiques anciennes : Euclide, Ptolémée, Théon et bien d'autres sont alors recopiés dans de superbes manuscrits, et l'enseignement supérieur est restauré. Mais peu d'œuvres nouvelles sont composées et l'héritage qui nous vient du IX^e siècle consiste surtout en manuscrits particulièrement soignés. Le X^e siècle est une époque d'encyclopédies, dont une partie seulement a survécu. Les XI^e et XII^e siècles sous les empereurs Alexis, Jean et Manuel Comnène sont une époque brillante et cultivée, qui verra des réalisations scientifiques importantes. Malheureusement la prise de Constantinople en 1204 par la quatrième Croisade sera cause d'une véritable rupture dans l'évolution des sciences à Byzance. Des courants scientifiques sont coupés net et quantité d'ouvrages disparaissent. Pendant l'empire latin (1204-1261) la restauration intellectuelle se prépare à Nicée où se sont réfugiés la cour et les intellectuels fuyant le joug latin. Après la restauration en 1261, les savants s'activent à réparer les dégâts causés par l'occupation latine. On recopie et restaure les manuscrits et la diffusion des œuvres scientifiques est facilitée par l'introduction massive du papier qui permet une multiplication des copies moins

coûteuse que le parchemin. La grande majorité des œuvres scientifiques byzantines se situent durant cette période, qui va de la fin du XIII^e siècle à la chute de Constantinople. Particulièrement brillante et prolifique, cette Renaissance byzantine sous les Paléologues préparait la Renaissance italienne.

LES QUATRE SCIENCES (*QUADRIVIUM*)

Arithmétique

L'arithmétique savante

L'intérêt pour l'arithmétique s'est surtout développé à Constantinople à partir de la fin du XIII^e siècle. Avant cela, il n'existe qu'un petit nombre de textes arithmétiques connus. Le plus ancien est le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmîn (l'ancienne Panopolis en Égypte) qui traite des fractions et de divers problèmes dans la tradition égyptienne ([5]). Aux VII^e et VIII^e siècles, nous savons, grâce à un certain nombre de *Vies de Saints* ([6]), que l'éducation des jeunes gens incluait un entraînement à l'arithmétique. Voici, à titre d'exemple, ce que dit la *Vie de St Jean Damascène*, écrite par Jean, Patriarche de Jérusalem, qui aurait vécu durant les dernières années du règne de Nicéphore Phocas ([7]) :

> «Ils (*i.e.* Jean et Cosmas) se sont exercés aux proportions arithmétiques avec autant de talent que des Pythagore ou des Diophante ; ils furent éduqués dans les démonstrations de la géométrie de telle sorte qu'ils semblaient être des Euclide, et d'autres semblables ; en ce qui concerne l'harmonique, ils furent tels qu'ils apparaissent aux initiés, d'après les chants divins qu'ils composèrent ; en ce qui concerne l'astronomie, pour autant qu'il s'agisse des distances, des aspects et des proportions des éloignements, même s'il en a peu disserté pour la courte connaissance des profanes, Jean apparaît tel que d'après ce qu'il a écrit. Et tel était en tout point Cosmas.»

Si on laisse de côté les comparaisons hyperboliques de l'hagiographe, on retrouve ici le programme d'enseignement de base tel que décrit par

(5) BAILLET, *Papyrus mathématique d'Akhmîn.*

(6) LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme*, pp. 98ss donne la liste des *Vies de Saints* qui décrivent l'éducation du héros.

(7) *PG* 94, 445-448 ; à propos de la Vie de Jean, voir JUGIE, *La vie de Saint Jean Damascène*.

Nicomaque, et l'œuvre de Jean confirme qu'il avait reçu une éducation élémentaire, mais soignée.

Il faut attendre le XIe siècle pour trouver un *Quadrivium* anonyme, rédigé aux environs de 1007-1008, que certains manuscrits attribuent à Romanos, juge de Séleucie. La partie arithmétique y est d'inspiration pythagoricienne et basée sur Euclide et Nicomaque ([8]). Mais au XIIIe siècle, l'arithmétique fait l'objet d'une grande attention parmi les érudits byzantins. Cet intérêt se développe dans deux directions : d'une part, les traités savants continuent la tradition de l'Antiquité ; d'autre part, des textes à caractère plus pratique, peut-être écrits à l'intention de marchands, traitent de problèmes utiles dans la vie courante ou les transactions commerciales.

Les sources les plus importantes de la tendance savante sont Euclide, Archimède, Nicomaque de Gerasa (IIe siècle p. C.), Théon de Smyrne (IIe siècle p. C.), Diophante (ca 250 p. C.), Héron (Ier siècle p. C.), Pappus (ca 323), Théon d'Alexandrie (ca 364), Eutocius d'Ascalon (ca 497), Domninos de Larissa (Ve siècle p. C.) et quelques autres. L'arithmétique de Diophante, qui préfigure l'algèbre, avait déjà intéressé Michel Psellos ([9]), mais a surtout été redécouverte aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Au début du XIIIe siècle, Nicéphore Blemmyde (1197-1272) déclare avoir étudié Nicomaque et Diophante ([10]). Mais la redécouverte véritable de Diophante est due à Georges Pachymère (ca 1242-1310), qui le paraphrase dans son *Quadrivium* ([11]), et à son contemporain, Maxime Planude (ca 1255-1305), qui l'étudie et écrit des notes aux livres I et II ([12]). Plus tard Demetrius Cydonès (1324-1398) se risquera à commenter le texte, mais ses notes ne semblent pas avoir survécu ([13]). On peut cependant se demander si les savants Byzantins avaient la capacité de comprendre réellement une œuvre aussi difficile.

(8) Édition : Heiberg, *Anonymi logica et quadrivium*.
(9) Pérez Martín, *Maxime Planude*, p. 451 et note 58.
(10) Wilson, *Scholars*, p. 222. Les détails de son éducation sont donnés dans son autobiographie : Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae*, pp. 6-7.
(11) Tannery-Stephanou, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, pp. 44ss.
(12) Allard, *Maxime Planude*, p. 2. Les scolies à Diophante ont été éditées par Allard, *Les scolies aux Arithmétiques de Diophante*. Comme le souligne l'éditeur, ces scolies sont anonymes et aucun indice ne permet d'en retrouver l'origine (*ibidem*, p. 673). Voir également Pérez Martín, *Maxime Planude*.
(13) Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydonès. Correspondance*, p. 287.

L'arithmétique savante était conçue comme une introduction à l'astronomie, mais les explications données par les auteurs vont bien plus loin que ce qui était nécessaire aux calculs sexagésimaux. Ici les méthodes sont expliquées en suivant les auteurs mentionnés plus haut, et spécialement Théon d'Alexandrie ainsi qu'un texte anonyme connu sous le nom *d'Introduction à l'Almageste*, qui semble être l'œuvre d'Eutocius d'Ascalon ([14]). Cette *Introduction* décrit en détail les opérations arithmétiques en système sexagésimal : addition, soustraction, multiplication, division, extraction de la racine carrée, multiplication et division de fractions, interpolation linéaire. Cette dernière opération, appelée ἐξ ἀναλόγου, très fréquente dans l'utilisation des tables astronomiques, posait visiblement des problèmes aux élèves de toutes les époques, car d'innombrables scolies la détaillent à l'envi.

Vers 1300, Georges Pachymère compose un *quadrivium* intitulé *Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων* (*Traité des quatre sciences*). Le livre I est consacré à l'arithmétique, qu'il définit comme «la science théorique de ce qui arrive aux nombres, en quantité et en figure, et leurs rapports, ainsi que leurs divisions et compositions.» Ses sources sont essentiellement Nicomaque, Diophante (dont il paraphrase abondamment le livre I), Euclide (*Éléments* VII-VIII-IX). Les bases du système sexagésimal et les opérations dans ce système sont décrites en détail dans la partie astronomie : notation sexagésimale, multiplication, division, extraction de la racine carrée, rapports, interpolations proportionnelles. Ces explications, qui se basent en partie sur Théon et des sources non encore identifiées, sont très détaillées et de caractère très pédagogique. Cet ouvrage sera abondamment pillé par Théodore Métochite et Théodore Méliténiote.

Théodore Métochite (ca 1300) commence sa *Στοιχείωσις* (*Traité élémentaire*) astronomique par une longue introduction arithmétique. Là aussi, l'exposé concerne les opérations en système sexagésimal et comprend trois parties : I. la multiplication ; II. la division ; III. l'extraction de la racine carrée. Les auteurs auxquels il se réfère sont les Anciens (Euclide, Ptolémée, Pappus, Théon, Syrianus, Eutocius, Jean Philopon), mais, à ces sources avouées, il faut en ajouter une autre, non déclarée, mais évidente : Georges Pachymère. Par rapport à ses sources ancien-

(14) Inédit. Voir Mogenet, *L'Introduction à l'Almageste*. À ce sujet, voir Knorr, *Textual Studies*.

nes, Métochite n'innove pas, mais ajoute des démonstrations. On a souvent mauvaise opinion de Métochite à cause de son style redondant et emphatique, mais, dans cette partie, il traite son sujet avec une grande clarté et un réel sens pédagogique.

De même, le livre I de la *Tribiblos Astronomique* de Théodore Méliténiote (ca 1352) contient une introduction arithmétique (ch. 2-10), plus succincte que les précédentes, inspirée par les mêmes sources anciennes ainsi que par ses prédécesseurs byzantins ([15]).

Un exemple montrera les filiations entre les différents auteurs. L'exposé sur la racine carrée, présent chez tous ces auteurs, est illustré par plusieurs exemples. Il s'agit d'un calcul difficile, et les auteurs hésiteront à prendre des exemples entièrement nouveaux, comme on le voit dans le tableau suivant :

Théon	Eutocius	Pachymère	Métochite	Méliténiote
√144 √4500	√720 √4500	√36 √16 ; 49,40,49,4 √144 √4500	√81 √16 ; 49,40,49,4 √53 √4500	√49 √4975 ; 4,15

L'exemple √4500 est tiré du livre I de l'*Almageste*, où Ptolémée explique le calcul de la table des cordes (*Alm.* I, p. 34). Pour se démarquer de ses devanciers, Méliténiote prend un autre exemple (√4975 ; 4,15) dans ce même passage (*Alm.* I, pp. 34-35).

Des compilations anonymes basées sur ces trois auteurs figurent dans les manuscrits ([16]). L'extraction de la racine carrée a retenu l'attention d'Isaac Argyre (ca 1368) qui lui consacre un bref traité et essaie d'améliorer les méthodes de Héron ([17]).

Une place à part doit être réservée à la *Logistique* de Barlaam (ca 1337) ([18]). Barlaam, lui aussi, justifie son propos par la nécessité de maîtriser les calculs pour pouvoir faire de l'astronomie. Mais aucun ouvrage n'a, dit-il, démontré la validité des méthodes de calculs employées. Or, il n'est pas possible scientifiquement d'utiliser des méthodes si celles-ci n'ont pas été dûment justifiées par des démonstrations. C'est donc

(15) Leurquin, *Tribiblos*, I, pp. 103-155.
(16) Par exemple dans le *Venetus, Marcianus gr.* 323, ff. 166-169v.
(17) Allard, *Isaac Argyre.*
(18) Carelos, *Logistikè.*

là l'objet de son traité, qui comprend six livres :

I. Addition et soustraction de fractions
II. Multiplication et division de fractions et nombres mixtes, calcul de la racine carrée
III. Multiplication et division des fractions sexagésimales
IV. Multiplication et division des grandeurs linéaires et planes
V. Médiétés et proportions
VI. Opérations sur des grandeurs données (*Data*) (algèbre géométrique).

Bien que le terme «logistique» soit généralement compris comme la pratique des calculs, l'exposé de Barlaam est entièrement abstrait (les nombres sont représentés par des lignes identifiées par des lettres) et ne comprend aucun exemple concret : c'est le plus théorique de tous les ouvrages byzantins d'arithmétique. Barlaam se base essentiellement sur Euclide qu'il entend compléter en ajoutant les opérations sur les proportions et les grandeurs. En disant dans son introduction que la validité des opérations n'a jamais été démontrée, Barlaam ne rend pas tout à fait justice à ses prédécesseurs. Avant lui, en effet, Théodore Métochite avait déjà tenté de démontrer la validité des multiplications par la géométrie et la théorie des proportions. De même, l'exposé de Métochite sur la racine carrée est étayé de théorèmes d'Euclide. Mais le traité de Barlaam, entièrement rédigé dans un esprit euclidien, basé sur des théorèmes et des axiomes, reste unique en son genre.

La *Logistique* de Barlaam a inspiré un ouvrage anonyme conservé dans un manuscrit de Milan, l'*Ambrosianus* C 263 inf. Ni l'auteur, ni la date ne peuvent être précisés : il se situe entre la *Logistique* de Barlaam, qu'il a abondamment utilisée, et la date du manuscrit, copié pour cette partie par Manuel Morus de Crète (xvie siècle). Ce traité est intitulé *Théorèmes préliminaires aux démonstrations graphiques de la Syntaxe mathématique de Ptolémée, soit sur la division et la prise des rapports arithmétiques selon l'analogie dans les grandeurs, envisagée de toutes les façons qu'il est possible.* L'auteur introduit son propos par la difficulté à comprendre les explications données par les différents auteurs sur la composition et la division des rapports. S'estimant lui-même lent d'esprit, et bien que le sujet dépasse ce qui convient à sa condition, il écrit, dit-il, cette méthode pour lui-même. Ces propos, dont la modestie contraste avec l'assurance (et même la vanité) des auteurs byzantins du xive siècle, laissent entendre que l'auteur n'occupait pas une fonction prestigieuse, ni un rang social élevé. La première partie du texte, de loin la plus longue, se base essentiellement sur la *Logistique* de Barlaam, dont il commente le livre V, y ajoutant de nombreux développements et diagrammes. La deuxième partie enchaîne sur l'étude de la circonférence et la surface du cercle. Ceci l'entraîne à des considérations philosophiques (basées sur Aristote, Hippocrate, Porphyre ...) sur l'impossibilité d'arriver à tout démontrer et sur la méthodologie de différentes sciences. La troisième partie comprend des problèmes utiles pour aborder l'astronomie, dont les derniers sont basés sur le théorème de Ménélas. La large érudition de l'auteur et la liberté de ton de certains passages traduisent, semble-t-il, une époque plus proche de la Renaissance que du XIVe siècle byzantin.

Le dernier représentant de l'arithmétique savante byzantine est Georges de Trébizonde. Celui-ci avait écrit en latin une *Introduction à l'Almageste*, qu'il traduisit ensuite en grec pour la dédier au sultan Mehmet II, le conquérant de Constantinople ([19]). Dans sa préface, il suggère au sultan de faire établir des tables astronomiques à partir d'une origine plus récente que Ptolémée. Bien que composé après la chute de Constantinople (vers 1468 ?), ce texte mérite d'être cité en prolongement de l'arithmétique byzantine. Il s'agit en effet, d'une *Introduction à l'Almageste*, qui est, selon la tradition, un exposé sur les opérations arithmétiques, et principalement sur le sujet qui posait le plus de difficultés : la multiplication et la division des rapports. Georges se démarque de ses devanciers lorsqu'il écrit :

> f. 55v : «La division d'un rapport par un rapport est (l'opération) par laquelle l'un des composés étant rejeté, l'autre reste. Celle qui concerne les rapports rationnels (*i.e.* «des nombres entiers») est facile. Celle qui concerne les rapports irrationnels (*i.e.* «des nombres non entiers») est difficile, non seulement à trouver, mais aussi à utiliser. C'est pourquoi nous trouvons que la *Syntaxe* de Ptolémée n'est pas comprise jusqu'à aujourd'hui, pour autant qu'il soit possible de la prendre d'après les commentaires publiés qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous. Les Arabes, suivant un certain Geber, pensent que la figure par laquelle de telles choses sont démontrées par Ptolémée est non démontrée. Les Grecs, admirant Théon d'Alexandrie, se sont égarés. Car lui-même a mal compris la figure donnée par Ptolémée lui-même.»

(19) Le texte est inédit : nous le lisons dans le *Monacensis gr.* 537, qui contient des notes autographes de l'auteur.

Geber désigne l'astronome arabe Jâbir ibn Aflah (XIIe siècle) dont la critique de l'*Almageste* avait été traduite en latin par Gérard de Crémone. La critique de Théon ne fut pas appréciée du cercle de Bessarion et valut à Georges de nombreux ennuis ([20]). Pour autant que l'on puisse en juger en attendant une étude sérieuse de ce texte, Georges critique la méthode de division des fractions. Les Grecs n'ont jamais compris que, pour diviser des fractions, il suffisait de multiplier la fraction dividende par la fraction diviseur renversée. Georges propose une méthode plus rapide, analogue à celle que nous utilisons aujourd'hui. La terminologie utilisée par Georges semble un essai original pour exprimer les termes d'un rapport au moyen d'expressions courtes et abstraites. Ainsi il écrit :

> Εἰδέναι οὖν χρὴ ὅτι τῶν κατὰ ἀναφορὰν συγκρινομένων ἀριθμῶν ὁ μὲν *πόθεν*, ὁ δὲ *ποῖ* ἢ ὁ μὲν *ἀφ' οὗ*, ὁ δὲ *εἰς ὃν* λεχθήσονται ἀναγκαίως οἷον β δ η ις· ὁ μὲν πρῶτος καὶ τρίτος *ἀφ' οὗ* ἢ *πόθεν*· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος καὶ τέταρτος, *ποῖ* ἢ *πρὸς ὅν*.
>
> Il faut savoir que, les nombres étant déterminés selon un rapport, ils seront dits nécessairement l'un «d'où», l'autre «vers où», soit l'un «à partir duquel», l'autre «vers lequel» ; ainsi 2, 4, 8, 16 : le premier et le troisième (sont appelés) «à partir duquel» ou «d'où» ; le deuxième et le quatrième «vers où» ou «vers lequel» ([21]).

Compromis entre l'arithmétique traditionnelle grecque et les méthodes utilisées en Europe occidentale, le traité de Georges mériterait une édition et une étude sérieuse.

La tendance pratique

L'apprentissage du calcul se faisait chez les enfants sur base du calcul digital. Un témoignage frappant en est donné vers 1200 par Nicolas Mésaritès dans sa description de l'église des Sts Apôtres à Constantinople et de l'école qui y est attachée. Je ne résiste pas au plaisir de citer ce passage ([22]) :

(20) MONFASANI, *George of Trebizond* ; IDEM, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana.*
(21) La traduction française ne peut pas rendre la concision de ces expressions qui remplacent les termes traditionnels de l'arithmétique grecque pour désigner le dénominateur (ὁ ὑπόλογος, ὁ ἑπόμενος) et le numérateur (ὁ πρόλογος, ὁ ἡγούμενος).
(22) Voir DOWNEY, *Mesarites*, p. 899.

«Continuant un peu plus loin, tu verras ceux qui sont occupés aux proportions des nombres : comment ils ferment fréquemment leurs doigts et les ouvrent continuellement, les véhiculant les uns sur les autres ou les remettant à plat plus rapidement et apprenant pour ainsi dire l'art de danser avec les mains. Ils tremblent devant le bâton de crainte que, si la main se trompe avec le raisonnement, il ne s'attarde sur les paumes qui sont ouvertes bien malgré elles et qui essaient de se dérober en se creusant ! Celui-ci, comme un oiseau de proie, s'abat sur elles avec un grand sifflement et parfois, rencontrant les mains renversées, il arrache la peau et la chair et ne les quitte pas avant d'avoir tâté des os ! Car cette race de «savants des mains» est violente, arrogante et incontenable. On peut voir, en effet, la plupart d'entre eux découper sans pitié les épaules juvéniles avec des nerfs de bœufs. Ceci n'arrive, je pense, pour aucune autre raison que du fait qu'ils n'ont pas les mœurs éduquées et à cause du caractère particulier et sans grâce du métier dans lequel ils ont été nourris et ont vieilli. C'est pourquoi ils regardent continuellement leurs élèves de manière sauvage, colérique et perçante. Et tous ceux qui leur sont soumis sont tristes, tremblants et craintifs...»

Le calcul digital, qui était répandu dans toute la Méditerranée depuis l'antiquité, est décrit par Nicolas Rhabdas (ca 1340) dans une lettre arithmétique dédiée à Georges Khatzykès [23].

Le calcul digital avait des usages fort limités : la vie pratique ou le commerce demandaient des procédés plus élaborés. Ceux-ci sont exposés en détail dans les deux lettres arithmétiques de Nicolas Rhabdas. La première, déjà citée, a été rédigée à la demande d'un certain Georges Khatzykès. Elle contient, outre un exposé sur le calcul digital, des tables dites «de Palamède» qui permettent de faciliter les opérations. La seconde lettre, adressée à Théodore Tzaboukhès, est plus élaborée. Elle explique les opérations concernant des nombres fractionnaires avec des suites de quantièmes (du type 3 + 1/3 1/14 1/42...) et l'extraction de la racine carrée d'un nombre non carré parfait. Vient ensuite un procédé pour le calcul de la date de Pâques, et une série de problèmes pratiques, mettant en jeu les monnaies, les poids et mesures utilisés à cette époque.

Ces problèmes pouvaient être également résolus grâce aux procédés de calcul indien. Ceux-ci, décrits pour la première fois par al-Khwārizmī (ca 825) et introduits dans le monde juif par Abraham ben Ezra (vers 1140) et, dans le monde occidental principalement par Léonard de Pise

(23) Tannery, *Notice.*

(Fibonacci) (1202/1228), font l'objet d'un traité anonyme byzantin écrit en 1252 intitulé *Calcul selon les Indiens, dit Grand (Calcul)* [24]. Composé sous l'occupation latine de Constantinople, ce traité fait usage des chiffres indiens de forme occidentale. Le sujet sera repris par Maxime Planude vers 1293 dans son traité également intitulé *Calcul selon les Indiens, dit Grand Calcul* [25], mais avec, cette fois, la forme orientale des chiffres indiens. Il est difficile de dire si ces chiffres, et les procédés qui y sont liés, ont été vraiment répandus dans la pratique byzantine. Les savants, en tout cas, restent attachés à la notation traditionnelle grecque (chiffres notés au moyen des lettres), qui ne permet pas une arithmétique de position. On trouvera sur le calcul indien quelques notes au traité de Planude dues à Nicolas Rhabdas ou à Manuel Moschopoulos, ou l'une ou l'autre scolies anonymes [26]. Certains cas remarquables méritent d'être signalés : ainsi, dans le *Parisinus gr.* 2389, en marge de l'*Almageste* (écriture onciale, IXe siècle ?), un scholiaste anonyme probalement du XIIIe/XIVe siècle, a ajouté de nombreuses scolies dans lesquelles il utilise abondamment les chiffres indiens [27] : à ma connaissance, c'est tout à fait exceptionnel.

Manuel Moschopoulos (ca 1300) a laissé un opuscule sur les carrés magiques [28]. Il s'agit de son unique œuvre scientifique qui s'intitule *Traité sur l'invention des nombres en carré* écrit à la demande de Nicolas Rhabdas. Il s'agit d'arranger les nombres 1 à n^2 dans un carré de telle sorte que la somme des nombres dans chaque rang, colonne ou diagonale soit égale à

$$m = ½\, n\, (n^2 + 1)$$

n étant le nombre de cellules sur un côté du carré.

Ce type d'exercice figure dans la littérature arabe à partir du IXe siècle, mais le traité de Moschopoulos ne révèle aucune trace d'une influence arabe. Dans le monde arabe, et dans le monde latin où ces trai-

(24) Allard, *Premier traité.*
(25) Allard, *Maxime Planude.*
(26) Tannery, *Le scholie du moine Néophytos.*
(27) Je ne suis pas à même de préciser s'il s'agit des formes occidentales ou orientales des chiffres indiens.
(28) Tannery, *Le Traité de Manuel Moschopoulos* ; Sesiano, *Les carrés magiques de Manuel Moschopoulos.* Sur ce sujet voir également Sesiano, *Les carrés magiques dans les pays islamiques* ; Idem, *Magic Squares* ; Idem, *Un traité médiéval sur les carrés magiques.*

tés furent traduits, ces carrés furent associés à des propriétés magiques, c'est pourquoi on parle habituellement de carrés magiques. Le traité de Moschopoulos ne fait aucune référence à la magie : il s'agit simplement d'un exercice arithmétique. On s'est longtemps posé la question de l'origine grecque de ce problème, mais les études récentes penchent en faveur d'une origine arabe.

Enfin quelques manuels de calcul à but plus pratique ont été conservés. Ainsi, le manuel du *Parisinus, Supplementum gr.* 387 (XIV^e siècle), anonyme, intitulé *Questions et problèmes de calcul, qui sont composés chacun avec leurs méthodes propres* peut être daté du XIV^e siècle (29). Il s'agit de problèmes mettant en jeu les poids et mesures, les monnaies, des partages, des questions d'héritages et autres problèmes du même genre, résolus par des procédés algébriques. Ce manuel se situe dans la tradition des recueils de problèmes que l'on retrouve dans les documents égyptiens (papyrus Rhind), babyloniens, chinois (Chang Ts'ang *Chiu Chang Suan Shu*, II^e siècle p. C.), ou indiens (Aryabhata, ca 499 ou Bramagupta, ca 628), et qui se sont transmis chez les Arabes (al-Khwārizmī, ca 825, al-Karajī, ca 1000, abū Kāmil, IX^e siècle), chez les Juifs d'Occident (Abraham ibn Ezra, ca 1140) ou de Byzance (Mordecai Comtino, 1402-1482 et Elia Misrachi, 1455-1525), chez les Latins (Alcuin ca 800, Léonard de Pise ca 1202 et 1228), et à Byzance (Papyrus Akhmîn VII^e siècle, Maxime Planude, Nicolas Rhabdas ...).

Le manuel du *Vindobonensis, Phil. gr.* 65 (XV^e siècle) se situe dans la même tradition que le précédent : il s'agit également d'un recueil de problèmes, mais écrit en langue vulgaire et datable du XV^e siècle (30). Les calculs y sont effectués selon les procédés de l'arithmétique indienne, mais les chiffres indiens sont ici remplacés par des lettres (par exemple 6825 s'écrit ϛηβε au lieu de ͵ϛωκε selon la notation grecque). Un système analogue se rencontre chez Abraham ibn Ezra (ca 1140), Levi ben Gerson (ca 1321) et Mordecai Comtino (1402-1482), contemporain de ce texte.

Astronomie

L'astronomie byzantine trouve sa source essentiellement dans les œuvres de Ptolémée (ca 120-140 p. C.), particulièrement la *Syntaxe*

(29) Vogel, *Ein Byzantinisches Rechenbuch*. Sur la transmission de ces procédés, voir le tableau p. 160.
(30) Hunger - Vogel, *Ein Byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts.*

Mathématique, plus connue sous le nom d'*Almageste* (31) et les *Tables Faciles*, dans les commentateurs de ces œuvres, spécialement Théon d'Alexandrie (ca 364 p. C.), ainsi que dans les nombreuses scolies, anonymes, à l'*Almageste*. Ptolémée sera étudié et mis en pratique jusqu'à la fin de l'empire byzantin. Mais l'astronomie byzantine s'enrichira au cours des siècles de nombreux apports étrangers : islamiques, principalement, mais aussi latins et juifs.

Durant les premiers siècles de l'empire byzantin, le centre principal des études scientifiques est Alexandrie, mais d'autres écoles existent notamment à Athènes ou en Syrie. De nombreux savants ou philosophes (Proclus, Marinus, Ammonius, Héliodore et d'autres) ont enseigné l'astronomie. Proclus (mort en 485) rédige un traité intitulé *Hypotypose des hypothèses astronomiques*, dans lequel il décrit plusieurs instruments et résume le système de Ptolémée, mais il rejette la précession des équinoxes estimée par Ptolémée de 1° en 100 ans. Jean Philopon (ca 560) rédige un *Traité sur l'astrolabe* à Alexandrie. À l'exception de ces traités, l'enseignement de cette époque se transmettra surtout sous forme d'un abondant corpus de scolies anonymes qui escorteront les œuvres de Ptolémée et de Théon dans la tradition manuscrite. Ce matériel, d'origine alexandrine et datable des V^e et VI^e siècles (32), sera pieusement transmis par les copistes et nourrira les études astronomiques des érudits byzantins.

Le premier traité d'astronomie proprement byzantin est celui de Stéphane d'Alexandrie (ca 610) (33). À la suite de H. Usener, on pense que, appelé à Constantinople par l'empereur Héraclius peu avant la conquête arabe, Stéphane, l'un des derniers représentant de l'école d'Alexandrie, écrivit un manuel d'astronomie sur le modèle du *Petit Commentaire* de Théon aux *Tables Faciles* de Ptolémée, à savoir un mode d'emploi des tables en question, illustré d'exemples. Pour la première

(31) *Almageste* (en latin *Almagestum*) vient de l'appellation arabe *al-majistī*, elle-même dérivée du grec μεγίστη, «la très grande». En grec, l'œuvre est souvent désignée comme μεγάλη σύνταξις, «la grande Syntaxe» ou μέγας κανών «la grande table».
(32) Pingree, *Teaching of the Almagest*. Dans cet article, D. Pingree développe l'idée que les scolies de l'*Almageste* ont été compilées en Syrie aux environs de 600, mais ceci n'est pas démontré avec certitude.
(33) Seuls quelques chapitres sont édités dans Usener, *De Stephano Alexandrino*. Un doctorat est en cours sur ce traité par Jean Lempire.

fois sont introduits des éléments spécifiquement byzantins, soit des exemples et des tables pour le climat de Byzance. Ce traité pose un certain nombre de problèmes, car il semble que l'empereur Héraclius y ait dans une certaine mesure collaboré en y ajoutant des chapitres relatifs à la chronologie et une méthode pour trouver la date de Pâques (34). De plus, l'attribution à Stéphane d'Alexandrie n'est attestée que dans quelques manuscrits fort tardifs. L'identité même de Stéphane, sa vie et ses œuvres font l'objet de nombreuses questions (35).

Le VIIIe siècle est marqué par la crise iconoclaste, qui ne laisse pratiquement aucune réalisation scientifique. Un enseignement scientifique, d'un niveau fort rudimentaire, semble se poursuivre, comme il apparaît par exemple dans l'œuvre de Jean Damascène, qui, dans le *De fide orthodoxa,* donne quelques notions de cosmologie et d'astronomie. Plusieurs astrologues chrétiens d'Orient sont actifs à cette époque comme Stéphane l'astrologue (ca 775) auquel on attribue un horoscope de la naissance de l'Islam ou Théophile d'Édesse (mort en 785), astrologue au service du calife al-Mahdī. Ceci implique au minimum le maintien d'une certaine pratique astronomique, à savoir l'usage des tables pour calculer les thèmes astrologiques (36).

Le IXe siècle est une époque brillante, qui voit la création de l'écriture minuscule utilisée pour la copie de nombreux et splendides manuscrits. Les œuvres scientifiques (Ptolémée, Euclide) sont parmi les premières à être recopiées : citons par exemple le *Vaticanus gr.* 190 (Euclide, Théon) ou le *Vaticanus gr.* 1594 (Ptolémée), tous deux du IXe siècle. En même temps, l'enseignement supérieur est réorganisé sous le règne de Théophile (829-842) et de Michel III (842-867). On y crée quatre chaires : philosophie, géométrie, astronomie, grammaire (37). Mais, malgré cela, le bilan scientifique de cette époque est assez maigre : quelques scolies sur les *Tables Faciles* dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1291, une table d'étoiles mise à jour pour l'année 854. Les savants de l'époque étaient-ils capables de lire l'*Almageste* ? Aucune trace d'étude de cette œuvre au IXe siècle n'apparaît dans les manuscrits. On sait que, dès le début du IXe siècle, les

(34) TIHON, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques.*
(35) WOLSKA-CONUS, *Stéphanos.*
(36) Sur cette période, voir TIHON, *L'astronomie à Byzance à l'époque iconoclaste.*
(37) SPECK, *Die Kaiserliche Universität*, pp. 1-13 ; LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme*, pp. 165 ss.

Arabes se livraient à de nombreuses observations à Baghdad et à Damas sous l'égide du calife al-Ma'mūn, qui règna de 813 à 833. On trouvera un écho de ces observations dans les manuscrits byzantins, mais seulement dans des textes des XIe et XIIe siècles. Il n'est pas certain, en dépit des échanges qui existaient entre l'empire et le califat, que les travaux astronomiques des Arabes aient attiré l'attention des Byzantins dès le IXe siècle : aucune trace contemporaine n'a pu être identifiée (38). Même constat pour le Xe siècle, époque où la personnalité de l'empereur érudit Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (913-959) suscite la compilation de vastes encyclopédies. À part quelques calculs de planètes datés de 906 et basés sur des méthodes empiriques tirées de Vettius Valens (39), on ne trouve aucune trace d'activité astronomique importante.

La situation change au XIe siècle, où l'on voit apparaître un courant très important d'importation de matériel islamique (40). Des scolies astronomiques anonymes dans les manuscrits de l'*Almageste*, rédigées vers 1032 et ss, se réfèrent aux observations faites sous le règne du cali-

(38) P. Magdalino met en rapport les observations mentionnées dans les textes byzantins avec les missions de Jean le Grammairien à Baghdad et à Damas en 829 et 831 (MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, pp. 64-65 et 80). Bien que la coïncidence soit remarquable, il faut souligner que ces observations sont rapportées par un auteur travaillant en 1032, dans un contexte scientifique très précis, qui suppose une bonne connaissance de l'*Almageste*. L'auteur anonyme du XIe siècle peut avoir eu connaissance des observations de 829-830, non par suite des contacts entre Byzantins et Arabes au IXe siècle, mais simplement par l'intermédiaire des traités arabes plus tardifs qu'il utilise. Rappelons que le traité original arabe du IXe siècle, basé sur ces observations, n'a pas été conservé (KENNEDY, *Survey*, n° 51) et l'auteur byzantin dit explicitement qu'il ne dispose pas de cet ouvrage.

À supposer que les Byzantins du IXe siècle aient eu connaissance des observations astronomiques arabes effectuées dans les années 829ss, il n'est pas certain qu'ils eussent été à même d'en apprécier l'importance.

(39) TIHON, *Le calcul de la longitude de Vénus* ; EADEM, *Le calcul de la longitude des planètes.* P. Magdalino met en rapport ces textes avec soit la naissance de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète en 906, ou avec l'ambassade de Léon Choirophaktès à Baghdad en 906-907 (*L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, pp. 80-81). Toutefois, ces textes ne traduisent aucune influence islamique, mais simplement une lecture attentive de Vettius Valens. L'auteur de 906 y applique à son temps des procédés empiriques, qu'il ajuste à son époque par des procédés astucieux, mais scientifiquement discutables, et avec le souci de faire correspondre les résultats à de grossières observations.

(40) TIHON, *Tables islamiques à Byzance.*

fe al-Ma'mūn (en 829-830) et font état des tables d'Alim (ibn al-A'lam, mort en 985) : ces tables avaient probablement fait l'objet d'une adaptation byzantine aujourd'hui perdue ([41]). Un fragment du XIIe siècle en a conservé les paramètres avec plus de précision que les sources arabes ([42]) et des horoscopes datés de 1153 et 1162 ont utilisé ces tables. Vers 1072 ss un manuel d'astronomie arabo-byzantin utilise le commentaire d'ibn al-Muthannā à al-Khwārizmī, auquel il emprunte les méthodes de calcul d'éclipse solaire, et les tables d'Ḥabash al-Ḥāsīb, auxquelles il reprend les fonctions trigonométriques de sinus et sinus verse ([43]). Syméon Seth, savant et astrologue actif à la cour d'Alexis Comnène et traducteur des fables arabes de Kalila et Dimna, connaît la valeur islamique de la précession et établit une table d'étoiles ([44]).

Une compilation astrologique des XIe-XIIe s., conservée dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1056, contient, parmi de nombreux textes astrologiques d'origine

(41) MOGENET, *Une scolie inédite* ; IDEM, *Sur quelques scolies de l'Almageste* ; TIHON, *Sur l'identité de l'astronome Alim*.

(42) TIHON, *Sur l'identité de l'astronome Alim* ; MERCIER, *The Parameters*.

(43) NEUGEBAUER, *Astronomical Treatise Par. gr. 2425* ; JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual*.

(44) PINGREE, *Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages*. Sur Syméon Seth, voir MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, pp. 100-101. Dans son ouvrage Σύνοψις τῶν φυσικῶν (§49), Syméon parle des éclipses en ces termes (DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 53) :

> «Les éclipses sont tantôt totales, tantôt partielles. Totales, lorsque le cercle entier du Soleil est obcurci, les centres du Soleil et de la Lune étant superposés (le texte pose problème : je traduis ici la leçon συνθέτων) ; partielles, lorsqu'une partie de celui-ci est éclipsée. Le Soleil n'apparaît pas éclipsé dans toute l'*oikoumenè*, mais dans quelques parties du monde. Et, en effet, là, sous le règne de Comnène, il s'est éclipsé tout entier vers le Couchant ; en Égypte, il ne s'est pas éclipsé en entier, comme je l'ai vérifié me trouvant là-bas.»

Le chanoine A. Rome avait identifié cette éclipse comme l'éclipse de Soleil du 25 février 1058, car certains manuscrits précisent que l'empereur était alors Isaac Comnène (1057-1059). Cependant, la carrière de Syméon se déroulant principalement sous Alexis Comnène, je voudrais suggérer une autre éclipse : celle du 16 février 1086, dont les circonstances astronomiques conviennent mieux que celle du 25 février 1058. L'éclipse de 1086 était totale à Constantinople (milieu ca 16h30) et partielle à Alexandrie ; l'éclipse de 1058 n'était totale ni à Constantinople, ni à Alexandrie, et la différence de grandeur, peu perceptible. Le nom d'Isaac Comnène n'apparaît pas dans tous les manuscrits et A. Delatte ne l'a pas repris dans le texte de son édition. Pour les éclipses, j'ai utilisé le programme *Kairos*, établi par Raymond Mercier.

orientale, un traité sur l'astrolabe «d'origine sarrasine» et des tables d'étoiles datées de 1155/1156 et 1160/1161 ([45]). Ces tables d'étoiles sont tirées du *Zīj al-Mumtaḥan* de Yaḥyā ibn abī Manṣūr (mort en 830), mais leur titre mentionne le *Zīj al-Ḥākimī* de ibn Yūnus (mort en 1009) et Kūshyār ibn Labbān (ca 1009). C'est du XIe siècle, aussi, que date le seul astrolabe byzantin conservé, l'astrolabe de Brescia, daté de 1062, exécuté pour un certain Sergios, d'origine persane, et qui semble marqué d'une influence orientale ([46]). Durant les XIe et XIIe siècles, les Byzantins, qui ont des contacts fréquents avec l'Égypte, ont manifestement accès à de nombreux traités islamiques importants. Les documents sont souvent fragmentaires et ne reflètent sans doute qu'une petite partie du matériel dont on disposait à l'époque. Le niveau scientifique y semble particulièrement élevé. Par exemple, on utilise pour Constantinople la latitude correcte de 41° ([47]), alors que les grands traités des XIVe et XVe siècles reprendront la latitude inexacte de 43° donnée par Ptolémée. Pendant ce temps se poursuit l'étude de Ptolémée, du moins pour ce qui est des *Tables Faciles* : des textes anonymes datés de 1007-1008 et la partie astronomique du *quadrivium* déjà mentionné en expliquent le mode d'emploi. Quant aux scolies de 1032 mentionnées plus haut, elles témoignent, en plus des informations concernant l'astronomie arabe, d'une connaissance réelle de l'*Almageste* et du *Grand Commentaire* de Théon.

La prise de Constantinople en 1204 par la quatrième croisade va arrêter net ce courant. Durant toute la période de l'occupation latine (1204-1261) la cour byzantine réfugiée à Nicée va tenter de maintenir et de reconstituer l'héritage savant détruit par les pillages. Lors de l'éclipse de 1239, le jeune Georges Acropolites se montre très fier d'étaler ses connaissances astronomiques en présence de l'impératrice, mais se fait contredire par un médecin de la cour, un simple praticien auquel la faveur de l'impératrice avait donné la dignité d'*aktouarios* ([48]). Il faut attendre la restauration par Michel Paléologue pour aborder la période la plus brillante de l'astronomie byzantine. À partir de là, les textes abondent. Deux grandes tendances se dessinent à la fin du XIIIe siècle et dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle : la restauration de l'astronomie de

(45) TIHON, *Tables islamiques à Byzance* ; KUNITZSCH, *Die arabische Herkunft*.

(46) DALTON, *The Byzantine Astrolabe at Brescia*.

(47) JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual*, pp. 35 et 33 ; de même dans l'astrolabe de Brescia, DALTON, *The Byzantine Astrolabe at Brescia*, p. 139.

(48) TIHON, *Astrological promenade*, pp. 267-271.

Ptolémée d'une part, l'introduction de l'astronomie perse d'autre part ; dans la deuxième moitié du XIVe siècle et au XVe siècle, les mêmes tendances continuent, mais parfois fusionnent et d'autres traités d'astronomie étrangère sont importés à Constantinople.

La partie astronomique du *Quadrivium* de Georges Pachymère appartient à la tendance classique, mais contient plus d'arithmétique que d'astronomie ([49]). L'auteur donne de longues explications d'astronomie générale (sphère céleste, forme de la terre, principaux cercles de la sphère céleste, le Soleil, la Lune, les planètes, les phases de la Lune, les éclipses ...) ; suit alors une description des constellations, spécialement de leurs levers et couchers simultanés. L'auteur retourne ensuite aux opérations en système sexagésimal. Il donne également des explications d'ordre astrologique, mais condamne la croyance des astrologues en la prédestination ([50]).

Vers 1300, Théodore Métochite écrit un énorme ouvrage astronomique la *Stoicheiôsis* ou «Élément» dans lequel il entend expliquer l'*Almageste*. Illisible de nos jours à cause de la redondance de son style, cet énorme traité, encore inédit, a eu le mérite de remettre à l'honneur l'étude de l'astronomie de Ptolémée. En même temps la cosmologie et l'astronomie sont mises en question dans les polémiques qui opposent Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos à propos de Platon et d'Aristote ([51]).

À Thessalonique, Demetrios Triclinios écrit un curieux traité sur la Lune, ses phases et les taches qui y apparaissent : celles-ci sont le miroir de la géographie terrestre ([52]). Jean Pediasimos (1240 - ca 1310/1314) s'est occupé d'astronomie, mais à un niveau plus élémentaire, en écrivant un essai sur les sept planètes et des scolies à Cléomède ([53]). On a pensé qu'il aurait peut-être aussi étudié ou édité l'*Almageste*, mais ceci n'est pas confirmé par l'analyse des manuscrits ([54]). Ce savant est peut-

(49) Tannery-Stephanou, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, pp. 329ss.

(50) Tihon, *Astrological promenade*, pp. 271-273.

(51) Bydén, *Theodore Metochites*.

(52) Wasserstein, *An unpublished Treatise*.

(53) Sur les scolies à Cléomède, voir Todd, *The Manuscripts of Pediasimus' quotations from Dion Cassius* ; Idem, *An Inventory of the Manuscripts of Cleomedes*, pp. 263-264. Voir Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 122-123.

(54) Heiberg, *Ptolemaei op. min.*, p. CXXVI, attribuait à Jean Pediasimos des scolies à l'*Almageste* dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 184, mais j'ai pu montrer qu'elles étaient probablement due à Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes (début XVe siècle). Cependant des notes concernant l'*Introduction à l'Almageste* contenues dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 184 (*e.g.* ff. 12v, 13...) sont attribuées au «Consul» qui pourrait être identifié avec Jean Pediasimos. Cfr infra, note 71.

être aussi l'auteur d'un curieux traité d'astronomie générale, écrit avant 1306 et imitant les *Data* d'Euclide ([55]).

Dès la fin du XIIIe siècle, l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée fait l'objet d'une étude attentive. En témoignent les scolies du *Vaticanus gr.* 1594 que J. Mogenet appelait les scolies B. Écrites d'une main peu élégante, qui pourrait dater de la fin du XIIIe siècle ([56]), ces scolies très abondantes ont repris les textes de 1032 concernant l'astronomie arabe qui ont été signalés plus haut. Mais, en dehors de ces textes, les scolies B contiennent des extraits de Théon et de nombreux exercices trigonométriques, concernant les théorèmes des premiers livres de l'*Almageste*. Ces scolies ne contiennent aucun élément de datation, et il est difficile de dire si elles remontent à la fin de l'Antiquité, ou si elles ont été rédigées à époque byzantine. Mais, il faut souligner que le copiste (la main B) qui a ajouté ces scolies dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1594 n'a pas fait un travail mécanique et passif : c'est l'œuvre d'un érudit qui a veillé à placer les scolies exactement à l'endroit du texte concerné, ce qui suppose une lecture de l'*Almageste*, et à restaurer les figures manquantes dans le texte de Ptolémée. À partir de là, et jusqu'à la fin de l'époque byzantine, les manuscrits de Ptolémée garderont les traces de lecture de nombreux érudits.

Nicéphore Grégoras, élève de Théodore Métochite, fera beaucoup pour la promotion de l'astronomie de Ptolémée, notamment en mettant à la mode les prédictions d'éclipses, qu'il calcule selon l'*Almageste* et les *Tables faciles* (éclipses de Soleil du 16 juillet 1330 dont il a laissé le calcul détaillé ([57]), éclipses du 14 mai 1333 et 3 mars 1337 qu'il annonce dans ses lettres). Il défie ses adversaires de faire de telles prédictions. Son rival, Barlaam de Seminara, publie les calculs des éclipses de 1333 et 1337 effectués selon l'*Almageste* avec une égale compétence ([58]). Tous deux traitent de la réforme de la date de Pâques ([59]) : ils constatent que

(55) Inédit. Conservé dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 255, ff. 252-258.

(56) Mogenet, *Sur quelques scolies de l'Almageste*. La datation de l'écriture des scolies B est incertaine.

(57) Mogenet *et alii*, *Nicéphore Grégoras*.

(58) Mogenet - Tihon, *Barlaam de Seminara. Traités sur les éclipses de Soleil de 1333 et 1337*.

(59) Tihon, *Il trattato sulla data della Pasqua*. Le traité de Barlaam est inédit, mais je compte l'éditer prochainement ; le texte de Grégoras est contenu dans

la longueur de l'année tropique de Ptolémée (365j 1/4 - 1/300) est inexacte. Il est possible que Grégoras ait proposé la longueur corrigée de 365j 1/4 - 1/280, mais le texte des manuscrits est très incertain (60). Barlaam, quant à lui, ajoute une autre cause, l'inexactitude du cycle luni-solaire de 19 ans. Mais, si les deux auteurs arrivent à la même conclusion concernant l'inexactitude de la longueur de l'année, ils en tirent des recommandations opposées : Grégoras propose la réforme, Barlaam la réprouve à cause des difficultés qu'elle risque d'entraîner dans l'Église Orthodoxe. Mais aucun d'eux n'essaiera de corriger des tables astronomiques.

Grégoras est aussi l'auteur d'un traité sur la construction de l'astrolabe (61). Nicolas Rhabdas traite aussi du comput pascal (62) et est peut-être l'auteur de calculs d'éclipses datés de 1334 (63). Vers le milieu du XIV[e] siècle, Nicolas Cabasilas écrit un livre III au *Commentaire à l'Almageste* de Théon pour remplacer le livre III perdu dans la majeure partie de la tradition manuscrite (64) et a laissé des scolies à l'*Almageste*. Les manuscrits astronomiques se multiplient, accompagnés de nombreuses scolies, notes et calculs de cette époque.

Pendant que se poursuit avec ardeur la redécouverte et la mise en pratique de l'astronomie de Ptolémée, d'autres savants se tournent vers la Perse. À la fin du XIII[e] siècle, par suite de l'invasion mongole en Iran, le Khan Hūlāgū avait établi le fameux observatoire de Marāgha. Très vite, la réputation de cet observatoire arrive à Constantinople. Dans la préface de sa *Syntaxe Perse*, rédigée vers 1347, Georges Chrysococcès raconte comment les tables perses ont été introduites à Constantinople.

la lettre XX de BEZDECHI, *Nicephori Gregorae epistolae* et dans l'*Histoire Romaine* VIII, 13.

(60) *Vaticanus gr.* 116, ff. 115v-118 et *Vaticanus gr.* 1086, f. 77 ss. Ces deux manuscrits sont proches de Grégoras car ils ont tous deux des notes autographes de ce dernier. Il y a quelque hésitation sur cette dernière valeur : la valeur -1/280 n'est attestée que dans une note marginale du *Vaticanus gr.* 116, et je ne suis pas sûre qu'elle soit de Grégoras.

(61) Éd. DELATTE, *Anecdota*, pp. 195-235. Voir TIHON, *Traités Byzantins sur l'astrolabe*, pp. 326 et 340.

(62) SCHISSEL, *Die Österrechnung des Nikolaos Artabasdos Rhabdas.*

(63) Inédits. Voir TIHON, *Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes*, pp. 152-154.

(64) Accessible seulement dans l'édition de Joachim CAMERARIUS de 1538, pp. 131-194.

Bien que ce récit soit souvent mentionné dans les études modernes, il vaut la peine d'en donner ici une traduction complète (65) :

«Autrefois, alors que, comme tu le sais, mon très cher Jean, je m'attachais moi-même à l'étude de ce manuel de tables perses, en me servant comme maître d'un prêtre du nom de Manuel, originaire de la ville de Trébizonde, étant souvent en ma compagnie, tu prenais plaisir à nos paroles. Ne supportant pas de rester loin de comprendre ces matières, tu t'es attaché à cette étude, et tu m'as exhorté à exposer méthodiquement, avec des exemples, ce qui se disait. Écoute-moi illustrer les méthodes simples et rappeler autant que possible les paroles du maître. D'abord, il est juste de rappeler, de sa part, comment, de Perse, cette Syntaxe a été rapportée et traduite par quelqu'un en langue grecque. Celui-ci (*i.e.* Manuel) disait donc qu'un certain Chioniadès, élevé à Constantinople et parvenu à la compréhension de toutes les sciences, tomba amoureux aussi d'une autre science remarquable (66) grâce à laquelle il acquerrait la sagesse et pratiquerait rigoureusement la médecine. Comme il avait entendu dire par certains que, s'il n'allait pas en Perse, il n'obtiendrait pas ce qu'il désirait, laissant tout, il prit la route aussi vite que possible. Arrivant au cours de son voyage à Trébizonde, il fréquenta assidûment le Grand Comnène (*i.e.* Alexis II, 1297-1330), lui exposa ensuite ses intentions et fut jugé digne d'une grande sollicitude ; en effet, il reçut assez bien d'argent de celui-ci et s'en alla en Perse. En peu de temps, il apprit la langue des Perses, rencontra leur roi et trouva auprès de lui de la bienveillance. Lorsqu'il voulut étudier l'astronomie, il n'eut pas de professeur, car la loi, en Perse, est de permettre à tous ceux qui le veulent d'apprendre toutes les sciences, mais l'astronomie, aux seuls Perses ; il en demanda la raison et apprit qu'il y avait une vieille légende en vigueur chez eux, selon laquelle la royauté serait détruite par les Romains en se servant de l'art de l'astronomie s'ils en recevaient d'abord les bases de leur part : il se demandait donc comment il pourrait participer à un tel bien. Néanmoins, ayant beaucoup peiné et bien servi le roi des Perses, il obtint avec peine ce qu'il désirait. En effet, grâce à un décret royal, rencontrant des maîtres, Chioniadès apparut grand en Perse et fut jugé digne d'un honneur royal. Après avoir amassé beaucoup de richesses et acquis de nombreux serviteurs, il retourna à Trébizonde avec beaucoup de livres d'astronomie. Les ayant tra-

(65) Édité dans USENER, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, pp. 356-357. J'ai vérifié le texte sur le *Vaticanus gr.* 210.

(66) εἰς ἔρωτα πεσὼν καὶ ἑτέρας μαθήσεως διαλέκτου (USENER, *ibidem*, p. 357, l. 3). Une autre traduction possible est «tombant amoureux du langage d'une autre science», mais cela n'a pas beaucoup de sens. Διάλεκτος au sens de «remarquable» est signalé dans le *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, s.v.*

duits en grec, avec le sens qui convenait, il a fait un travail digne de mémoire.

Il y a donc aussi d'autres livres de Syntaxe des Perses qu'il traduisit en grec, ayant au commencement quelques exemples méthodiques de positions (ἐποχῶν) ; mais cette *Syntaxe* seule, qu'il a donnée pour être la meilleure de toutes et la plus exacte, à ce que disait notre maître (et il paraissait dire la vérité), il l'a mise en grec sans explication, l'ayant reçue ainsi des Perses, expliquée seulement de vive voix. Ainsi a été ramenée cette syntaxe qui est dite «Facile» (πρόχειρος).»

À la suite de ce récit, le nom de Georges Chioniadès (ca 1240-1320) est étroitement associé à l'histoire des tables perses à Constantinople. Or, on a conservé un ensemble de manuscrits de la fin du XIIIe siècle ou plus tardifs qui contiennent un important corpus d'astronomie perse (67). Ces manuscrits sont principalement le *Vaticanus gr.* 211 (fin XIIIe siècle), le *Vaticanus gr.* 191 (ca 1302), *Laurentianus plut.* 28.17 (copié après 1346 par Théodore Méliténiote), le *Vaticanus gr.* 185 (ca 1345 ss), le *Vaticanus gr.* 1058 (ca 1345-1360), et quelques autres plus tardifs.

Le plus ancien, le *Vaticanus gr.* 211 (fin XIIIe siècle), contient une version byzantine du *Zīj al-'Alā'ī* de l'astronome arabe al-Fahhād (ca 1176) effectuée d'après l'enseignement de Shams Bukhārī (ca 1295-1296) (68), une version byzantine du *Zīj as-Sanjarī* de l'astronome al-Khāzinī (ca 1115), les tables relatives à ces deux traités, et quelques autres textes et diagrammes, notamment les figures «pré-coperniciennes» provenant du *Tadkhira* de Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (ca 1270). Ce manuscrit, contemporain de Chioniadès, a conservé plusieurs titres de tables en écriture arabe. Le *Vaticanus gr.* 191 contient des notes et des calculs datés de 1302 (qui donnent la date approximative du manuscrit), ainsi que des tables non identifiées au départ de 1093. Le *Laurentianus plut.* 28.17, copié par Théodore Méliténiote vers 1346 comme nous avons pu l'établir (69), contient l'enseignement de Shams Bukhārī relatif au *Zīj al-'Alā' ī*, ainsi que le *Zīj as-Sanjarī*, mais sans aucune table. La copie a été faite en partie sur le *Vaticanus gr.* 211, en partie sur un original du XIIIe s. aujourd'hui perdu. Le *Vaticanus gr.* 185 (ca 1345 ss) contient également les tables de 1093 et le *Vaticanus gr.* 1058 (ca 1345-1360) reprend les textes du *Vaticanus gr.* 211. Enfin un traité sur l'astrolabe de Siamps le Persan (Shams Bukhārī), dédié à l'empereur Andronic II (1282-1328), apparaît dans un certain nombre de manuscrits du XIVe et du XVe siècle (*e.g. Venetus, Marcianus gr.* 309, *Vaticanus gr.* 210) (70).

(67) Pingree, *Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy* ; Neugebauer, *Studies in Byzantine astronomical Terminology* ; Tihon, *Les tables astronomiques persanes.*

(68) Éd. Pingree, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades.*

(69) Tihon, *Les tables astronomiques persanes*, p. 480.

Quelle est la part qui revient à Chioniadès dans ces adaptations ? La question est difficile à trancher. Son nom, en effet, n'est mentionné dans aucun de ces manuscrits et n'apparaît que dans le récit de Chrysococcès. Un manuscrit de New York (*Smith West. Add.* 10, Columbia University) contient des notes autographes de Georges Chioniadès (71) : des commentaires à Jean Damascène et des diagrammes astronomiques et astrologiques élémentaires contenant des termes arabes et mentionnant les Perses. Mais cette écriture n'apparaît nulle part dans les manuscrits du XIIIe siècle contenant des adaptations de traités persans. Les différentes mains que l'on rencontre dans les manuscrits, les variations dans les adaptations des noms persans permettent de penser qu'il y eut plus d'une personne travaillant sur ce matériel. Ainsi, les notes du *Vaticanus gr.* 191 sont de la main d'un érudit qu'A. Turyn, dans son analyse du manuscrit, appelle R (72). Ces notes sont visiblement personnelles, et ne sont pas copiées d'un autre manuscrit.

Le récit de Georges Chrysococcès a donc vraisemblablement simplifié l'histoire de l'introduction de l'astronomie perse à Constantinople. S'il ne fait pas de doute que Chioniades se soit rendu en Perse et ait adapté des textes astronomiques, il n'a pas dû travailler seul et c'est tout un courant d'importation de textes persans qui semble se refléter dans les manuscrits.

Le prêtre Manuel de Trébizonde, maître de Chrysococcès, n'est pas identifié, mais il pourrait être l'auteur d'éphémérides astrologiques pour l'année 1336 à Trébizonde (73) : les positions des planètes y semblent établies à l'aide du *Zīj al-'Alā' ī* et du *Zīj-i Īlkhānī.* Vers 1347, donc, Georges Chrysococcès étudie l'astronomie sous l'égide du prêtre

(70) Tihon, *Traités byzantins sur l'astrolabe*, pp. 333-325.

(71) Tihon, *Les tables astronomiques persanes*, p. 474 (et planche I).

(72) *Ibidem*, pl. 2. L'écriture de l'érudit R ressemble plus ou moins à celle de notes qui figurent dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 184. Ces notes sont attribuées par une main postérieure au «Consul» (Τοῦ Ὑπάτου), que l'on a proposé d'identifier avec Jean Pediasimos (Tihon, *Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes*, pp. 152 et 155, à propos de la main a).

(73) Mercier, *An Almanac.* Voir aussi note 156.

Manuel et écrit un traité appelé *Syntaxe Perse* (inédit). La source principale de cette *Syntaxe* est le *Zīj-i Īlkhānī* de Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī dont les tables avaient été simplement mises en grec par Chioniadès, sans aucun commentaire ([74]).

Le panorama des études astronomiques de cette première moitié du XIVe siècle doit encore se compléter de documents chypriotes. Chypre, qui était restée sous la domination latine des Lusignans, était un carrefour des sciences orientales, grecques et occidentales. Un manuscrit astronomique chypriote (ca 1337-1340), peut-être dû à Georges Lapithe, correspondant de Nicéphore Grégoras, contient un traité sur l'astrolabe d'origine occidentale et une adaptation grecque des tables tolédanes ([75]).

La seconde moitié du XIVe siècle et le XVe siècle confirment la large diffusion des tables perses : un traité est composé à Chypre vers les années 1347 ss ([76]), un autre à Rhodes vers 1393, de nombreux textes ou notes anonymes s'y réfèrent tandis que les copies des tables se multiplient ([77]). Vers 1352, Théodore Méliténiote compose un ouvrage de grande ampleur, la *Tribiblos astronomique* ([78]). Le prologue du livre I contient une justification de l'astronomie et une condamnation sans appel de l'astrologie. Le livre I est consacré aux opérations arithmétiques et à la construction et l'utilisation de l'astrolabe. Le livre II, aux calculs selon Ptolémée, *Almageste* et *Tables Faciles*, avec des exemples choisis le 25 décembre 1352. Le livre III est consacré à l'astronomie perse. Méliténiote reprend fondamentalement les tables de Chrysococcès, mais il a accès directement à des informations provenant du corpus d'astronomie perse importé par Chioniadès à la fin du XIIIe siècle, dont il a lui-même recopié des textes dans le *Laurentianus plut.* 28.17. Dans certains cas, il corrige les erreurs de Georges Chrysococcès : ainsi Chrysococcès utilise pour Constantinople la valeur de 56° reprise à Ptolémée (comptée depuis les îles Canaries), au lieu de la valeur donnée dans les tables Perses, 49° 50' soit 50°, depuis les colonnes d'Hercule. Mais il reprend sans sourciller des erreurs de méthode bien plus graves. Méliténiote ne

(74) Mercier, *The Greek "Persian Syntaxis" and the Zīj-i Īlkhānī.*
(75) Pingree, *The Byzantine Version of the Toledan Tables.*
(76) Tihon, *Un traité astronomique chypriote du XIVe siècle.*
(77) Tihon, *L'astronomie byzantine à l'aube de la Renaissance.*
(78) Les livres I et II sont édités : Leurquin, *Théodore Méliténiote. Tribiblos Astronomique, livre I et livre II.* Le livre III est encore inédit.

compare jamais les résultats obtenus dans le livre II avec les tables de Ptolémée et ceux qu'il obtient pour la même date par les tables perses au livre III alors que l'erreur des tables de Ptolémée atteint 5° ou 6° de longitude en moyenne. Mais, à la fin du livre II, il avait souligné que les tables de Ptolémée étaient périmées et demandaient une correction. Le livre III de Théodore Méliténiote aura un grand succès et circulera indépendamment dans les manuscrits parfois sous le nom d'Isaac Argyre ([79]).

Théodore Méliténiote, qui était directeur de l'école patriarchale (διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων), semble avoir introduit l'astronomie mathématique, plus précisément l'astronomie perse, dans la formation du haut clergé orthodoxe. Jusque là, en effet, l'astronomie perse était fortement orientée vers la pratique de l'astrologie, et donc suspecte ; mais, par sa condamnation sans équivoque, Méliténiote a fermement dissocié l'astronomie perse de ses intentions astrologiques.

Vers 1368, Isaac Argyre écrit deux traités sur les *Tables Nouvelles* ([80]), basés sur Ptolémée, au départ du 1er septembre 1367, adaptés au méridien de Constantinople. Le premier traité (I) est une adaptation des *Tables Faciles* du Soleil et de la Lune, par période de 24 ans et en fonction du calendrier romain (*i.e.* julien). Le cycle de 24 ans est justifié parce qu'il permet d'insérer facilement les années bissextiles. Aucune explication n'est donnée en ce qui concerne le choix de l'année de départ, mais il s'agissait sans doute de commencer par une année bissextile (1368). La différence entre le méridien d'Alexandrie et celui de Byzance est, selon Ptolémée, de 4° 50' /15° = 18^{min}, qu'il faut soustraire du temps d'Alexandrie, mais Isaac Argyre commet une erreur en ajoutant les valeurs correspondant à ces 18^{min}. Le deuxième traité (II), qui fait référence au premier, est basé sur les tables de syzygies de l'*Almageste*, au départ de la conjonction du 23 septembre 1367. La correction des 18^{min} y est effectuée correctement. Ces deux traités ne concernent que le Soleil et la Lune et sont surtout destinés à faciliter le calcul des syzygies, important pour la fixation de la date de Pâques. À la fin du premier traité, Isaac Argyre déclare qu'il a également adapté les tables des cinq planètes en périodes de 24 ans, années juliennes et mois romains, mais ces tables n'ont pas été conservées.

L'œuvre astronomique d'Isaac Argyre comprend également un *Traité sur l'astrolabe*, basé sur celui de Nicéphore Grégoras et daté de 1367/

(79) Voir Tihon, *L'astronomie byzantine à l'aube de la Renaissance*, texte B1.
(80) Tihon, *ibidem*, texte A2.

1368. Il y reprend la valeur de la précession de Ptolémée, 1° en 100 ans ([81]).

Isaac Argyre a écrit un *Traité sur la date de Pâques* ([82]). Ce traité commence par un exposé sur les cycles solaires et lunaires composé en 1372/1373 et dédié à Andronicus Oinaiotès ; cet exposé est suivi d'explications sur le commencement de l'année. Ensuite, il traite de la date de Pâques et de la correction du calcul traditionnel. On a parfois considéré ces trois textes comme des œuvres séparées, mais il semble qu'il s'agisse d'un unique traité. En ce qui concerne la fixation traditionnelle de la date de Pâques, Isaac Argyre mentionne deux causes d'inexactitude : le cycle lunaire de 19 ans (argument repris à Barlaam) et la longueur de l'année solaire. Quant à la longueur de l'année solaire, la valeur de Ptolémée, dit-il, est inexacte (365j ¼ - 1/300) ; faisant allusion aux tables perses et se basant sur sa propre observation au solstice d'été, il propose de remplacer la fraction 1/300 par «une fraction plus grande que 1/200». Il trouve ainsi l'équinoxe de printemps «avant le 15 mars». Isaac Argyre ne cite pas Barlaam, mais se réfère explicitement à Nicéphore Grégoras, qui, dit-il, avait proposé cette réforme en présence du basileus : à la suite de quoi, toujours selon Isaac Argyre, il fut décidé d'appliquer cette réforme. Ceci est en contradiction formelle avec le récit de Nicéphore Grégoras lui-même, qui déclare que l'empereur avait décidé de ne pas appliquer la réforme, par crainte de troubles dans l'Église. Dans ce traité, Isaac Argyre mentionne la valeur perse de la précession, 1° en 66 ans.

Enfin, un traité intitulé *Paradosis tôn Persikôn Kanonôn* est parfois attribué à Isaac Argyre, mais ce traité est en fait le livre III de la *Tribiblos* de Théodore Méliténiote, qui a été largement diffusé dans les manuscrits ([83]). Il n'est pas impossible qu'Isaac Argyre y ait introduit quelques remaniements, mais cette question reste en suspens. Selon le savant juif, Mordecai Comtino (1402-1482), Isaac Argyre et ses élèves critiquaient les tables perses, mais cela n'apparaît pas dans les œuvres conservées. Les manuscrits ont des remarques contradictoires à ce sujet. Il est difficile de cerner les contours de l'œuvre d'Isaac Argyre, car ses utilisateurs ont considérablement embrouillé la tradition manuscrite de

(81) Tihon, *Traités byzantins sur l'astrolabe*, texte 13.
(82) Tihon, *L'astronomie byzantine à l'aube de la Renaissance*, p. 259.
(83) Tihon, *ibidem*, texte B1.

ses œuvres en y ajoutant des remaniements et des commentaires personnels.

La critique de Ptolémée et des calculs comparés (tables perses/tables de Ptolémée), notamment pour des éclipses (ca 1376-1408), apparaissent dans des textes anonymes issus de milieux d'astrologues : Jean Abramios, Demetrios Chloros, Eleutherios Elios et son élève Dionysios ([84]). On trouve dans ces textes des méthodes assez confuses pour corriger les tables de Ptolémée, et quelques tentatives d'élaboration de nouvelles tables, mais sans succès réel. En fait de correction, les Byzantins se borneront à ajouter arbitrairement 6° aux résultats trouvés selon Ptolémée, comme on le voit par exemple dans les calculs d'éclipses effectués par Jean Chortasmenos en 1409 et 1410 ([85]). À la fin du XIVe siècle et au début du XVe siècle, les astronomes byzantins hésitent toujours entre les tables de Ptolémée (ou celles qu'Isaac Argyre avaient adaptées au calendrier byzantin), qui étaient plus faciles à utiliser et donnaient encore de très bons résultats pour trouver le temps des syzygies, et les tables perses, moins faciles pour les syzygies et dont les résultats étaient compromis par des erreurs de méthode. À cause de ses liens avec le calcul de la date de Pâques, le calcul des syzygies apparaît comme une préoccupation majeure des astronomes byzantins. Isidore Glabas, métropolite de Thessalonique, a laissé le calcul complet d'un cycle de 19 ans (1390-1409) ([86]), mais les données ne permettent pas de trouver sur quelles tables il s'est basé.

On se tourne également vers d'autres tables étrangères : en 1380, Demetrius Chrysoloras écrit une adaptation grecque des tables alphonsines, et les *radices* de ces tables sont données pour Chypre et pour Paris. Mais on n'a qu'une seule copie de ce texte qui ne semble pas avoir eu grand succès ([87]).

Au XVe siècle, l'étude des tables perses se poursuit : vers 1436, Matthieu Paléologue adapte les tables perses au calendrier byzantin pour une longitude de 57° (Nicée ?) ([88]).

(84) Pingree, *The Astrological School of John Abramius* ; Idem, *Some Fourteenth-century Byzantine astronomical texts* ; Tihon, *Calculs d'éclipses byzantins de la fin du XIVe siècle*.
(85) Caudano, *Le calcul de l'éclipse*.
(86) Tihon, *L'astronomie byzantine à l'aube de la Renaissance*, texte A4.
(87) Tihon, *ibidem*, texte A3.
(88) Tihon, *ibidem*, texte A9.

Mais, au début du xv[e] siècle, ce sont surtout les tables juives qui vont exercer une influence majeure sur l'astronomie byzantine. Trois ouvrages astronomiques juifs font l'objet d'une adaptation byzantine : les *Six Ailes* (*Shesh Kenaphayim*, en grec Ἑξαπτέρυγον) d'Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils de Tarascon (ca 1365), adapté par Michel Chrysococcès (ca 1434/1435) (89) ; les *Cycles* de Bonjorn (Jacob ben David Yom-Tob, Perpignan, ca 1361), adaptées par Marc Eugenicos (ca 1444) ; le *Sentier Aplani* (*Orah Selulah*) d'Isaac ben Salomon ben Zaddiq Alhadib (ca 1370-1426) adaptées par Matthieu Camariotès (mort en 1490/1491) à une date non précisée. Ces traités ont en outre fait l'objet de commentaires anonymes. Ils continueront d'être étudiés et utilisés durant la période ottomane. On ne sait pas par quelle filière ces traités ont été connus des byzantins : par des traductions latines, via l'Italie ? Par des contacts avec les communautés juives de Constantinople ou de Thessalonique ?

L'influence juive sur les intellectuels byzantins au début du xv[e] siècle se marquera dans plusieurs domaines, en astronomie, mais aussi en philosophie. C'est un phénomène encore largement méconnu. Les échanges entre les communautés juives et byzantines ne se font pas à sens unique. Ainsi la *Syntaxe Perse* et les tables perses byzantines furent adaptées en hébreu par Salomon ben Eliahu vers 1373 pour le méridien de Thessalonique, et commentées par Mordechai Comtino vers 1425 à Constantinople (90). De même, elles ont connu une version latine faite à Candie (Crète) (91).

C'est au xv[e] siècle que l'on trouve le seul traité astronomique byzantin qui soit vraiment une création originale : le manuel de Georges Gémiste Pléthon (92). L'astronomie de Pléthon est basée sur ses idées de restauration de l'antiquité païenne, incluant un nouveau calendrier imité des anciens Grecs et Romains. Les mois sont strictement lunaires ; l'année est luni-solaire et commence à la première nouvelle Lune qui suit le solstice d'hiver. Les commencements (nouvelle Lune, solstice d'hiver) sont choisis parce qu'ils marquent le retour de la lumière, et toutes les longitudes sont comptées à partir de 0° du Capricorne. Les tables sont bâties sur le modèle des tables de syzygies de Ptolémée, mais

(89) Solon, *The Six Wings*.
(90) Voir Tihon - Mercier, *Pléthon*, pp. 259-260.
(91) *Ibidem*, pp. 261-263.
(92) Tihon - Mercier, *Pléthon*.

les mouvements des planètes y sont ajoutés. Les périodes chronologiques sont les mois lunaires, les années luni-solaires, les périodes de 19 ans et des périodes de 497 ans, cycle plus précis que le cycle de 19 ans, dont l'origine reste mystérieuse. Les sources utilisées par Pléthon sont notamment la version hébraïque d'al-Battānī. Les tables sont établies pour la longitude de Mistra dans le Péloponnèse et partent du 13 décembre 1433, date à laquelle la nouvelle Lune tombait au solstice d'hiver, mais Pléthon donne le choix entre plusieurs ères de départ, y compris les Olympiades. Le manuel de Pléthon manquait complètement de sens pratique, car il ne prévoit aucune équivalence avec le calendrier julien en usage de son temps. Pléthon n'a pas élaboré d'un seul coup son manuel d'astronomie. Il existe un manuel anonyme, le «proto-Pléthon» qui présente des caractéristiques proches du traité de Pléthon, mais dont les tables sont établies pour Constantinople et basées sur la *Syntaxe Perse*. Il s'agit probablement d'un premier essai de Pléthon, avant son départ pour Mistra. Plus tard, en 1446, Pléthon revisa encore ses tables, car il envoie à Bessarion de nouveaux paramètres dont l'origine n'est pas élucidée. Malgré leur nombreuses inconsistances, les tables de Pléthon sont certainement l'œuvre astronomique la plus originale composée dans le monde byzantin, la seule qui ne soit pas une simple adaptation de tables étrangères.

La fin de l'empire byzantin nous a laissé une profusion de documents astronomiques : notes ou calculs d'Isidore de Russie, de Bessarion ou de nombreuses autres personnalités, diverses tables établies pour différentes longitudes (Moscou, Foça, Thessalonique ...). Savants, diplomates, hommes d'Église, ou serviteurs de l'État, tous ces personnages voyagent énormément et emportent avec eux leurs carnets de travail, leurs copies de tables ou de textes astronomiques dans lesquelles ils ont laissé les traces de leurs études et de leurs calculs.

Une catégorie spéciale d'écrits astronomiques est celle des traités sur l'astrolabe (93). L'astrolabe plan a été décrit pour la première fois dans un traité de Jean Philopon (ca 520-550) (94). Il faut attendre le xii[e] siècle pour trouver un autre écrit sur l'astrolabe, dans le poème astronomique de Jean Kamatéros dédié à l'empereur Manuel Comnène (1143-1180). Entretemps l'instrument est mentionné plusieurs fois : un texte d'authenti-

(93) Tihon, *Traités byzantins sur l'astrolabe*.
(94) Segonds, *Jean Philopon*.

cité douteuse attribué à Stéphane l'astrologue (fin VIII[e] siècle) mentionne l'usage de l'astrolabe. Une épigramme sur l'astrolabe est conservée dans un manuscrit du XI[e] siècle (*Vaticanus gr.* 1291) et Anne Comnène mentionne également l'instrument utilisé par les astrologues. Comme on l'a déjà signalé, l'astrolabe de Brescia, seul astrolabe byzantin conservé, a été construit en 1062, pour un certain Sergios, d'origine persane. Au XII[e] siècle, des chapitres sur l'astrolabe «tirés d'un livre sarrazin» sont conservés dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1056. Vers 1302, un traité sur l'astrolabe visiblement d'origine islamique est attribué à Siamps le Persan (Shams Bukhārī ?) et la préface de ce traité comporte une dédicace à l'empereur Andronic Paléologue (probablement Andronic II, 1282-1328). Ce traité faisait peut-être partie du corpus de textes persans traduits par Chioniadès et contient de nombreux termes techniques simplement transposés du persan. Un traité anonyme sur l'astrolabe peut-être d'origine latine est attesté à la fin du XIII[e] siècle. En 1309, un amateur a transposé en grec le traité sur l'astrolabe du Pseudo-Messahala : le grec y est transcrit mot à mot du texte latin, avec de nombreuses fautes qui résultent de cette transposition littérale ([95]). Nicéphore Grégoras (ca 1330-1340) a écrit un traité sur l'astrolabe, qu'il a remanié ensuite ([96]). Il y décrit surtout les tracés de l'instrument. Son traité a fait l'objet de scolies du moine Macarios, et a été imité dans un traité anonyme composé à Rhodes vers 1338. À la même époque, un traité sur l'astrolabe d'inspiration latine est écrit à Chypre, peut-être par Georges Lapithe. Théodore Méliténiote consacre à l'instrument une bonne partie du livre I de sa *Tribiblos* et mentionne la possibilité d'utiliser une araignée sans étoiles. L'instrument sera encore décrit par Isaac Argyre ([97]) (ca 1368 ss.) et fera l'objet de quelques notes ou chapitres anonymes. Au XV[e] siècle, un fragment fait allusion à la méthode d'Andronic Doucas Sgouros. Un inventaire des dessins représentant l'astrolabe dans les manuscrits byzantins devrait encore être effectué.

Peu d'autres instruments astronomiques ont fait l'objet de traités byzantins. Un court fragment attribué à Léonce le Mécanicien (Leontios) (VI[e] ou VII[e] siècle ?) décrit une sphère céleste dans la tradition d'Aratos ([98]). À la fin du XIV[e] siècle, un traité anonyme, probablement issu

(95) Éd. Tihon-Leurquin-Scheuren, *Pseudo-Messahalla.*
(96) Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, II, pp. 195-235.
(97) *Ibidem*, pp. 236-253.
(98) Éd. Maass, *Commentariorum*, pp. 561-567.

du milieu d'astrologues représenté par Jean Abramios, Demetrios Chloros ou Eleutherios Elios, décrit une sphère armillaire certainement d'origine persane, différente de celle de Ptolémée. Un court texte, peut-être de la même période, décrit grossièrement une «horloge persane» dans laquelle un mécanisme actionné par une chandelle laissait tomber des billes de métal pour marquer les heures. Il existe aussi une traduction grecque non datée du traité sur le quadrant de Jean de Montpellier (ou Robert l'Anglais ?) ([99]).

La question des instruments soulève celle des observations astronomiques à Byzance. On a très peu de traces d'observations réelles. Il semble que les Byzantins observaient occasionnellement (on trouve quelques mentions d'observations de solstices ou d'équinoxe), mais certainement pas systématiquement.

Un autre problème lié à l'astronomie est le comput pascal. Celui-ci a fait l'objet d'une abondante littérature byzantine, que nous ne pouvons inventorier ici. Avant le XIV[e] siècle, les textes sur le sujet sont de simples computs, sans justification scientifique, comme les traités du VII[e] siècle écrits par Maxime le Confesseur ([100]), Georges moine et prêtre, ou les chapitres ajoutés à la fin du commentaire de Stéphane d'Alexandrie par l'empereur Héraclius. Au XI[e] siècle, le traité de Nicétas Seidos est plus une discussion théologique qu'une œuvre scientifique. Au XIV[e] siècle, par contre, les traités sur la date de Pâques incluent des discussions sur la longueur de l'année tropique, l'exactitude du cycle de 19 ans ou la date de l'équinoxe de printemps.

Les grands érudits de l'époque y consacrent des traités : Nicéphore Grégoras, Barlaam, Nicolas Rhabdas et Isaac Argyre comme nous l'avons vu plus plus haut. Bessarion s'inspirera plus tard de ces arguments dans sa lettre au Pape Paul II *De errore Paschatis* ([101]). L'importance de cette question sera certainement un stimulant très efficace pour promouvoir l'étude de l'astronomie parmi les membres du clergé. C'est peut-être aussi cette raison qui explique le succès des tables juives : elles concernent toutes les syzygies et les éclipses et ne traitent pas des planètes.

On ne peut juger valablement du niveau de connaissances astronomiques à Byzance, qui étaient l'apanage de l'élite intellectuelle, que si

(99) Tannery, *Magister Robertus Anglicus.*
(100) Lempire, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques.*
(101) Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, III, pp. 546-548.

on le compare au niveau des connaissances générales du temps. Parallèlement aux écrits d'astronomie mathématique – qui permettent d'effectuer des calculs à l'aide de tables –, on trouve dans les manuscrits de nombreuses compilations d'astronomie élémentaire, inspirées de Geminus, Proclus ou Cléomède, ce dernier ayant été commenté à la fin du XIIIe siècle par Jean Pediasimos. Mais toutes les compilations n'ont pas le même niveau, et certaines ont une tenue nettement moins bonne au plan scientifique.

Des notions de base en astronomie ou en cosmologie se trouvent chez les Pères de l'Église, comme Basile de Césarée dans ses Homélies sur la Création (*Hexaèmeron*). À l'époque iconoclaste, Jean Damascène (VIIIe siècle) donne des notions astronomiques de base, mais ne se prononce pas sur la forme de la Terre. Au XIIe siècle, on voit encore circuler, sous le nom d'un certain Pierre le Philosophe, les anciennes idées de Cosmas Indicopleustès qui présentent le ciel comme une chambre voûtée à l'image du Tabernacle, et la Terre comme un cône renversé ([102]). Dans l'empire de Nicée, à l'occasion de l'éclipse de Soleil de 1239, l'impératrice Irène et l'un des médecins de sa cour se moquaient de Georges Acropolite qui avait donné l'explication scientifique correcte d'une éclipse, causée par le passage de la Lune devant le Soleil. Des compilations astrologiques expliquent les éclipses comme causées par le passage d'un «astre noir» devant le Soleil ou la Lune. Un traité chrétien mentionne un astre en forme de serpent entourant le ciel et occupant la 9e sphère sans astre : si le serpend bâille, agite la langue, la queue ou le milieu de son corps, cela signifie : mort, famine, guerre ou tremblement de terre ... (*Harleianus* 5624). Des théories de ce genre, mélangées à des références au Dragon des éclipses («Tête et Queue») réapparaissent dans les manuscrits jusqu'au XVe siècle. Par contraste, on comprend mieux les vantardises de Nicéphore Grégoras à propos de ses calculs astronomiques.

Dans l'ensemble, l'astronomie semble avoir suscité un intérêt considérable dans le monde byzantin. Ses liens avec l'astrologie, que nous traiterons plus loin, le problème de la fixation de la date de Pâques ont été des stimulants importants pour l'étude de cette science, mais aussi le goût de l'érudition, qui est une constante dans le monde intellectuel byzantin. Les manuscrits de l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée, ouvrage difficile

(102) Le texte inédit est préservé dans *l'Oxoniensis, Seldenianus* 16 (*Seldenianus supra* 17), ff. 170v-177.

s'il en est, attestent une étude constante de cette œuvre et de ses scolies anciennes par de nombreux érudits du XIIIe au XVe siècle dont les mains se retrouvent dans les marges ou dans des notes interlinéaires. C'est grâce aux études incessantes des Byzantins et aux efforts des émigrés comme le Cardinal Bessarion, que des textes astronomiques importants, comme l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée ou les *Commentaires* de Théon ont pu être transmis de manière compréhensible aux astronomes latins comme Peurbach ou Regiomontanus.

Géométrie

En géométrie, l'ouvrage de base est celui d'Euclide, les *Éléments*, mais les œuvres de Héron (Ier siècle p. C.), Pappus (IVe siècle p. C.), Proclus (Ve siècle p. C.) joueront également un rôle important. Comme ils avaient accès au texte d'Euclide, et que cet auteur, à l'inverse de Ptolémée, pouvait être directement étudié sans le recours à de nombreux commentaires, les Byzantins n'ont pas développé énormément de littérature sur la géométrie.

À l'époque de Justinien, on trouve cependant les deux grands géomètres que sont Anthémius de Tralles et Isidore de Milet, architectes de Haghia Sophia à Constantinople. Mécanicien, physicien, architecte et géomètre, Anthémius était surtout un remarquable ingénieur ([103]). Isidore a édité des traités d'Archimède et commenté un traité de Héron. A la même époque, Eutocius d'Ascalon a commenté des traités d'Archimède et d'Apollonius de Pergè, et est probablement l'auteur d'une *Introduction à l'Almageste*, très souvent copiée et qui concerne surtout l'arithmétique.

L'étude d'Euclide est attestée au IXe siècle par des scolies d'Aréthas de Césarée (*Bodleianus d'Orville* 301, copié en 888) ([104]) et par une anecdote concernant Léon le Mathématicien (ou Léon le Philosophe). Un de ses élèves, prisonnier des Arabes, aurait impressionné le Calife al-Ma'mūn par sa connaissance des démonstrations d'Euclide. À la suite de quoi, le calife aurait fait des offres à Léon pour venir enseigner à Baghdad ([105]).

(103) HUXLEY, *Anthemius of Tralles*.

(104) HEIBERG, *Om Scholiernetil Euklids Elementer* (nous n'avons pu consulter cette étude).

(105) Sur cette anecdote, voir LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, pp. 148ss.

Au XI^e siècle, l'étude de la géométrie était fort prisée. Anne Comnène raconte l'histoire de Nicéphore Diogène qui, privé de la vue pour avoir comploté contre l'empereur Alexis, avait appris la géométrie à l'aide de figures en relief. Le *quadrivium* anonyme (ca 1007), déjà cité ([106]), contient un résumé assez érudit, mais de niveau élémentaire, des connaissances antiques en géométrie : définitions fondamentales, figures planes, solides, augmentations des figures (duplication du cube, proportions), applications astronomiques (mesures à l'aide de la dioptre, mesure de la circonférence de la Terre). Ses sources sont classiques : Euclide, Proclus, Platon (pour les solides) et quelques autres. Enfin, la tradition manuscrite des œuvres géométriques de Héron (et notamment un superbe manuscrit du XI^e ou XII^e siècle, le *Constantinopolitanus, Palatii Veteris* 1 ([107])) témoigne de l'intérêt des Byzantins pour cette discipline.

La géométrie du *quadrivium* de Georges Pachymère ([108]), basée essentiellement sur Euclide, est assez développée.

À côté de la tradition euclidienne, existaient de nombreux petits traités de géodésie, soit des procédés pour mesurer les terres. Le genre a été illustré au XI^e siècle par Michel Psellos ([109]) (ca 1018-1078) dans un petit traité versifié, à la fin du XIII^e siècle par Jean Pediasimos ([110]) et par Isaac Argyre ([111]) à la fin du XIV^e siècle. Mais, à côté de ces traités de bon niveau scientifique, il existe plusieurs traités pratiques anonymes, dont les procédés laissent grandement à désirer du point de vue de l'exactitude ([112]).

Musique

La théorie musicale avait été développée dans l'Antiquité par Aristoxène, Euclide, Ptolémée, et beaucoup d'autres auteurs comme Théon de Smyrne, Cléonide, Nicomaque, Gaudence, Alypius, Bacchius l'Ancien, Denys ... La musique grecque ancienne était basée sur la lyre, dont la tension des cordes pouvait être réglée de façon à modifier la hauteur du

(106) Voir ci-dessus, note 1.
(107) Bruins, *Codex Constantinopolitanus.*
(108) Voir ci-dessus, note 8.
(109) Lefort *et alii*, *Géométries du fisc byzantin.*
(110) Friedlein, *Die Geometrie des Pediasimos.*
(111) Lefort *et alii*, *Géométries du fisc byzantin*, pp. 154-167.
(112) *Ibidem.*

son. Le point de départ était le tétracorde comportant deux sons fixes (aux extrémités) et deux sons mobiles (à l'intérieur). On ajouta un et plusieurs autres tétracordes pour créer une échelle musicale plus étendue selon des systèmes différents (selon que les tétracordes ont une note commune ou non, et selon le nombre de tétracordes ajoutés). À l'intérieur des systèmes, on créa des genres différents (diatonique, chromatique, enharmonique) : les sons fixes (aux extrémités du tétracorde) restaient identiques d'un genre à l'autre, tandis que les sons mobiles variaient selon le genre désiré, créant des intervalles différents. Par exemple, si l'on établit à l'intérieur d'un tétracorde (= 2 ½ tons), une succession d'intervalles de ½ ton + 1 ton + 1 ton, on obtient le genre diatonique ; avec ½ ton + ½ on + 1 ½ ton, on obtient le genre chromatique ; avec ¼ ton + ¼ ton + 2 tons, on obtient le genre enharmonique. Enfin, on détermina différents modes (lydien, éolien, phrygien, dorien, etc) et différents tons selon l'emplacement des intervalles et le registre vocal (plus aigu, plus grave) utilisé.

Une grande partie de la théorie musicale ancienne consistait à étudier les rapports mathématiques qui représentent les intervalles musicaux. On mesurait ceux-ci sur le fameux «canon» de Pythagore, une règle sur laquelle est tendue une corde que l'on peut appuyer sur des chevalets (comme on le fait de nos jours pour les instruments comme le violon). En comparant la hauteur des sons produits et la longueur des cordes, on pouvait exprimer les intervalles musicaux par des rapports numériques : 2/1 pour l'octave, 4/3 pour la quarte, 3/2 pour la quinte et ainsi de suite. Il fallait également définir, parmi les intervalles, ceux qui sont harmonieux ou discordants, expliquer en détail le nom des notes, les systèmes, les genres, les modes, les tons, la notation musicale, etc. On discutait sur la valeur du «demi-ton» de la quarte qui n'est pas exactement 1/2 ton, mais un «reste» un peu plus petit qu'un demi-ton. La théorie devint donc de plus en plus complexe et raffinée, les genres recevant des «nuances». On étendait l'étude des rapports harmoniques à la cosmologie, car on associait un son particulier et des intervalles musicaux aux différentes sphères des planètes. L'idée platonicienne que la théorie musicale doit refléter l'harmonie universelle du monde et que celle-ci s'exprime par des rapports mathématiques restera fermement ancrée dans les mentalités bien au-delà de l'Antiquité et du monde byzantin.

Les Byzantins ont continué cette tradition. On pense souvent que leurs volumineux traités d'harmonique n'avaient aucun lien avec la pratique musicale de leur époque, mais ceci est loin d'être certain, car on ne connaît pratiquement rien de la musique profane byzantine.

Le *quadrivium* anonyme du XIe siècle ([113]) présente une assez courte partie musicale dans laquelle il évoque succinctement les sons, les intervalles, le ton, les systèmes, les genres, les modes.

À la fin du XIIIe siècle, Jean Pediasimos écrit quelques observations sur des points de la théorie musicale ([114]). Vers 1300, Georges Pachymère consacre à la musique la deuxième partie de son *quadrivium* ([115]). L'exposé est beaucoup plus développé et fait souvent référence à Ptolémée ; il décrit systématiquement les systèmes et les genres. Son contemporain Manuel Bryennios a laissé un volumineux traité d'*Harmonique* en trois livres ([116]) dans lesquelles il passe aussi en revue les sons, les intervalles, les systèmes, les genres avec leurs nuances, les modes ... toujours dans la tradition des théoriciens anciens. Vers 1330-1340, Nicéphore Grégoras écrit un complément aux *Harmoniques* de Ptolémée auquel Barlaam oppose une réfutation sous le titre «Réfutation des trois chapitres ajoutés aux titres du troisième livre des *Harmoniques* de Ptolémée» ([117]). Les chapitres ajoutés par Grégoras sont les chapitres 14-15 du livre III, tandis que le ch. 16, que Grégoras aurait trouvé au milieu du ch. 9 du livre III, aurait simplement été déplacé à la fin de l'ouvrage. Le chapitre 14 met les différents sons en rapports avec les aspects (triangulaire, quadrangulaire ...) des planètes. Le ch. 15 met en relation les rapports chiffrés des aspects et des intervalles. Le ch. 16 compare les propriétés astrologiques des planètes et des sons. Dans sa *Réfutation*, Barlaam procède méthodiquement selon des principes critiques remarquables qui pourraient être ceux d'un philologue moderne. Après eux, l'étude de l'*Harmonique* semble susciter moins de zèle et on ne voit plus apparaître de nouveaux traités byzantins sur ce sujet.

(113) Voir note 1.
(114) Éd. VINCENT, *Notices sur trois manuscrits grecs*, pp. 290-315.
(115) Voir note 8.
(116) JONKER, *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius*.
(117) Éd. DÜRING, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, pp. 112-121. Le traité de Ptolémée a fait l'objet d'une traduction italienne : RAFFA, *La Scienza Armonica di Claudio Tolomeo*.

SCIENCES ANNEXES

Géographie

Les sources de la géographie byzantine sont, comme toujours, les auteurs anciens : Strabon, Pausanias, les géographes dits "mineurs" (Dicéarque, Agatharchide, Denys de Byzance, Denys Périégète – ce dernier commenté par Eustathe de Thessalonique au XIIe siècle –, Agathémère ...) dont il existait des recueils dès le IXe-Xe siècle (*Palatinus gr.* 398) ([118]), et bien sûr Ptolémée ([119]).

La conception du monde habité (*oikouménè*) chez les Byzantins ne différait pas de celles des Anciens à l'exception d'un ouvrage très particulier, la *Topographie Chrétienne* de Cosmas Indicopleustès ([120]). Cosmas était un marchand d'Alexandrie dont le champ d'activités couvrait la Méditerranée, le bassin de la Mer Rouge et le golfe persique – malgré son nom, il n'est pas certain qu'il ait voyagé jusqu'en Inde. Son ouvrage, la *Topographie Chrétienne* (ca 547-549), relève à la fois de la théologie, de la cosmographie et de la géographie. Cosmas y défend l'idée que l'univers a la forme d'un coffre dont le couvercle est voûté, comme le tabernacle de Moïse. La terre a une forme quadrangulaire, entourée de l'Océan, et à l'est de celui-ci se trouve le Paradis. Les jours et les nuits s'expliquent par la présence de montagnes situées au nord. Cet ouvrage, qui reflète les doctrines nestoriennes héritées de Théodore de Mopsueste, contient de nombreuses justifications théologiques et des attaques contre les partisans de la forme sphérique de l'Univers. Il contient également beaucoup de renseignements tirés de l'expérience personnelle de l'auteur sur le commerce avec l'Orient, la faune et la flore exotique, et une description de l'île de Ceylan (Taprobane) (livre XI). La cosmologie de Cosmas aura une longue survie dans les pays slaves et se retrouve encore dans quelques textes byzantins du XIIe siècle. Dans l'ensemble, la conception de l'univers sphérique semble avoir été plus répandue dans le monde byzantin, même si on trouve des compi-

(118) MÜLLER, *Geographi graeci minores* ; voir également MARCOTTE, *Géographes*.
(119) Voir BERGGREN-JONES, *Ptolemy's Geography* ; nouvelle édition : STÜCKELBERGER-GRASSHOFF, *Klaudios Ptolemaios Handbuch der Geographie*.
(120) Éditions : WOLSKA-CONUS, *Topographie chrétienne* ; WINSTEDT, *The Christian Topography*. Étude : WOLSKA, *La topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès*.

lations d'origine incertaine reprenant des notions bigarrées sur la géographie, la forme de la terre, et des sujets connexes ([121]).

La géographie scientifique était intimement liée à l'astronomie, puisque les tables astronomiques, particulièrement les *Tables Faciles* comprenaient des longues listes de «Villes Illustres» donnant leurs coordonnées en longitude et en latitude ([122]). Les manuscrits reprennent souvent ces listes, ainsi que des notes sur les climats, les continents etc. En général, les coordonnées de Ptolémée sont reprises sans changement. Mais au XIe siècle, plusieurs documents, de même que l'astrolabe de Brescia (1062), utilisent une latitude correcte de 41° pour Constantinople au lieu des 43° de Ptolémée. Au XIVe siècle, lorsque les tables perses pénétreront dans le monde byzantin, elles seront également accompagnées de listes géographiques. Ceci sera source de confusion, car le méridien de référence est différent : les îles Canaries pour Ptolémée, les Colonnes d'Hercule pour les tables perses. Beaucoup d'utilisateurs byzantins mélangeront indûment les deux types de coordonnées. Au XVe siècle, on trouve quelques rares notes en marge des tables dans lesquelles sont rectifiées les latitudes ou les longitudes inscrites dans la table.

En ce qui concerne la cartographie proprement dite, il faut attendre Maxime Planude à la fin du XIIIe siècle pour voir un savant byzantin s'intéresser à la *Géographie* de Ptolémée. On a longtemps pensé que Maxime Planude avait été le responsable de la recontruction des cartes de Ptolémée, mais les recherches actuelles tendent à montrer que les cartes qui figurent dans les manuscrits de la *Géographie* remontent bien à la fin de l'Antiquité ([123]). Nicéphore Grégoras a aussi annoté la *Géographie* de Ptolémée et plus tard Jean Chortasmenos (début XVe siècle) la recopie.

Strabon a été souvent étudié : on en trouve des extraits sous la plume de divers érudits, tels Michel Psellos (1018-1081), Eustathe (ca 1170), Maxime Planude (ca 1300) ou le copiste Jean Catrarios (ca 1322) ([124]). À l'extrême fin de l'empire byzantin, des notes autographes de Georges Gémiste Pléthon corrigent Strabon ([125]). Pléthon a de nouvelles informations sur la Scandinavie et sur le nord de la Russie. Pour la Scandinavie,

(121) Voir par exemple DELATTE, *Geographica* ; IDEM, *Un manuel byzantin.*
(122) HONIGMANN, *Die sieben Klimata.*
(123) DILLER, *The oldest manuscripts of Ptolemaic maps.* Voir note 119.
(124) LASSERRE, *Étude sur les extraits médiévaux de Strabon.*
(125) DILLER, *A Geographical Treatise by Georgius Gemistus Pletho.*

il fait état d'une carte du Danois Claudius Clavus que lui a montrée le Florentin Paolo Toscanelli. Mais il ignore tout des voyages de Marco Polo en Extrême-Orient et ses connaissances sur cette partie du monde sont toujours celles de Ptolémée.

La géographie byzantine est aussi représentée par des listes administratives civiles, comme le *Synecdêmos* («compagnon de voyage») d'Hiéroclès (ca 527/528), la *Description du monde romain* de Georges de Chypre (VIIe s., mais conservé à travers une compilation du IXe siècle) ([126]) ou le *Livre des Thèmes* de Constantin Porphyrogénète (Xe siècle), ou religieuses, comme les listes des patriarchats du moine sicilien Nil Doxopatres (ca 1142) ([127]).

Des notions de géographie plus ou moins développées apparaissent enfin dans beaucoup d'autres genres d'écrits : histoire, correspondances, récits de voyageurs (par exemple la *Periêgêsis* d'André Libadinos, Trébizonde ca. 1355) ([128]), lexiques comme les *Ethnica* de Stéphane de Byzance (ca 528-535) ([129]), ouvrages encyclopédiques ([130]) ... ou encore des écrits à vocation plus pratique comme le *Périple de la Grande Mer*, (Xe siècle) ([131]) qui contient des instructions nautiques à l'usage des marins ou des itinéraires ([132]) ... On notera aussi le curieux traité de Demetrios Triclinios (Thessalonique, ca 1300/1325) qui voit dans les taches de la Lune le miroir de la géographie terrestre ([133]).

Optique et Mécanique

Aux IXe et Xe siècles, Byzance a développé un certain goût pour l'optique et la mécanique. Mais la tradition remonte plus haut : à l'époque de Justinien, Anthémius de Tralle, ingénieur et architecte de Haghia

(126) HONIGMANN, *Le Synecdèmos d'Hiéroklès.*
(127) LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatris.*
(128) LAMPSIDIS, *Andréou Libadinoû.*
(129) MEINEKE, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt* ; BILLERBECK, *Ethnica.*
(130) Les ouvrages géographiques attribués à Nicéphore Blemmyde (*Geographici graeci minores*, II, pp. 458-470) sont des faux du XVIe siècle selon DILLER, *Two Greek forgeries of the sixteenth century.*
(131) MÜLLER, *Geographi graeci minores*, I, pp. 427-514.
(132) EBERSOLT, *Un itinéraire de Chypre en Perse.* Voir le chapitre «Geographie» dans HUNGER, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur.*
(133) WASSERSTEIN, *An unpublished Treatise by Demetrius Triclinius.*

Sophia, écrit un traité sur les miroirs ardents (134). Anthémius passait pour un savant facétieux : on raconte qu'il avait fait fuir un voisin indésirable en simulant un tremblement de terre au moyen de vapeur envoyée dans des tuyaux, mais on n'a aucun détail sur cette machine à vapeur. Au IXe siècle, l'empereur Théophile (829-842) avait une collection d'automates. À la même époque Léon le Mathématicien est crédité de la construction d'un télégraphe optique dont les signaux étaient retransmis régulièrement à Constantinople depuis la frontière orientale de l'empire (nord de Tarse) (135). De même, le trône impérial de Constantinople comportait des mécanismes qui permettaient de l'élever jusqu'au plafond, tandis que des lions en bronze se mettaient à rugir et battaient la queue, des griffons se dressaient et des oiseaux se mettaient à chanter dans des arbres dorés (136). Ces automates se situent dans la tradition de Philon (IIe siècle a. C.) ou de Héron d'Alexandrie (Ier siècle p. C.) dont la tradition manuscrite abondante (et notamment un superbe manuscrit constantinopolitain du Xe siècle) atteste le succès. À la fin du XIVe siècle, on a trace d'une horloge «persane», qui marquait les heures au moyen d'une chandelle qui faisait s'écouler des billes de plomb.

Astrologie

L'astrologie a toujours été pratiquée à Byzance et les manuscrits contenant des compilations astrologiques sont très nombreux (137). L'attitude des empereurs et même de l'Église a varié à propos de l'astrologie, les condamnations fermes alternant avec une certaine tolérance. Les rapports entre l'astrologie et l'Orthodoxie ont été magistralement étudiés récemment par P. Magdalino (138).

Contrairement à une idée reçue, les Byzantins, du moins les personnes éduquées, ne confondaient pas astronomie et astrologie : l'astronomie était la partie théorique, l'astrologie, la partie pratique. Comme le

(134) Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles.*
(135) Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, pp. 154-155.
(136) Brett, *The automata.*
(137) Description des manuscrits astrologiques et éditions de nombreux extraits dans le *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* (= *CCAG*). Sur l'astrologie à Byzance, voir Magdalino, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues* ; Tihon, *Astrological Promenade.*
(138) Magdalino, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues* ; voir également Magdalino-Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences.*

dira Théodore Métochite, l'astronomie était la matière traitée dans l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée, l'astrologie, la matière traitée dans la *Tetrabiblos*. Cependant les liens entre les deux disciplines étaient évidents, car l'astrologue avait besoin de tables astronomiques pour établir son *themation*, ou thème astrologique, que l'on appelle souvent «horoscope» par simplification. Un thème astrologique présente, sous une forme codifiée, les positions du Soleil, de la Lune et des cinq planètes, ainsi que les douze «lieux» (139). Ce sont là des éléments purement astronomiques, mais qui vont servir de base à l'astrologue pour ses prédictions et ses interprétations. Il arrive souvent que, dans des textes astrologiques, on trouve d'importants renseignements à propos des tables astronomiques utilisées ; de même, des thèmes astrologiques conservés (140) peuvent donner au chercheur moderne de nombreuses informations historiques, codicologiques et astronomiques.

Les sources principales des astrologues byzantins sont anciennes – Ptolémée, Vettius Valens (Ier/IIe siècle p. C.), Dorothée de Sidon (Ier/IIe siècle p. C.), Paul d'Alexandrie (IVe siècle p. C.), Julien de Laodicée (ca 500 p. C.), Héphestion de Thèbes (ca 415 p. C.) –, ou islamiques (Abū Maʿshar = Palchos, Ahmed le Persan ...), ou encore juives, indiennes ou pseudo-indiennes.

De nombreux noms d'astrologues byzantins ont été conservés et il serait vain de vouloir les citer tous : nous nous contenterons ici d'un rapide inventaire. Au VIe siècle, malgré les interdictions de Justinien (141), les opuscules de Jean Lydus, *Sur les Présages* et *Sur les Mois* (142) contiennent des éléments astrologiques. À Alexandrie, vers 564, Olympiodore commente Paul d'Alexandrie (143). Au VIIe siècle, Rhétorios compile une collection d'anciens astrologues (144) qui contient notamment de nom-

(139) Pour les notions techniques, on se reportera à l'ouvrage irremplaçable de Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque.*
(140) Comme ceux de la proclamation des empereurs Manuel Comnène (31 mars 1143), Alexis Comnène (1er avril 1081), et d'autres dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1056. Voir Pingree, *Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy*, p. 139, n. 29.
(141) Procope, *Anecdota* XI, 37.
(142) Éd. Wünsch, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi* ; Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber de ostensis.*
(143) Éd. Boer, *Heliodori ut dicitur.* Sur l'attribution à Olympiodore, voir Warnon, *Le commentaire attribué à Héliodore* ; Westerink, *Ein astrologisches Kolleg.*
(144) Pingree, *Antiochus and Rhetorius.*

breux «horoscopes» (thèmes astrologiques) des v^e et vi^e siècles [145]. Au viii^e siècle, Théophile d'Édesse utilise des sources grecques, mais aussi du matériel islamique et indien. Sous le nom de «Stéphane» nous est parvenu un horoscope de l'Islam et des prédictions pour le monde islamique probablement rédigées vers 775 [146]. Vers la même époque Jean Damascène condamne fermement l'astrologie [147]. Au ix^e siècle, Léon le Philosophe était réputé pour ses talents d'astrologue et quelques textes nous sont parvenus sous son nom, ainsi que sous le nom de l'empereur Léon VI le Sage [148]. Du x^e siècle dateraient des compilations dues à un certain Demophilos.

Vers l'an 1000 apparaissent les traductions grecques d'astrologues arabes tels Abū Maʿshar et son élève Shādān, le *Carpos* du Pseudo-Ptolémée avec le commentaire de Ahmad ibn Yūsuf, et une compilation attribuée à Ahmad le Persan. Ces ouvrages sont conservés dans des compilations des xi^e-xii^e siècles [149]. La vogue de l'astrologie aux xi^e et xii^e siècle est attestée par les historiens comme Michel Psellos, Anne Comnène ou Nicetas Choniates. Un texte mentionne des prédictions astrologiques à propos des courses de l'hippodrome en 1132 [150]. De nombreux savants ou lettrés de l'époque se sont essayés à l'astrologie, les uns en professant leur incrédulité (Michel Psellos, Anne Comnène, Michel Italicos), les autres, comme Syméon Seth, la pratiquant professionnellement. L'empereur Alexis Comnène essaya prudemment d'endiguer la vogue des astrologues, mais son petit-fils Manuel (1143-1180) était féru d'astrologie. Il écrivit une lettre en défense de l'astrologie, qui figure dans bon nombre de manuscrits astrologiques, et polémiqua à ce sujet avec le patriarche Michel Glycas [151]. Sous son règne, Jean Kamateros écrit un poème astrologique [152].

(145) Neugebauer - van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 140 ss.
(146) Éd. Usener, *De Stephano Alexandrino*, pp. 266-289. Autre texte édité par Cumont, dans *CCAG*, II, pp. 181-186. Voir aussi Pingree, *Historical Horoscopes*, pp. 501-502.
(147) *De fide orthodoxa*, *PG* 94, 893.
(148) Par exemple, *CCAG*, I, p. 139 ; IV, p. 92.
(149) Pingree, *The Indian and Pseudo-Indian passages* ; Idem, art. *Astrology* dans *ODB*.
(150) *CCAG*, VIII, 1, pp. 196-198. Wuilleumier, *Cirque et astrologie* (je n'ai pas pu me procurer cet article ; mais le texte a été lu dans le *Parisinus gr.* 2423).
(151) Éd. Cumont, dans CCAG, V, 1, pp. 108-125.
(152) Éd. Weigl, *Ein Kompendium*.

Sous l'empire latin est traduit par un certain Alexis *l'Apocalypse du Prophète Daniel* d'après une version arabe (ca 1245) [153]. À partir de la fin du xiii^e siècle jusqu'à la chute de Byzance, les manuscrits astrologiques sont extrêmement nombreux. Le dialogue anonyme *Hermippe* ou *De l'astrologie*, défense de l'astrologie chrétienne, – et même comme approche de la contemplation de Dieu – daterait du début du xiv^e siècle [154].

L'attitude des grands intellectuels byzantins de l'époque paléologue vis-à-vis de l'astrologie n'est pas toujours facile à cerner. Ainsi, Georges Pachymère condamne l'astrologie, mais voit dans certaines éclipses, comme Georges Acropolite, des présages annonçant la mort de tel ou tel empereur ou membre de la famille impériale [155]. Théodore Métochite défend une astrologie «raisonnable», mais critique les prédictions absurdes, individuelles : ce qui relève des lois naturelles peut être soumis à l'influence des astres, mais ce qui relève du libre-arbitre ne l'est pas. Plus enthousiaste, Nicéphore Grégoras dans son *Histoire Byzantine* éclaire de nombreux événements à la lumière d'une astrologie raisonnable, mais critique les stupides prédictions qui se répandent vers les années 1330 ss.

Comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, l'astronomie perse était plus nettement liée à l'astrologie. C'est sans doute en vue d'appliquer celle-ci à la médecine que Georges Chioniadès avait voulu, selon le récit de Chrysococcès, se rendre en Perse pour apprendre l'astronomie [156]. Nommé évêque de Tabriz en 1304-1305, il fut obligé d'écrire une profession de foi chrétienne, dans laquelle il réfute les accusations faites à son endroit d'avoir adopté des croyances étrangères du fait de ses longs séjours chez les Perses, les Chaldéens et les Arabes ; il se défend également d'avoir accepté un fatalisme astrologique contraire à la religion chrétienne [157].

Des prédictions astrologiques populaires, sans doute analogues à celles qui avaient suscité les moqueries de Nicéphore Grégoras, ont été

(153) *CCAG*, VII, pp. 171-173 ; VIII, 3, pp. 171-179 ; X, pp. 153-155 ; XII, pp. 153-155.
(154) Éd. Kroll-Viereck, *Anonymi Christiani Hermippus*. Le traité est attribué tantôt à Zacharias, tantôt à Nicéphore Grégoras : voir à ce sujet Magdalino, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, pp. 154ss.
(155) Magdalino, *ibidem*, pp. 133 ss ; Tihon, *Astrological promenade*.
(156) Voir ci-dessus, pp. 401-402.
(157) Westerink, *La Profession de foi*.

conservées dans un document astrologique anonyme unique en son genre, l'*Almanach de Trébizonde* pour l'année 1336. Les positions des astres, calculées de dix en dix jours selon des méthodes perses, sont assorties dans les marges de prédictions astrologiques très pittoresques pour la région de Trébizonde (158). Toutes les classes de la société sont concernées par ces prévisions : les rois, les nobles, les magnats, les archontes, les soldats, les humbles, les eunuques, les notaires, les grammairiens, les marchands, les musiciens, les comédiens, les femmes, les prélats ... Les événements prédits sont de toute sorte : météorologie, agriculture, commerce, politique intérieure, guerres, complots, médisances, maladies, invasions d'animaux nuisibles ... Les éphémérides de 1336 sont dédiées à Constantin Loukitès, personnage officiel de la cour de Trébizonde.

Cet almanach est peut-être dû au prêtre Manuel de Trébizonde, maître de Georges Chrysococcès. Ce dernier termine sa *Syntaxe Perse* par plusieurs chapitres utiles pour les astrologues et insiste sur l'importance de l'astrologie dans la pratique de la médecine ; il ajoute une profession de foi selon laquelle les astres ne sont pas les causes des événements, mais ont reçu par volonté divine le pouvoir d'annoncer les événements – ce sera l'argument de tous les astrologues chrétiens (159).

À l'opposé, dans sa *Tribiblos astronomique*, Théodore Méliténiote condamne vigoureusement l'astrologie, en des termes qui rappellent les condamnations de Georges Pachymère (160). Méliténiote, lui aussi, défendra l'astronomie perse, objet du livre III de sa *Tribiblos astronomique*, mais débarrassée de toute intention ou implication astrologique.

La fin du XIV^e^ siècle et le début du XV^e^ siècle connaîtra des astrologues très actifs, souvent adeptes de l'astronomie perse : Jean Abramios, Demetrios Chloros, Eleutherios Elios et son élève Dionysos (161). On doit

(158) Éd. MERCIER, *Almanach* ; *CCAG*, VII, pp. 152-160 (édition sans les tables) ; LAMPROS, *Trapezountiakon horoscopion*, pp. 33-50 (édition sans les tables). Voir TIHON, *Les tables astronomiques persanes*, pp. 478-479.

(159) TIHON, *Astrological Promenade*. Dans cet article, quelques corrections malencontreuses ont été introduites par les éditeurs, sans que les épreuves nous soient soumises, ainsi p. 280 : au lieu de «... Chrysokokkes's master (*the emperor* Manuel of Trebizond)», il faut lire : «... Chrysokokkes's master (Manuel of Trebizond)». Il s'agit évidemment du prêtre Manuel et non de l'empereur.

(160) Éd. LEURQUIN, *Tribiblos*, I, pp. 88ss.

(161) PINGREE, *The Astrological School of John Abramius*.

à ces astrologues de nombreuses compilations, mais aussi bon nombre de falsifications.

CONCLUSIONS

Du fait que de nombreux textes scientifiques byzantins sont encore inédits et difficilement accessibles aux historiens des sciences, le monde byzantin n'est pas souvent associé à des réalisations scientifiques. Le rôle de Byzance dans la transmission des connaissances scientifiques doit pourtant être estimé à sa juste valeur. Profondément attachés à l'héritage des Anciens, les érudits byzantins ont déployé d'énormes efforts pour préserver et transmettre cet héritage. Mais cet attachement ne les empêchait pas d'être réceptifs aux progrès faits par leurs voisins, Arabes, Persans ou Juifs, et même Latins. Les adaptations byzantines ont à leur tour influencé leurs voisins ; elles ont continué à jouer un rôle dans l'éducation et l'enseignement du monde grec sous les Ottomans.

La Renaissance Européenne doit aux efforts des érudits byzantins la préservation de l'héritage majeur des traités scientifiques en provenance de l'Antiquité. Mais les Byzantins ont fait plus que préserver les textes : ils les ont gardés en vie. En s'efforçant de les comprendre, de les éditer, de les expliquer, en écrivant des manuels qui s'en inspiraient, en s'entraînant sans fin aux calculs astronomiques et aux démonstrations décrites dans les traités, ils ont permis aux savants de la Renaissance d'avoir accès aux grandes œuvres scientifiques anciennes. Cette activité intellectuelle, particulièrement intense aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles, est d'autant plus remarquable qu'elle se situe dans un contexte difficile, alors que le monde byzantin est en proie à des guerres civiles, des querelles religieuses, des catastrophes naturelles, et où son territoire se rétrécit comme peau de chagrin sous la poussée des Turcs. Beaucoup de traités scientifiques byzantins restent à éditer : souhaitons que cet essai suscite l'intérêt de philologues enthousiastes et compétents et les encourage à entreprendre les éditions critiques qui font encore cruellement défaut.

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SUMMARY

This article concerns the exact sciences in Byzantium, namely the four traditional sciences that were usually designated in the Middle Ages by the term *quadrivium* : arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music. It offers a review of the Byzantine texts and documents preserved in these domains from the sixth century to the Fall of Constantinople. The article presents the leading trends : continuation of Hellenistic Greek science, Islamic Jewish or Latin influences, in practical or scholarly directions, as well as the great historical changes that mark the stages of scientific knowledge. The ancillary sciences, geography, optics and mechanics, as well as astrology, are briefly sketched.

THE EPIC SCHOLARSHIP OF IRFAN SHAHÎD : AN EPIC HISTORY OF THE PRE-ISLAMIC ARABS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH BYZANTIUM FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO HERACLIUS AND THE ISLAMIC CONQUESTS OF THE BYZANTINE DIOCESE OF ORIENS (1)

It is an honor, and indeed a great pleasure to attempt here an evaluation of the life's work of a friend and a great scholar, in the pages of *Byzantion*. It will be obvious to the reader that I cannot even begin to encompass effectively the massive and fecund scholarly work of Irfan Shahîd in these few pages. The most that I can hope for is to draw attention to its rich content, and to its great historical significance for all those who concern themselves with the world's major historical, cultural, and religious events and changes.

Before proceeding to the subject I should like to call attention to the devoted labors of father Demaret who has given himself, over the years, to the translation of a part of the works of Shahîd, from English to French. This he has done for a good reason inasmuch as all those who have difficulty with Shahîd's richness of the English language would have been discouraged from wading into the complexities of Shahîd's thought and writings. They must all be grateful to him for this difficult undertaking.

Abbreviations

BA	*Byzantium and the Arabs. A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs*, Washington D.C., 1984
BAFOC	*Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington D.C., 1984, 2006

(1) The English text of this paper has been reviewed by the redaction of *Byzantion*.

BAFIC *Byzantium and the Arabs on the Fifth Century*, Washington D.C., 1989, 2006
BASIC *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*
Vol. I, Part 1 : *Political and Military History*, Washington D.C., 1995
Part 2 : *Ecclesiastical History*, Washington, D.C., 1995
Vol. II, Part 1 : *Toponymy, Monuments, Historical Geography and Frontier Studies*, Washington D.C., 2002
Part 2 : *Social, Economic, and Cultural History of the Ghassanids*, is presently in the hands of the press
BISC *Byzantium and Islam in the Seventh Century*. The final volume in the series is still awaited.

Having dedicated a major portion of his scholarly life to the relations between Byzantium and the Arabs as well as to the histories and cultures of two world empires and civilizations (Byzantine and Islamic), Irfan Shahîd has created (in the scholarly sense of the word) a monumental history of the relations of the pre-Islamic Arabs with the Byzantine empire from Constantine the Great to the reign of the seventh century emperor Heraclius. His relentless labors and their codifications have been published in ten "precious" (to utilize a word that Shahîd has applied frequently in discussing many of the polyglot primary sources) volumes with an eleventh now in the hands of the press, and a twelfth presently and rapidly in the process of "becoming". The results have been welcomed by the scholarly world and especially by those who deal with Late Antiquity, early Byzantine and early Islamic history. Shahîd's findings will continue to stimulate these scholars to re-examine their own positions, studies, theses, and their more general interpretations in the above mentioned fields. A random perusal of the many entries in the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (both by Shahîd and by others as well) is but one of many testimonies to the value of his work.

One should begin with an examination of Shahîd's scholarship, a scholarship characterized by an openness to all scholarship bearing on the theme under discussion ; a willingness to build on that part of a centuries and a half of serious scholarship that he has found essential or useful ; a freedom to debate all that which he has not found acceptable ; a vigorous insistance on rejecting that which he has found unacceptable ; and, most importantly, a critical examination of all primary sources, whether written or material. Before proceeding to the matter of Shahîd's methodology it is necessary to introduce here, in a few words, the major role in Shahîd's research and writing of the

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University in Washington, D.C., and the presence there of two other outstanding scholars concerned with the relations of Byzantium and the Arabs) the late Professors Alexander Vasiliev and Marius Canard. It so happened that Vasiliev (the emigré Russian Byzantinist, who had succeeded Michael Rostovtsev), upon retiring from Wisconsin, moved to Dumbarton Oaks. There he continued his active program of researches until his death shortly before Shahîd was appointed Junior Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks for the year 1954-1955. Vasiliev had published his original studies on the relations of Byzantium with the Islamic Arabs (in Russian) in 1899-1900 in the Russian scholarly periodical *Zhurnal Ministerstvo Narodnogo Prosvieschenie*, and in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*. Thirty-five years later, and after Vasiliev had emigrated to the United States, Henri Grégoire, essentially with the labors of the French-Algerian Byzantino-Arabist Marius Canard, published an expanded French translation of the first volume of Vasiliev's work, in Brussels, a work that dealt with the period of the Byzantine Amorian dynasty (820-867).

In the fall of 1954 the director of Dumbarton Oaks had invited Canard to Dumbarton Oaks a full term in order to examine closely the papers and researches which Vasiliev had left unfinished, and to see if there was any follow up to the second part of Vasiliev's Russian studies on the relations between Byzantium and the Arabs in the ninth and tenth century. Though the research did not turn up anything new on that particular subject, the presence of Canard at Dumbarton Oaks was to be an important prelude to the further pursuit of the translation and substantial rewriting of Vasiliev's Russian text on these Byzantino-Arab relations. Indeed the intentions of Grégoire to see a new version of part two of Vasiliev's Russian work resulted in the re-invitation of Canard to Dumbarton Oaks to translate the Russian text of part two, and then to double its contents on the basis of his later research, which now included many more Arabic and Byzantine texts than had been accessible to Vasiliev. This completely new edition saw the light of publication, again in Brussels, in 1968.

The one year stay at Dumbarton Oaks in 1954-1955 was to have a durable effect on Shahîd. Aside from the stimulation of the Dumbarton Oaks interest on Byzantium and Islam and the presence of Canard, Shahîd turned now to his teaching career, with brief stays at UCLA and the University of Indiana, before returning to Washington, where he was invited to join the faculty of Georgetown University and where, in

1981, he was eventually appointed to the endowed chair as Oman Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Here he has distinguished himself as one of the leaders of his field. Having 'tasted' the rich scholarly resources of Dumbarton Oaks in the mid 1950's he realized that his research would have to be in and around Dumbarton Oaks, little more than a stone's throw from his office in Georgetown. A series of directors of studies at Dumbarton Oaks very generously gave him an office on the grounds of the Harvard Byzantine Institute and there Shahîd turned to what can be termed, only in the very best sense, his "mass production" on the relations between Byzantium and the Arabs. The combination of Georgetown University and Dumbarton Oaks henceforth became his scholarly stamp. Very much like Canard and Vasiliev before him, Dumbarton Oaks became an important center for the study of Byzantium and the Arabs, from the mid 1950's to the present.

In terms of the research focus of these three Byzantino-Arabists (Vasiliev, Canard, Shahîd), there is a major division of their central focus. That of Vasiliev and Canard centered on the relations of Byzantium with the Muslim Arabs in the ninth and the tenth-eleventh centuries. Shahîd, on the other hand, selected as his major subject the relations of Byzantium with the pre-Islamic Arabs in the Byzantine diocese of Oriens, from Roman times to the fateful battle of the Yarmuk (636). At that time the newly emergent Islamic Arabs destroyed the Byzantine armies and effected the rapid conquest of Oriens up to the borders of Anatolia. The conquest of the Sasanid Persian empire was complete as well. Thus Shahîd's choice of subject was to fill out that part of the history of the Arabs long before the appearance of Muhammad and was intended, in part, to explain the reasons for the rapid conquests by the Muslim armies in the seventh century, as well as to "recover" that lost history (2).

By virtue of scholarly, and particularly linguistic preparations he came to his task remarkably well armed. At Oxford he had taken the B.A. in Classics and Graeco-Roman history, and at Princeton he obtained his PhD in Arabic and Islamic studies. Among his earlier published articles are critical evaluations of Byzantine historians as sources for the

(2) His use of this verb is highly indicative of the fact that scholarship, after a bright beginning with Nöldeke in the nineteenth century, had abandoned substantially the pre-Islamic history of the Byzantine Christian Arabs.

history of the relations between Byzantium and the pre-Islamic Arabs. This was an initial indication of the path that his research was to take. Well trained in Greek, Latin, Arabic and Syriac, he brought his philological skills to bear on a thorough and critical examination of all the primary sources to be found in the literary and epigraphical materials. Further, as we shall see, by his division of the sources into two general groups, Graeco-Latin and Oriental, he was able to use this division as a critical tool to check the reliability of "each of the two source groups, and where critical considerations allowed it, to use one group as a supplement to the other source group". The use of archaeological data, numismatics, toponymy and anthroponymy allowed him a further facility in the comparative philological analysis. It is noteworthy that Shahîd devoted the year 1993-1994 to a series of onsite surveys in Jordan (from his base at the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman), and in Syria (from the German Archaeological Institute in Damascus). He notes : "This work was concluded in the summer of 1994 ; by that time I had visited the entire Ghassanid limitrophe from the Euphrates to the Gulf of Elat. My vision of the sites and of the Ghassanid achievement in the limitrophe, noteworthy for its climate and terrain, was thereby revolutionized".

Though the much earlier topographical and archaeological surveys have provided scholars with important, indeed rich, details as to roads, towns, villages, deserts, watered areas, and historical, this survey of Shahîd is much more concrete as to the Ghassanids, who played a crucial role as foederati of the Byzantines in the sixth century (3).

Closely related to and intertwined with the polyglot armature of Shahîd is the methodology which he has applied to the "recovery" of the lost history of the relations of Byzantium with its pre-Islamic Arabs. The methodology is designed like some massive trawling fish net which when dragged carefully through the complex of all literary and material sources is designed to "recover" all the data and references, particularly to the Arabs that Shahîd has set out to study. Given the relative paucity of such sources, each such item snared in his methodological net acquires an invaluable (or to use Shahîd's preferred word, always

(3) On topography especially the earlier works of V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris, 1909, reprint Rome, 1967 ; and, R. Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927.

"precious") quality. The next phase or step in Shahîd's methodology required a different vocabulary to describe the precious data acquired by the method of massive seiving. The second element in his methodology is much more specific, and was inspired by the methodology of the nineteenth century Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke and may be termed the "tekmeriological" phase (the phase of logical proof). Shahîd's methodology proceeds to the stage of proof of each datum snared in the massive net.

As Shahîd states : "Thus it was that Nöldeke transferred the structure of these particular Arab sources to Greek and Latin, and utilized the Syriac texts as supplementary, and preferable to the later Arabic sources, by virtue of the chronological priority of the former". He also pointed to the utility of the materials to be found in pre-Islamic poetry. More recent scholarship, continues Shahîd (he includes himself in this generalization) has followed the methodology of Nöldeke.

Nevertheless Shahîd, at this point in his reasoning, asserts the following modifications in any unqualified surrender to the dictum of Nöldeke. The fact that a century has elapsed since Nöldeke wrote, "it is only natural that certain modifications should be introduced in this method." First, the German Orientalist expressed his opinion in speaking of the sixth century Ghassanids, that the historical presuppositions in regard to the history of the Tanukhids, in the fourth century, and of the Salihids, in the fifth century, were quite different. On the basis of his very detailed *Quellenkritik* Shahîd concludes that the fourth century Arabic sources are much more important than the Syriac ones. Further, Arabic epigraphy, basically still undiscovered in the ninetenth century, was therefore unknown to nineteenth century scholarship. Their subsequent discovery made of them sources of primary importance for the history of the relations of Byzantium and the pre-Islamic Arabs of the fifth century. Finally, Arabic archaeology is now well developed and has made accessible extensive physical remains left by various pre-Islamic Arabs in the centuries from Diocletian to those of Heraclius, all of which were inaccessible to Nöldeke.

The third element in his methodology is put forth in the short introductory volume *Rome and the Arabs*. Positing the formation of the Byzantine state as having commenced with the reign of Constantine the Great, he notes, almost from the beginning of this volume, that the appearance of Constantine as ruler in Constantinople brought with it a radical change in official governmental policy toward the Arabs of the

Roman diocese of Oriens. Inasmuch as the labour of two centuries of specialists in Roman imperial history has attained a respectable and detailed understanding of the empire, Shahîd takes their findings and their interpretations of the sources, as largely valid, and so limits his concern with the original sources.

It is of some interest to note here that already in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. political and cultural frontiers between the Achaemenid world and the Greek city states had begun to shift westward as the Persians conquered the world of the Greek city states of western Asia Minor. Herodotus sees this conflict as the struggle between "Europe" and "Asia". The conquests of Alexander the Great and the rise of the large Hellenistic kingdoms for some three hundred years, witnessed a continuation of the shifting of the frontiers between these two poles, and the Arabs are visibly present as first the Parthian Iranians and then those of the Sasanids pushed the boundaries westward into the Fertile Crescent. Herodotus in giving a detailed description of the massive polyethnic make-up of the Achaemenid armies noted the presence of the mounted Arab archers who, mounted on their dromedaries, brought the struggle to Greece in the great expeditions of the early fifth century B.C. But as the Seleucid and Ptolemaic monarchies began to decline and to recede toward the Mediterranean Sea, a number of smaller states began to replace them, prominent among which were new Arab principalities in the Fertile Crescent, that is in the regions of Phoenicia and the Euphrates.

The first, and in many ways one of the most important points that Shahîd makes, is that when the Roman general Pompey extended the Roman boundaries far to the east consequent to his conquests and settlement of the east, 64-63 B.C, he found the Arabs omnipresent. In fact they had had relations in the Fertile Crescent and in parts of Egypt with the Seleucids and Ptolemies, and even before, with the local Aramaeans and Jews. Although these Arabs were subject to various Greek, Jewish and Aramaic influences they managed to retain their Arab identity especially in the frontier provinces, less so in the maritime regions. Thus the ethnic identity of the Arabs especially in the limitrophe regions was constantly renewed inasmuch as the were close to the borders with the Arab peninsula. Here Shahîd points to the fact that many of these Arab groups had already begun to form smaller dynasties and political entities, which reached their peak among the Arabs of Edessa, those of Nabataea and especially those of Palmyra.

According to Shahîd, Roman rule of the resident Arabs proceeded in two phases. In the first phase Pompey and his immediate successors left local affairs largely in the hands of subservient Arab dynasts who now became the clients of Rome. But already in the first century smaller Arab dynasts began to disappear, and, in the second century, the Roman state completeded the disappearance of the local Arab client dynasties : in 106 A.D. that of the Nabataeans ; in 242 the Abgarids of Osrrhoenian Edessa ; in 272 the powerful Zenobia and the dynasty of Palmyra.

Taking as an indication of the role of the Arabs of Oriens in the Roman military structure Shahîd turns momentarily to the famous *Notitia Dignitatum* (ND), a source which gives the detailed dispersion of Roman military bodies throughout the empire. Here specifically in the Diocese of Oriens, in the late fourth – early fifth century, the Arabs appear as a major ethnic body in the military organization of Oriens : "The principal value of the ND to the student of Arab-Roman relations is that it reveals how Rome dealt with the Arab problem in the Orient-how after waring down, taming, and absorbing the Arabs within the Imperium, she enlisted them in her service to fight her wars against the Peninsular Arabs as well as other enemies. The ND thus documents the success of the Roman experiment in dealing with the Arab problem."

He ends at this point, with two short notices of crucial importance for the author's subsequent volumes : the first has to do with a frequent anti-Arab animus in a number of Greek and Latin sources ; secondly there is Shahîd's important analysis of both ancient and modern authors who describe all Arabs as Scenitai or Saracens, that is as nomads and bandits. He sees among Arabs in general several different types : first, according to Shahîd, there are those Arabs who have acculturated or been absorbed in "urban" centers, whom he labels "Rhomaic" Arabs. Then there are the Arabs who fight in the armed forces of Oriens, whom he labels either citizens, or foederati ; there are the semi-nomads, and finally the nomadic Arabs. At this point Shahîd utilizes the vocabulary of cultural anthropology with considerable profit and refinement of his analysis in terms of cultural borrowing in the Byzantine environment.

The second volume, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (BAFOC) is the point of entry into the fully developed analysis. With convincing arguments he dips his massive net the extensive sources, and comes up with whatever has been preserved of the new relations of Byzantium and the Arabs (that is foederati Arabs in Byzantine Oriens,

of the fourth century. Shahîd martials the evidence from the reigns of the Byzantine emperors, from Constantine the Great to the reign of Valens. Here the Graeco-Roman sources are crucial for both the political and military history of the relations of the Arab foederati and the Byzantine state. The basic questions which Shahîd attempts successfully to answer are the following : The nature of the new relationship of the Arab foederati with the state, which are subsumed in the appearance of the institution of the phylarchate. Crucial is the establishment of the tribe which undertook the phylarchate as the dominant Arab tribal group in the defence of the empire's defence of Oriens. Here the Greek-Roman sources are very poor as they very rarely mention the names of tribes and sub-tribal groups. Further, in the matter of the appearance of an Arab church, hierarchy, priests, and possible translation of the Gospels and the liturgical texts,

Shahîd, correctly attributes great importance to the Arab inscription at the burial site of the prominent Arab federate king Imru'al-Qays, buried at Namara in A.D. 328 (in the Roman province of Arabia). The inscription defines him as being the king of all Arabs ; for he wears a crown, and under his sons he organized armies for the Byzantine emperor as cavalry units. Later sources inform us that he was the first Lakhmid to adopt Christianity. Thus his flight to Oriens is explicable. Nevertheless the appearance of new Arab cavalry forces under their king in Byzantine armies is a sign that the phylarchate was well on in the process by which Arab foederati replaced the dynastic Arab clients of the previous two centuries as major factors in the defence of Oriens against Persians, Lakhmids (those of Hira) and the Peninsular Arabs. Shahîd bolsters the proposition with inscriptional and textual evidence of instances of Arab foederati in the Oriens of the fourth century, showing that their organization was a novelty in the fourth century.

Thus the interpretation of the early and important Arab inscription of Namara, when coupled with other Graeco-Roman sources, confirm that Imru'al-Qays stands at the beginning of the functioning of this new phylarchate organization, and that the Arab Christian Chalcedonian queen Mavia stands towards the end of its development in the late fourth century. That, however which the contemporary sources failed to do was to identify the name of the tribe which exercized the dominant role among Byzantine Arabs in the phylarchate during this period.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the tribal group dominant over the various Arab federates was clearly first that of the Salihid dynasty in the fifth, and that of the Ghassanids in the sixth century. Though Shahîd indicates that possibly Imru'al-Qays might have had a matriarchal connection with the Tanukhids there is no evidence for the connection with the queen Mavia. Having already referred to the later antiquarian Arab historian Hisham al-Kalbi who referred to Imru' al-Qays as the first Lakhmid king to convert to Christianity, Shahîd expands his analysis to indicate that this much later author, many of whose works are known principally through the works of those who utilized his lost works, had a particularly sound knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs and of their tribes. In one of these works (of which the title alone survives) he had also written a work that dealt with the early history of the Tanukhids, the *Akhbar Tanukh wa Ansabuha*. Because of his reliability he was then utilized by later Islamic historians. These later historians, in relying on Hisham, state the chronological progress of ruling Arab tribes : the Jadima, Palmyra in the third century, Lakmids in Hira, Tanukhids in Syria, the Salihids, the Ghassanids. Shahîd points to the fact that the non-Arabic sources have confirmed the later Arab sources in every case, save that of the Tanukhids. The chronology being confirmed in five of the six cases, one can assume that the inclusion of the Tanukhids is also correct. He fortifies this conclusion with other arguments not the least important of which is the testimony of Tanukhid toponymy in Syria, and the sources of the sixth century which testify as to their settlements where they were still incorporated in the larger Byzantine body of Christian Arab foederati.

Thus it is that Shahîd laid the firm foundation for the basic institutional, political, military and cultural basis of the Byzantine Arab Tanukhids in the fourth century (BAFOC) replete with the historical evolution of the institutions of the phylarchate : the Arab Christian church, the military activities of these federates, and their trilingual culture (Byzantine, Syriac, and pagan Arabic). In so doing he does not omit the relevant developments in the world of the Peninsular Arabs and those of Hira.

Having established the origins of the new Arab foederatus institution of the phylarchate in BAFOC and having identified the dominant tribal foederati as the Tanukhids. Shahîd then analyzes and follows the successors to the Tanukhid as the dominant phylarchoi of the federate Christian Arabs in the diocese of Oriens, first the Salihids in the fifth, and then the Ghassanids in the sixth century (the volumes BAFIC, and BASIC). Though the methodology remains basically that to which reference has been made above, the treatment of the Ghassanids is fed by a considerably more extensive body of written and other sources with the result that BASIC in itself consists of three separate tomes. Accordingly the efforts and space set aside for *Quellenkritik* are much more detailed, as are the political and military events. Alhough Byzantino-Persian conflict was much restricted in the fifth century, in the sixth it became a large, widespread conflict between Byzantine and Persian territorial and military interests in the diocese of Oriens. Further the Arab clients of the Byzantines (the Ghassanids) and of the Persians (and their Lakhmid Arab allies in Hira) had their own private quarrels and military disagreements. The various sources at the time a great deal of attention to this, as did the later historical records.

Turning to the volume on Byzantium and the Arab foederati in the fifth century (BAFIC), Shahîd presents us with a remarkable analytic synthesis of the primary sources as well as of an integrative analysis of the pertinent nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship. The relatively slim nature of the outline and narrative of the preceding volume (commensurate with the relative paucity of original sources and data) gives way to a much more detailed account of the ongoing evolution of these relations. The scarcity of names of important Arab historical figures and tribal groups is replaced by a greater number in the Arab anthroponomy, and other toponymies, and of tribal identities. Particularly noticeable is the increased appearance of the names of Arabs, both urban and military, as well as of tribes. One learns the names of Arab phylarchs, bishops, monks, poets, as well as of Arab philosophers, saints and monastic abbots. In some cases there is reference to pre-Islamic poets in the courts of the phylarchs. These phylarchs generated a general effort to make of Arabic a written language for the appropriation of Christian books and literature, essential to their form of Christianity. Also there is the implication that it was necessary for both phylarchical courts and the bureaucratic offices to have Arabic secretaries in order to issue their tax and other documents on the foederati. The new agreement (foedus) for the conferral of a phylarchate by the Byzantine government meant that it had to spell out, in the official document, the obligations and benefits of the phylarch, and obviously, in Arabic.

Shahîd examines also, the participation of the phylarchs in Byzantium's Persian wars, although there was a long period of peace. More importantly he traces the phylarchate presence and its importance in the incessant conflicts of Arab groups on the southern borders, who were constantly raiding and moving about. Finally in this volume Shahîd pays great attention to the effect of Christianity on the body of the foederati and particularly the effect of monasticism as the then dominant aspect of foederati Christianity. Keeping in mind that his final goal in this epic series of books is to arrive at conclusions and at explanations for the massive failure of the Byzantine frontier system to resist the Islamic conquests, Shahîd has finally established the fact that the Arab foederati had not only a political structure and institutions that were partially Byzantine, but that they had also contributed greatly to creation of an Arab Christian culture well before the rise of Islam. In doing so he also introduces in this volume Byzantine diplomacy in the southwest portion of the Arabian, peninsula and the history (short lived) of Christianity in these religions.

The main subject of the volume however is the era during which the Salihids constituted the dominant phylarchate in Byzantine Oriens, a role which they held for most the fifth century. The establishment of the Salihids as the dominant Arab foederati in Byzantine Oriens is a somewhat simpler task than Shahîd had encountered in the matter of the Tanukhid federate dominance in the fourth century. For he had at hand not only the later Arab sources (which relied on Hisham al-Kalbi) but he also had access to an important contemporary Greek source (Sozomenos's *Ecclesiastical History*) which noted the name of the leader that led the Salihids out of the Persian domains and into Byzantium. His name appears as Zokomos. Converted to Christianity after the blessing by a Byzantine monks, of his sterile wife, who then produced his first son, his conversion was followed by the conversion of his tribal group. Thus we have a clear case, as Shahîd has brilliantly demonstrated, of the reciprocal confirmation of the Greek-Roman historical tradition and that of the Oriental tradition. After the conversion and after his confirmation as phylarch of the Salihids the sources indicate that the Salihids took an active and important role in Byzantium's wars with the Persians and against the Arabs to the south.

The historical tradition of Hisham al-Kalbi gives us the names of his successors and pays particular attention to the head, king Dawud, of the Salihids in Byzantium, who continued to fight against other Arab groups, who built a monastic complex and who kept at his court the famous Arab poet 'Abd a1-'Āṣ. Settled in the district of Provincia Arabia the Salihids, their phylarchs retained the dominant phylarchical role in Byzantine Oriens until their replacement by the Ghassanids in 502.

The relative 'fecundity' of the sources for the fifth century allow Shahîd to give important data on other Arab phylarchs who succeeded in receiving the writ of foedus from the emperors, and thus has ample opportunity to indicate that the numbers of phylarchates were numerous and never *solitary*. Shahîd defines in some detail the short history of two such new Arab phylarchates. The first is that of the Arab Aspebetos who settled with his followers, also in Provincia Arabia in the area called Parembole (encampment). His conversion to Christianity is said to have occurred when St. Euphemius healed the Arab's son from a malady. According to the narrative this was followed by the mass conversion of his tribal following. At some point in time the ecclesiastical authorities proceeded to make of the tribal settlement a tribal episcopate and ordained Aspebetos (hereafter called Petros) bishop of Parembole. The latter seems to have taken his Christianity seriously and seems to have participated in the debates over the nature of Christ. He participated in the oecumenical council of Ephesos in 431, and probably in the Latrocinium in 449. His successor as bishop of Parembole, participated in the famous Council of Chalcedon in 451.

Malchus of Philadelphia (in the Decapolis of Provincia Arabia) though surviving only in fragments, affords Shahîd the opportunity to give the historical sketch of yet another Arab Christian phylarch, the phylarch Amorkesos. In many ways this is one of the most informative of the specific cases of the appearances of new Arab federate groups in Oriens. As in the case of many others Amorkesos was engaged in the Persian military order but for reasons that are not clear (his Christianity may have been one of these), Amorkesos decided to lead his tribal followers out of Persian service and soon appeared in northern Arabia. Eventually making their way to the Gulf of Eilat, in the course of his land attacks, he decided to demand a phylarchate from the Byzantine emperor, sending his bishop to negotiate the terms. Shahîd points to the historical fact that the emperor Leo was absorbed with sending a massive army to the west for the (unsuccessful) campaigns against the Vandals. Thus the appearance on the Oriens scene of the possibility of a useful military group fitted in with the needs for units to maintain order in the eastern provinces. The foedus was completed, and Amorkesos was received by the emperor in Constantinople, and henceforth he and his followers were sent to Palaestina Tertia as foederati.

Shahîd concludes that the followers were the advance movement of the Ghassanid Arabs into position in Oriens prior to the takeover of the dominant phylarchate (from the Salihids) in 502. Coming back to the theme of the ever widespread presence of Arabs in Oriens, Shahîd had already predicted this in BAFOC (p. 386) : "...the Arab federate presence was complex and multitribal and ... there were many tribes : with federate status in Oriens other than the dominant group, the Tanukhids ... The Arabic sources on these tribes refer to them in areas in which they were settled in the seventh century... With rare exceptions, the chances are that these tribes were settled in the fourth century in roughly the same areas as in the seventh. Their dependence on their water and pasturage, rare in Arabia, makes their mobility very restricted."

Shahîd examines thoroughly the sixth and seventh centuries on the basis of a much expanded contemporary corpus of Greek-Latin and Syriac Arabic writings. Thus the history of Byzantine-Arab relations is developed in his BASIC v. I, parts 1-2 and in BASIC v. II part 1. Part 2 of the latter is at present in the hands of the press, and the final volume is presently under the author's production, and will cover the final Islamic conquests of the Byzantine diocese of Oriens and the fate of Byzantium's Christian Arab foederati.

In BASIC vols. I-II Shahîd has attained a masterful narrative and thematic analysis of the Ghassanid phylarchate which so dominated the fifteen or so phylarchates and which at the same time and at various intervals ambulated between loyalty to and revolt from Byzantine authority. BASIC I,1-2 and BASIC II,1, are far more detailed than the previous volumes on the fifth and fourth centuries and deal with three basic developments in the relations of the Byzantine government and the Ghassanid phylarchate : the military, political and religious factors in the historical currents of the sixth century. In the domain of the borders and foreign relations the basic event, in contrast to the fifth century, was the intensification of political relations and intensified warfare with the Sasanids, Lakhmids and the peninsular Arabs, particularly the wars of the Ghassanids and the Lakhmids.

In this area the pendulum of victory favored the Byzantines especially during the reign of Justinian and the roles not only of the Byzantine comitatensis but especially the role of the Ghassanid phylarch Arethas played a very significant part in the clashes with the Sasanids and Lakhmids. At this point Shahîd addresses the matter of the growing theological and religious friction of Byzantine religious policy (Chalcedonian) and of a sturdy Ghassanid belief (Monophysitism) that was deeply rooted in both the phylarchs and their followers. This friction

goes back to the fact that at the time of the creation of the Ghassanid phylarchate in 502 the religious belief and theology, that of Monophysitism, was also that of the emperor Anastasios. Thus there was religious harmony between emperor and phylarch.

All of this changed in the reign of Justin I when the new emperor's creed was a strict Chalcedonianism that led to the outright persecution of the Monophysite church and episcopate in Oriens. One notes here the overriding importance that Shahîd places on religious differences in Byzantine Oriens, an importance which plays a crucial role in the relations of federate Arabs, on whom so much of the military defence of Oriens reposed. Shahîd thus interprets the absence of the Ghassanids from Byzantine military operations in Oriens during the years 519-528 as an absence on the part of their forces and the withdrawal of a substantial part of the Ghassanids to the Hijaz on grounds of sharp religions differences.

Shahîd interprets logically the long reign of Justinian as, among other policies, an effort to find a compromise which would accommodate the Monophysite Ghassanids who were an essential part of the empire's defence and expansions in the East, while he was concentrating on the reconquest of the West. His Arab policy attempted to enforce Chalcedonianism while making theological space for the Monophysites. This was essential in his overall policy of reconquest, for the sixth century saw an intensification of warfare on the part of the Sasanids and the Lakhmids. This long term theological policy of Justinian was accompanied by a substantial reform of political and military institutions in Oriens.

Shahîd's remarks on these two reforms depend largely on a careful interpretation of Justinian's official Historian Prokopios. Thus he traces the gradual decline of the military institution of the limitanei (guards of the borders) which Justinian carried out and their replacement with the institutions of the Ghassanid military forces. Hence also his decision to rebuild Palmyra along the Diocletian Strata. Thus the later war between Lakhmids and Ghassanids was fought over the Strata itself.

Towards 529 Justinian put under the command of Arethas many other Arab phylarchates and bestowed the Basileus on him as their king. In order to give some idea of the number of these phylarchates now put under Arethas, Shahîd finds that in the post-Justinian period on an occasion when the phylarchate of the Ghassanids was temporarily dissolved by the Byzantine state, some fifteen groups separated out, most of whom deserted to the Sassanids, while others went to south Arabia and a few remained in Byzantium.

Earlier in the reign of Justinian Arethas was able, with the support of the empress Theodora, to reconstitute the structure of the Monophysite church by getting permission for the appointment of two new Monophysite bishops in Oriens, who now had the right to ordain clergy and to reconstitute the parallel patriarchates and also bishoprics. Justinian had already made theological proposals to mediate the hostility of the Monophysites : in 533 the Theopaschite effort, and in 553 the oecumenical council of that year, with its condemnation of the Three Chapters (Nestorianism), but the efforts had failed to win over the majority of the Monophysites. It is interesting that Justinian in his last years opted for an explicit Monophysite trinitarian theology, in adopting as state policy the support of the Aphthartodocetism of the extreme Monophysite Julian of Halicarnassos. This failed to survive the death of Justinian in 565. By this time the Monophysite church had split along theological and geographical lines and became in itself a political liability for the son and grandson of Aretbas (died 569). It led to the disenchantment of Arethas's successors, according to the presentation of Shahîd. For this religious matter became increasingly a burden for the Ghassanids phylarchs in their relations with the Byzantine state.

Shahîd sees, and he is persuasive, that the death of Justinian terminates the Byzantine state efforts to reach an accommodation with the Ghassanids and their Monophysitism. For the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius, Maurice and Phokas (565-610) present a vigorous, not to say violent, implementation of an intolerant Chalcedonianism which induced a repeated alienation, to the point of open revolt, on the parts of the Ghassanid phylarchs Mundir and Nu'man. This included a plot by the Emperor to have Mundir assassinated, upon the failure of which the phylarch was tried for treachery in Constantinople and then exiled for a long time in Sicily. This led to the revolution of Nu'man and the withdrawal of the Ghassanids for a period of some years (582-587) after which the Ghassanids reappear in the Byzantine armies.

The internal and external nadir of these problems was reached in the reign of Phokas. Then the towns of Oriens were consumed by risings and violence which were brutally suppressed by Phokas' generals Bonasas and Kottana at the time that Oriens was being threatened and attacked by the Sasanids. It is no wonder that eventually and during the earlier years of the reign of Herakleios Oriens was attacked and conquered by the Sasanids and their allies. Shahîd fits in the succession of Herakleios within a framework of political chaos in Oriens within which the disaffected leaders and cities of Oriens sided with him.

The epic scholarship of Irfan Shahîd has brought to historical life an entire society, and so discarded the inaccuracies of past scholarship as well as much of the ancient historical prejudices of those who massed all Arabs under the cloak of barbaric nomadism. He has done this by giving them their own history, a history which provides them with variegated social and political structures, with their own alphabet, a Christian literature and a Christianity with all its Arabic coloration. Its Monophysitism and its Arab heresies, its monasticism and its own versions of Ecclesiastical and monastic art and architecture, are their own creation. It had its own political and military heroes, its own dynastic chains and succession, both groups of which appear in Arabic poetry, and in Greek, Latin and Syriac chronicles and hagiographies. He thus gives these Christian Arabs an entrée into modern history as a fully formed cultural element with its own input into the multicultural milieu of Oriens alongside Greeks, Latins, Hebrew, and Syriac speakers.

Many of Shahîd's findings have kindled discussions and controversies among scholars who concern themselves with the Byzantines, the Sasanids, with the Islamic world that conquered the region in the seventh century, as well as modern scholars interested in the history of the Holy Land.

We anxiously await the publication of BASIC II, 2 on the region's culture and above all the final tome of this monumental labour on the Islamic conquest at the battle of the Yarmuk in 636 by the Muslim Arabs. This in the end brought the collapse of the political and social structures that had been so prominent in Oriens since the days of Constantine the Great. The Islamic conquest of Oriens once more moved the great boundaries between 'Europe' and 'Asia' westward from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. Shahîd's history of the Pre-Islamic Arabs in Byzantium is a 'possession for eternity'.

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article évalue les recherches que, tout au long de sa carrière, Irfan Shahîd a menées sur les relations arabo-byzantines et sur l'histoire et la culture de ces deux sociétés ; il est évident que cette contribution est surtout centrée sur les différents volumes de «Byzantium and the Arabs», somme monumentale de notre connaissance à ce propos.

MÉMOIRE

BYZANTINE MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS

TOWARDS A NEW CATALOGUE, WITH A SPECIMEN FOR AN ANNOTATED CHECKLIST OF MANUSCRIPTS BASED ON AN INDEX OF DIELS' CATALOGUE

Introduction (1)

In 1905 and 1906, the Academy of Sciences of Prussia in Berlin published in its proceedings a catalogue of the manuscripts containing treatises by classical Greek and Byzantine physicians (2), followed by a

(1) For some elements of this introduction in a succinct form see Touwaide, 1991, 1991/1992, 1994, 2007, and 2008. Since this essay covers a vast range of sectors, from ancient and Byzantine physicians to humanists and scholars, including modern historians of medicine, manuscript collectors, cataloguers and librarians, I provide in the notes the references of entries to biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias, and sometimes also of specific studies to allow readers to learn more about the many personages and facts referred to. With some exceptions, references in the notes are in an abbreviated form (author's last name and year of publication). Full references to the publications can be found in the Bibliography at the end of the essay. Some titles are integrally reproduced in the text or the notes, however, as they are particularly significant. They are not necessarily repeated in the Bibliography. Similarly, not all editions of Greek medical texts in the essay are included in the Bibliography. Encyclopedias and dictionaries are quoted in an abbreviated form in the notes; the key of the abbreviations can be found on p. 551, at the beginning of the Bibliography.

(2) Diels, 1905, and 1906, with a reedition in one volume in 1906 (Diels, 1906/2), which included a large preface. This 1906 reedition (reprinted in 1970 with a foreword by Kudlien) is used here.

supplement in 1907 [3]. The work was edited by the German classicist and historian of ancient philosophy Hermann Diels (1848-1922) [4], better known for his epoch-making collection of fragments by pre-Socratic philosophers [5].

This catalogue was an instrument for the preparation of editions to be published in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* [6]. Both the catalogue and the *Corpus* were major components of a wider research program devoted to ancient medicine, which merged several lines of scholarly activity that had gradually developed in the West from the 15th century on : the search of manuscripts for the preparation of critical editions and the edition of their texts, inventorying and cataloguing of manuscripts, bio-bibliographical encyclopedism, bibliography, and the historiography of ancient and medieval Greek medicine.

However useful it was and is, Diels' catalogue requires an update because of changes in collections, cataloguing, and research, and also because of limitations imposed by the methods used in the compilation of the work. In the first part of this article, I present in section **(1)** a historical overview of the scholarly research within which the catalogue needs to be framed, and in sections **(2)** and **(3)** I focus on Diels' catalogue itself. The second part of the article addresses the problems with Diels' catalogue and lays out solutions to these problems : sections **(4)**, **(5)**, and **(6)** discuss the specific problems ; sections **(7)**, **(8)**, and **(9)** outline solutions ; and sections **(10)** and **(11)** describe plans for the achievement of a new catalogue. In the third part, I give as an example of the new catalogue the list of the Greek medical manuscripts in the collections of the United Kingdom and Ireland. The Bibliography concludes the article.

This research would not have been possible without the help of numerous persons, starting with Marie Louise Cauwelaert in Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium) in 1986-1988, Emanuela Appetiti in Barcelona and Madrid (Spain) in 1993-1999, and Washington, D.C. (U.S.) in 2002-2009, and Patricia Kellogg in Washington, D.C. (U.S.) in 2007-2009. Also, the curators of manuscripts in the many libraries preserving medical manuscripts have provided invaluable information and responded to my many queries, particularly during the years 2007-2008. I am pleased to acknowledge here the assistance I have received from (alphabetical order of last names) Patricia Aske, Pembroke College, Cambridge ; Bruce Barker-Benfield, Bodleian Library, Oxford ; Gary Gillum, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah ; Estelle Gittens, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin ; Jonathan Harrison, St. John's College, Cambridge ; Christopher Hilton, Wellcome Library, London ; Scott Mandelbrote, Peterhouse, Cambridge ; Muriel McCarthy, Marsh's Library, Dublin ; David McKitterick, Trinity College, Cambridge ; Janet McMullin, Christ Church, Oxford ; David Morrison, Worcester Cathedral, Worcester ; Laura Nuvoloni, The British Library, London ; Jayne Ringrose, University Library, Cambridge ; Mark Statham, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge ; Russ Taylor, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah ; Tony Trowles, Westminster Abbey, London ; Colin Wakefield, Bodleian Library, Oxford ; David Weston, Glasgow University, Glasgow ; Naomi van Loo, New College, Oxford ; Pierre-E. Wagner, Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, Metz ; and Julia Walworth, Merton College, Oxford.

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(3) Diels, 1908. In fact, the supplement was presented at the Academy in 1907, but published in 1908.

(4) For short biographical entries on Diels, see *NDB*, vol. 3 (1957), pp. 646-647 (P. R. Franke) ; Meyers, vol. 6 (1972), p. 776 ; Killy and Vierhaus, vol. 2 (2002), p. 574 ; Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, p. 306 (B. I. Tshisuaka). For his contribution to classical studies, see the several studies in the volume by Calder, Mansfeld *et al.*, 1999. More specifically, for his impact on the history of ancient medicine, see Kollesch, 1973. See also below, pp. 507-508.

(5) For his collection of pre-Socratic philosophers, see Diels, 1903. The collection was revised and expanded by Diels in three successive editions (1906-1910, 1912, and 1922), and then by Walter Kranz (1884-1960) in the 5th edition (published in 1934-1937), with a sixth edition in 1952 (with several reprints). Among the many translations, one could cite here Italian versions (Cataudella, 1958, and Reale *et al.*, 2006), a Romanian one (Noica and Noica, 1974), and a French one (Dumont *et al.*, 1988), with a *Companion* in English (Freeman, 1946). On the program, see, among others, Most, 1995, and Burkert, 1999.

(6) For a first announcement of the *Corpus*, see Diels, 1907. For a short notice on the *Corpus*, see *BNP-Cl. Trad.*, vol. 1 (2006), col. 1060 (V. Nutton), and for a more detailed analysis, see Kollesch, 1989 and 1999.

To all, I wish to express my most sincere gratitude and recognition, particularly to Emanuela Appetiti.

Part 1. Diels' catalogue : context (7) and achievements

1. Before the 15th century, Greek medical texts were not always easily available in the West for scientific and scholarly work, except in Sicily under the Norman and Swabian rulers (8). Coming after Alfanus (1015/20-1085) (9), who brought from Constantinople a copy of *De natura hominis* by Nemesius (4th/5th cent. A.D.) (10), Constantine the African (d. after 1078) started translating Arabic medical texts into Latin in order to rediscover Greek medicine through its Arabic translations (11). Shortly after, the Pisan judge Burgundio (ca. 1110-1193), who translated into Latin several Greek scientific treatises, obtained Greek manuscripts either from Constantinople or from southern Italy (12). In the late-13th or early-14th century, Pietro d'Abano (ca. 1257-ca. 1315) (13) saw a manuscript of Dioscorides while in Constantinople, and possibly had a copy of it made for his personal study (14). In the 14th century, Niccolò da

(7) The 1908 supplement contains, on pp. 71-72, a bibliographical list (*Verzeichnis von Nachschlagewerken*, in which the titles are listed in chronological order, from 1726 to 1906/7), which includes several of the works mentioned in this overview. Such list is significant, as it reveals the scholarly context into which Diels himself framed the catalogue.

(8) On the production of Greek manuscripts in Sicily during these periods, see Canart, 1978, and Cavallo, 1980 and 1991-1992. On the transfer of scientific manuscripts from Constantinople to Sicily, see, for example, Derenzini, 1976.

(9) On Alfanus, see *DMA*, vol. 1 (1982), pp. 218-219 (L. Shopkow).

(10) On Nemesius, *BNP*, vol. 9 (2006) , cols. 630-631 (L. Brisson), and on his translation Wicher, 1986, pp. 46-50. Greek text of Nemesius by Morani, 1987 and English translation by Sharples and van der Eijk, 2008.

(11) On Constantine, see *DSB*, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 393-395 (M. McVaugh) ; *DMA*, vol. 3 (1983), pp. 548-549 (H. Bloch) ; Glick *et al.*, 2005, pp. 145-147 (M. H. Green). For his interest in Greek medicine through Arabic translations, see Jacquart, 1994.

(12) On Burgundio, see *DMA*, vol. 2 (1983), pp. 423-424 (J. R. Strayer) ; and Glick *et al.*, 2005, pp. 104-105 (P. Beulens).

(13) On Pietro d'Abano, see *DSB*, vol. 1 (1970), pp. 4-5 (L. Premuda) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 345 ; Glick *et al.*, 2005, pp. 404-405 (M. Klemm - P. De Leemans) ; and the study of Paschetto, 1984.

(14) See the 1478 edition of Pietro's commentary on Dioscorides (on it, see Choulant, 1841, p. 79), f. a1 recto : "... vidi etia[m] in greco eu[m] [= Dioscoridem] s[ecundu]m alphabetu[m] ei[us] ordinatum". This seems to refer to current manuscript Vienna, National Library of Austria, *medicus graecus* 1 (below). On this point, see Touwaide, 2008/3.

Reggio (ca. 1280 [?]-ca. 1350 [?]) (15), working at the Angevin court in Naples, translated a large number of treatises by Galen (A.D. 129-after 216 [?]) (16), probably using manuscripts acquired in Constantinople where he stayed in 1331, or received from the Byzantine emperor Andronicus III Palaiologos (b. 1297 ; emp. 1328 ; d. 1341) by the King Robert I (b. 1275 ; king 1309 ; d. 1343) (17).

During the 15th and 16th centuries, the availability of Greek manuscripts – containing medical treatises or not – dramatically increased in the West (18), making it possible to further develop the holdings of such existing libraries as the papal collection (19) and the Royal Library in France (20), or to assemble private collections such as those of Giorgio Valla (ca. 1447-1500) (21), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-

(15) On Niccolò, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 231 ; and Glick *et al.*, 2005, pp. 367-368 (A. Touwaide).

(16) The most recent synthesis on Galen is to be found in *BNP*, vol. 5 (2004), cols. 654-661 (V. Nutton).

(17) On the translators from Greek at the Angevin court in Naples, see Weiss, 1950.

(18) The literature on the topic of the *translatio studiorum* is abundant from Sabadini's fundamental work in 1905. It will suffice to refer here to Geanakoplos, 1962, and Wilson, 1992. For a list of some medical manuscripts in the West in the early Renaissance, see Bolgar, 1954, Appendice I (= pp. 455-505), *sub nominibus* Dioscorides (pp. 473-474), Galen (pp. 474-475), Hippocrates (p. 477), and Nicander (p. 501). On book trade in Venice, see Wilson, 1977. On the assimilation of Greek medicine in the Renaissance, see Sarton, 1955, pp. 7-51 ; Baader, 1984 ; Bylebyl, 1984 ; Nutton, 1993, pp. 16-24. For a similar research on mathematical manuscripts among humanists, see Rose, 1973.

(19) On the papal collection, which constituted the nucleus of the Vatican Library founded by Nicolas V (pope 1447-1455), see Devreesse, 1965, pp. 1-8 ; Bignami Odier, 1973, pp. 1-8 ; Lilla, 2004, pp. 3-4 ; and more recently Grafinger, 2007 for the collection in Avignon. On the foundation of the Vatican Library, see the several contributions to the volume edited by Bonatti and Manfredi, 2000.

(20) For the library of the kings of France, see Balayé, 1988, pp. 1-55, particularly 1-30. A milestone was the founding of a new library sometime in the early 1520s by François Ier (king 1515-1547).

(21) On Valla's collection, see Heiberg, 1896. On Valla, see the essays in Branca, 1981, and the short biographies by King, 1986, pp. 439-440 ; Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 3 (1987), p. 371 (J. F. D'Amico - T. B. Deutscher) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 416.

1494) (22), and the Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461-1523) (23), or to establish new libraries such as the Medici's in Florence (24), San Marco in Venice (25), or later the Escorial in Spain (26) and the Ambrosiana in Milan (27).

The availability of manuscripts led the early humanists to revise the texts in circulation (be it in the original language or in Latin translation), to collate the variant readings of their different copies, and to prepare and publish critical editions, often reproduced by means of the newly created printing press (28). A leading figure in the field of textual

(22) For the catalogue of Pico's library, see Kibre, 1936. On Pico, see among many other works, Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 348 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 607.

(23) On Grimani's library, including its catalogue, see Diller *et al.*, 2003. On Grimani, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 2 (1986), pp. 132-134 (D. S. Chambers) ; Campbell, 2003, p. 360. On the private libraries of Renaissance humanists, see De Smet, 2002.

(24) For the formation of the Medici library, see recently Fryde, 1996.

(25) The library was created thanks to the donation of his manuscripts by cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472). The relevant documents are published by Labowsky, 1979. On the context, intellectual activity, and library of Bessarion, see, among the numerous publications, Gasparrini Leporace and Mioni, 1968 ; Fiaccadori, 1994 ; Staikos, 1998, pp. 91-106 ; Bianca, 1999 ; and Zorzi, 2002. On Bessarion, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 (1985), pp. 142-143 (T. B. Deutscher) ; *ODB*, 1991, p. 285 (A. M. Talbot) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 66.

(26) For the history of the Escorial library, see Graux, 1880, and, more recently, De Andrés, 1964, both of which can be usefully complemented with Justel Calabozo, 1978.

(27) Aside from Paredi, 1981, see Jones, 1993 for the history of the Ambrosian Library.

(28) On this whole process, see Nutton, 1993. Publications related to ancient Greek medical works cited in this essay are identified by their number (or the number of the page where they are mentioned) in one or more of the following reference works :

- incunabula : number in Hain and Copinger (abbreviated HC) ;
- scientific incunabula : number in Klebs, 1938 (abbreviated KL) ;
- works on Hippocratic treatises : number in Maloney and Savoie, 1982 (abbreviated MS) and in Bruni Celli, 1984 (abbreviated BC) ;
- works on Galenic treatises : number in Durling, 1961(abbreviated DU-GA) ;
- 16th century publications : number in Durling, 1967 (abbreviated DU-16) ;
- editions, translations, and commentaries prior to 1840 : page number in Choulant, 1841 (abbreviated CHO) ;

Works discussed in detail in the essay are referred to in abbreviated form in the footnotes and in full in the Bibliography. Works referred to in any of these ways are not included in the Bibliography at the end of the essay.

criticism was Poliziano in Florence, in fact Angelo Poliziano Ambrogini (1454-1494) (29), emulated by Ermolao Barbaro (ca. 1454-1493) among

(29) Poliziano's main work in the matter of textual criticism was his *Miscellanea*, made of two *Centuriae*. The first was published in 1489 (Firenze, [HC 13235]) (I read it in the 1553 edition of Poliziano's *Opera omnia* [reprinted by Maïer, 1971], pp. 213-311). The second was achieved between 1493 and 1494, but remained unpublished. It was discovered only recently, and published by Branca and Pastore Stocchi, 1972 (on this discovery, see Cesarini Martinelli and Daneloni, 1994, pp. 308-309). Poliziano's philological activity was not limited to classical literature, but also included ancient medicine (see Cotton-Hill, 1957 ; Saitta, 1961, pp. 695-696 ; Maïer, 1966, pp. 175, note 42, 202, note 81 ; Perosa, 1946 ; and Garzya, 1998). Already in his *Silvae* : *Nutricia*, vv. 413-419 (Bologna, 1486 [HC 13235]), Poliziano referred to Nicander (edition and analysis in Bausi, 1996, p. 206 ; and Fantazzi, 2004, pp. 136-137). In the *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (above), chapters 32, 61, 90, and 91 deal with Pliny among others and medicinal plants. The *Index autorum* of the 1553 edition (pp. 218-219) lists all the authors treated by literary genre (*Latini grammatici*, *Poetae*, *Historici*, etc.) ; under *Medici*, it includes *Galenus*, *Paul Aegineta*, and *Dioscorides*. Poliziano also owned manuscripts of Greek medical texts or of their Latin translations (Maïer, 1965, pp. 337-338, and 1966, p. 202 note 81 ; and Cesarini Martinelli and Daneloni, 1994, p. 326 : ms. Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur. 75.8 [Galen, *De medicamentorum compositione secundum locos 1-8*] ; Maïer, 1965, pp. 210-214, and 1966, p. 202, note 81 : ms. Munich, BSB, Clm 807 [extracts of Galen copied by Poliziano] ; Maïer, 1965, pp. 346-347 : ms. Firenze, Ricc. 1179 [extracts of Hippocrates] ; and Eadem, 1965, pp. 359-360 : *Vat. lat.* 6337 ; see also Fryde, 1996, pp. 641, 642). Finally, Poliziano borrowed several medical codices from the Medici collection (Piccolomini, 1874, pp. 92-94 ; Fryde, 1996, p. 641), which he annotated (Perosa, 1980), and kept until his death (Piccolomini, 1874, pp. 92-94 ; Perosa, 1946, p. 93 and note 1 ; Fryde, 1996, pp. 641-644). According to one of his letters to Lorenzo de' Medici (5 June 1490 [edition in Del Lungo, 1867, pp. 76-78]), Poliziano translated into Latin the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* with Galen's commentaries (on this translation, which is apparently now lost, see Saitta, 1961, pp. 695-696 ; Cosenza, 1962-1967, vol. 4, p. 2982 ; Maïer, 1966, p. 202, note 81, followed by Aguzzi-Barbagli in Bietenholz and Deutscher (below), p. 107 ; Maillard *et al.*, 1998, p. 353 ; and Rotzoll, 2000, pp. 29-30 ; see also Perosa, 1980, pp. 81-87, and Fortuna, 1999, p. 489. No translation of Hippocrates by Poliziano appears in Kibre, 1985, pp. 62-64, Magdelaine, 1994, pp. 330-333, or Cesarini Martinelli and Daneloni, 1994, who list the most recently discovered manuscripts of Poliziano's works. According to Perosa, 1980, pp. 86-87, followed by Fortuna, 1999, p. 489, Poliziano's translation might have been plagiarized, in fact, appropriated, by Lorenzo Lorenzi [1459/60-1502] [DU-16 330]). On Poliziano, see the biographical entries by *DBI*, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 691-702 (E. Bigi) ; Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 3 (1987), pp. 106-108 (D. Aguzzi Barbagli) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 353. Among many others, see also the study by Grafton, 1977, and the several con-

others [30], and also, but in a different way, by the printers of Greek works best represented by Aldo Manuzio (1449-1515) [31]. Besides acquiring old manuscripts that came on the market [32] or having them copied by the many Byzantines who specialized in such activity *in loco* or in distant places [33], humanists also relied on the resources of existing collections. Information on such holdings was not necessarily good, however, and further investigation was often required. Hence the many epistolary exchanges between humanists aimed at identifying the holdings of, and obtaining access to, a collection or a library, or at receiving manuscripts on loan [34].

tributions to the volume of Secchi Tarugi, 1996, particularly Pyle, 1996, for the scientific aspects of Poliziano's activity.

(30) See Barbaro, *Castigationes Plinianae et Pomponii Melae* (1492-1493 [HC 2421]) (critical edition with analysis by Pozzi, 1973-1979 ; see also Nauert, 1980, pp. 338-344), and his translation of Dioscorides, *De materia medica* with his *Corollarium* (a commentary) (see Branca, 1980 [1998], p. 96, note 49) published posthumously in 1516 only (Pozzi, 1974). On Barbaro, see *DBI*, vol. 6 (1964), pp. 96-99 (E. Bigi), and such studies as those by Branca, 1963, 1973, and 1980 (1998), as well as the preface to the edition of the *Castigationes* above.

(31) The literature on Aldo Manuzio is vast and has been recently updated, particularly on the occasion of the fifth centenary of his death. See, among many others, Barker, 1985 ; the several studies in Zeidberg and Gioffredi Superbi, 1998 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998 ; and Barker *et al.*, 2001. Nevertheless, see also such classical studies as Lowry, 1979, and entries as Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 2 (1986), pp. 376-380 (M. J. Lowry) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 288.

(32) An example of a Greek selling books is Antonios Eparchos (1491-1571) (on him, see Giotopoulou-Sisilianou, 1978). On the trade in Greek books in Venice, see Wilson, 1977.

(33) The best example of such remote scriptorium is that of Michael Apostolis (1422-1480) in Crete (on him, see a short synthesis in Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 (1985), p. 69 [P. G. Bietenholz]). On his scriptorium, see Wittek, 1953 and 1963.

(34) See, for example, the exchange of letters in 1489 between Barbaro, Franceso Gaddi (1441-1504), and Poliziano. Barbaro asked Gaddi to introduce him to Lorenzo de' Medici in order to obtain a manuscript of Dioscorides on loan (in fact, the current ms. Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur. 74.23). The first letter of Barbaro to Gaddi does not seem to have been preserved. Poliziano sent the manuscript (Poliziano, *Epistulae*, I.11). Barbaro confirmed that he had received it, and thanked Poliziano (Barbaro, *Epistulae*, 125 = Poliziano, *Epistulae*, I.12), as well as Gaddi (Barbaro, *Epistulae*, 127). On this exchange, see Maïer, 1966, p. 429, and Figliuolo, 1998, p. 64.

Humanists soon started studying Greek medical literature in the original language [35]. Nevertheless, the first works to be printed [36] were medieval Latin translations of Greek treatises by (or attributed to) Hippocrates (465-between 375 and 350 B.C.) [37], Galen, Theophilus, and Philaretus (both 7th cent. [?]) [38]. Such continuity of the medieval tradi-

(35) See for instance the case of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, possibly studied in the circle of Manuel Chrysoloras (Touwaide, 1981, pp. 21-22). On Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415), who taught in Florence from 1396, see, among others, Legrand, 1885-1906, vol. 1, pp. XIX-XXX ; Thomson, 1966 ; *ODB*, 1991, p. 454 (A. M. Talbot) ; Staikos, 1998, pp. 111-130. On Renaissance science, see, for example, the several contributions to Wear *et al.*, 1985, or such an essay as Pyle, 1991.

(36) On medical incunabula, see Hellinga, 1998.

(37) On Hippocrates, see *BNP*, vol. 6 (2005), cols. 354-363 (P. Potter - B. Gundert).

(38) Such translations constituted what is known as the *Articella*, which was a collection gathering the following treatises : Hippocrates, *Aphorismi* (with Galen's commentary), *Prognosticon* (with two different translations one after the other), and *Regimen acutorum morborum* ; Galen, *Tegni* (in fact, his *Ars medica*) ; Theophilus, *Liber urinarum* ; Philaretus, *Liber pulsuum*. The first edition of the *Articella* came out without indication of place or date, but was probably printed in Padua in 1476 (HC 1868 ; KL 116.1 ; CHO : 398 ; MS 2 ; BC 159 ; DU-GA 1476). Its subsequent editions added new texts : Hippocrates, *Epidemiae liber vi*, *De lege*, *Iusiurandum*, and *De natura pueri*, as well as Galen, *De division librorum*. These editions were published all in Venice, in 1483 (HC 1869 ; KL 116.2 ; Walsh 1993 : 290 ; CHO : 398-399 ; MS 10 ; BC 160 ; DU-GA 1483), in 1487 (HC 1870 ; KL 116.3 ; CHO : 399 ; MS 16 ; BC 162 ; DU-GA 1487), in 1491 (HC 1871 ; KL 116.4 ; Walsh 1993 : 440 ; CHO : 399 ; MS 22 ; BC 163 ; DU-GA 1491.2), in 1492 (?) (Walsh 1993 : 385), in 1493 (HC 1872 ; KL 116.5 ; CHO : 399 ; MS 24 ; BC 164 ; DU-GA 1493), and in 1500 (HC 1873 ; KL 116.6 ; CHO : 400 ; MS 32 ; BC 165 ; DU-GA 1500.1) (on the printing of the *Articella*, see Pesenti, 1985 and 1993 ; and Arrizabalaga, 1998). In 1483-1484, the *Introductorium ad medicinam* of Galen (translation by Giorgio Valla) was published in Milan (HC 12919 ; KL : 147 and no. 403.1 ; DU-GA 1483-4), with five reeditions before 1500 : 1488 (Brescia) (HC 12922 ; KL 403.2 ; DU-GA 1488) ; 1491 (Venice) (HC 12923 ; KL 703.3 ; DU-GA 1491.1) ; 1492 and 1496 (Venice) (HC 12925 ; KL 403.4 and 6 ; DU-GA 1492 and 1496) ; and 1495 (Basel) (HC 12918 ; KL 403.5). Finally, in 1490, a collection of medieval Latin translations of Galen's works edited by Diomedes Bonardus (*floruit* 1480-1500) was published (Venice) (HC 7427 ; KL 432.1 ; DU-GA 1490) (on this edition, see Durling, 1961, p. 250 ; Nutton, 1993, p. 21 ; Domingues, 2004, pp. 164-166). This list does not take into account the inauthentic Latin works that circulated in the Middle Ages under the name of several classical authors, particularly Hippocrates and Galen. Among the other Greek medical texts

tion is reflected in early Renaissance encyclopedias, be they general or more specifically medical. In the *Supplementum chronicarum* by Giacomo Filippo Foresti (best known as Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis) (1434-1520) [39] first published in 1483 [40], information about Hippocrates was mainly based on Isidorus of Seville (between 560 and 570-636) and Pliny [41]. Medical encyclopedias were slightly different, however, as they contained both traditional, that is, medieval, information and new data [42]. *De medicina et medicis* by Giovanni Tortelli (ca. 1400-1466) [43], which was an expanded version of the entry on Hippocrates in his *De orthographia* [44] and was completed between 1455 and 1458 [45], is a col-

printed early in the Renaissance, there was the alphabetical Latin translation of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, attributed to Constantine the African (on this attribution, see Riddle, 1980, p. 24) in the revision by Pietro d'Abano, which was printed in 1478 in Colle (HC 6257 ; KL 343.1 ; CHO : 79) (on this edition, see Riddle, 1980, pp. 15, 23, 27), and the Latin translation of Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* and *De causis plantarum*, by Theodorus of Gaza (1400-ca. 1476), first printed in 1483 in Treviso (HC 15491 ; KL 958.1 ; CHO : 58) (on this edition, see Schmitt, 1971, pp. 266-268 ; Walsh, 1994, pp. 209-210 ; on Gaza, see for example : Legrand, 1885-1906, vol. 1, pp. XXI-XLIX ; Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 2 (1986), p. 81 ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 403 ; Staikos, 1998, pp. 67-89 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 317 ; on his translations, see Salanitro, 1992). On the Latin medieval translations of Greek medical works, see Kibre, 1985, for Hippocrates (to be contrasted with Baader, 1982, and completed with Nutton, 1989) ; Durling, 1961, and Domingues, 2004, for Galen (see also Wear, 1981) ; Riddle, 1980, for Dioscorides ; and Schmitt, 1971 and 1971/2, for Theophrastus. See also Wicher, 1986, for Nemesius, and Rice, 1980, for Paul of Egina. It is interesting to note that the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny (A.D. 23/24-79) was printed as early as 1469 and no fewer than fifteen times by 1499 (Klebs, 1938, pp. 254-255) (on Pliny, see *BNP*, vol. 11 [2007], cols. 383-390 [H. Krasser] ; on the *HN* in the Renaissance, see French, 1986). On Renaissance printing in Venice, see Gerulaitis, 1976, and Vranoussis, 1977 ; Mazal, 1991, and, more generally, Staikos, 1998, and Layton, 1994.

(39) On Foresti, see *DBI*, vol. 48 (1997), pp. 801-803 (L. Megli Frattini). On the *Supplementum*, see Krümmel, 1992.

(40) HC 2805.

(41) See Forestus, 1490 (HC 2808) : fol. 62 verso, reported by Nutton, 1989 : 422.

(42) On the early-Renaissance medical encyclopedias, see Zhmud, 2006, p. 6.

(43) On Tortelli, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 3 (1987), p. 334 (J. F. D'Amico) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 408.

(44) HC 15563-15577.

(45) For the work, see Belloni and Schullian, 1954, pp. 1-19 (Latin text), 71-89 (English translation), and 143-161 (Italian translation).

lection of short notes compiled from ancient mythology, Pliny, Celsus, and a few other literary works of classical Antiquity [46], without critical analysis. However, reference is also made to a *codex* of Dioscorides, which Tortelli saw in Constantinople [47] and which might be the current *Vindobonensis medicus graecus* 1 of the early 6th-century [48]. In *De antiquitate medicinae,* which was a *praelectio* to a teaching on Avicenna at the University of Ferrara in 1498 [49], Gian Giacomo Bartolotti (d. after 1530) [50], presents data of similar origin, mainly Pliny, together with a wide range of ancient physicians and classical authors [51]. Bartolotti was more critical, however, than Tortelli : in presenting such data, indeed, he distinguished several phases in the formation of medicine, each of which had a characteristic feature, from *medicina ex divinatione*, *medicina ex cognitione herbarum*, *medicina experimento habita*, and *medicina a casu*, for instance, to *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, *Hippocrates* (on whom he has a detailed chapter, based on the reading of his pseu-

(46) See the *apparatus fontium* in Belloni and Schullian, 1954 : 19-20, with such works and authors as the *Iliad*, Ovidius, Livius, Quintilianus, Juvenalis, and one quotation from Galen.

(47) "Vidi ego Constantinopoli eiusdem auctoris [= Diascoridis] codicem litteris Graecis antiquissimisque exaratum, in quo non solum herbarum effigies sed volatilium quadrupedum et reptilium tanto artificio et proprietate effictae erant quanto natura ipsa, ut puto, producere potuit" (Belloni and Schullian, 1954, p. 14).

(48) The literature on this manuscript is too abundant to be listed here. See principally the catalogue by Hunger, 1969, pp. 37-41, and, among many others, such important or recent studies as Buberl, 1937, and Cavallo, 1993. Traditionally dated to 512/513, the codex might be anterior as Gamillscheg, 2007, suggested. For a different approach to its illustrations, which have been repeatedly studied through the 20th century, see Schulze, 2002. A reproduction (in sepia) with an in-depth study was published in the early 20th century (de Karabacek, 1906), and a color facsimile including a volume of commentary (Gerstinger, 1970), and, more recently, an introductory volume (Mazal, 1981) and a small-size color reproduction (Mazal, 1998).

(49) For the text, see Belloni and Schullian, 1954, pp. 21-70 (Latin text), 91-142 (English translation), and 163-213 (Italian translation).

(50) Biographical data are to be found in Belloni and Schullian, 1954.

(51) See the *apparatus fontium* of Belloni and Schullian, 1954, pp. 67-70, which includes some 300 references. Physicians are Hippocrates, Celsus, and Galen. Among the authors of literary works are (alphabetical order of names or titles) : Apuleius, Cornelius Nepos, Diogenes Laertius, Flavius Josephus, the *Historia Alexandri Magni*, the Mythographi, Philostratus, Plutarch, and Strabo.

depigraphic letters, among other things), *Aristoteles*, *Galenus*, the *Emperici*, and the *Methodici*. These first signs of a renewal of knowledge were soon confirmed by new Latin versions made afresh from the Greek([52]), and volumes grouping several works by the same author ([53]).

(52) On the early humanistic translations of ancient Greek works contained in the *Articella*, see, for Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*, Fortuna, 1999, and Santing, 1996, for the interest in this work in Germany. For the *Prognosticon*, see Fortuna, 2002. For Galen, *Ars medica*, see Boudon, 2002, pp. 258-263. The early translators of other Greek medical treatises were, principally (in chronological order) : Demetrios Chalkondylas (1423-1511) (translation of Galen, *De anatomicis administrationibus*, published posthumously in 1529 [Fortuna, 1999/2]) ; Angelo Poliziano (Hippocrates, *Aphorismi* together with Galen's commentary [?] [above]) ; Lorenzo Lorenzi (Fortuna, 2002, pp. 796-802) (translation of Galen, *In Hippocratis Aphorismos* [above] [?], and *In Hippocratis Prognosticon* [Florence, 1494 ; HC 8672 ; KL 520.1] ; and three other treatises published posthumously : *Ars medica* [Venise, 1502 ; see Boudon, 2002, p. 258] ; *De differentiis febrium* [Ferrara, 1508] ; and *De crisibus* [Bologna, 1522]) ; Nicolao Leoniceno (1428-1524) (translation of Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*, with Galen's commentary [first draft achieved in 1490, but not published until 1509, in Ferrara] [DU-16 2793] [Fortuna, 1999, p. 491] ; and Galen, *De inaequali intemperie* [on this translation, see Garcia-Novo, 2004, p. 189], and, in one volume, *De naturalibus facultatibus* [on this translation, see Boehm, 2004, p. 239], *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, *De motu musculorum* [on this edition, see Rosa, 1999], and *De crisibus* [Paris, 1514] [Durling, 1961, p. 297] [on his Latin translations of Greek medical treatises, see Fortuna, 2006]) ; Wilhelm Kopp (ca. 1450-1532) (Fortuna, 2002, pp. 803-809) (translation of Paul of Egina [Paris, 1510] [CHO : 143] [Rice, 1980, pp. 152-155], Hippocrates, *Prognosticon* and *De victus ratione in morbis acutis* [no date ; probably 1511] ; Galen, *De locis affectis* [Paris, 1513] and, in one volume, *De symptomatum causis*, *De symptomatum differentiis*, *De morborum causis*, and *De morborum differentiis* [1523]) ; and Thomas Linacre (ca. 1460-1524) (on him, see O'Malley, 1965, pp. 1-25 ; Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 2 (1986), pp. 331-332 [C. B. Schmitt]) (Galen, *De sanitate tuenda* [Paris, 1528], *De temperamentis* and *De inaequali intemperie* [Cambridge, 1521], *De naturalibus facultatibus* [London, 1523] [on the translation of *De temperamentis*, *De inaequali intemperie* and *De naturalibus facultatibus*, see Boehm, 2004, p. 241], *De pulsuum usu* [London, 1522], and *De symptomatum differentiis* [London, 1524] ; and also Paul of Egina, *De crisi et criticis sive decretoriis diebus* [= Paul of Egina, II.6-11] [Paris, 1523] [Rice, 1980, pp. 155-156 ; Schmitt in Bietenholz and Deutscher [above], p. 332]). See also the translation of Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* and *De causis plantarum*, by Theodoros of Gaza (above). Translation activity did not stop after the publication of the Greek text of ancient medical treatises, mainly the 1525 and 1526 editions of Galen and Hippocrates, respectively (below). Among the many 16th-century translators, one could quote here and in chronological order Fuchs (below) ; Joannes Guinter (ca. 1505-1574) (translation of Galen, *De anatomicis administrationibus* [Paris, 1531], and *De Hippocratis et Platonis placitis* [Paris, 1534] ; Paul of Egina [Paris, 1532] [CHO : 142 ; DU-16 3551] [Rice, 1980, p. 169] ; Oribasius, *Commentaria in Aphorismos Hippocratis* [Paris, 1533] [CHO : 124]) ; François Rabelais (ca. 1483-1553) (translation and edition of the translations of Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*, *Prognostic*, *De natura hominis*, and *De ratione victus in morbis acutis*, and, in the same volume, also Galen, *Ars medica* [Paris 1532] [CHO : 33 ; MS 131 ; BC 3522 ; DU-GA 1532.3] ; on this translation of the *Aphorismi*, see Magdelaine, 2004) ; Janus Cornarius (ca. 1500-1558) (translation of Hippocrates, *De aere, aquis, locis* [Basel, 1529] [CHO : 29 ; MS 114 ; BC 864], and a series of seven treatises among which *Jusiurandum*, *Lex*, *Ars*, and *De prisca medicina* [Basel, 1543] [MS 204 ; BC 867) (on him, see Mondrain, 1997) ; or Jacques Goupyl (below) (translation of Alexander of Tralles, whom he also edited [Paris, 1548] [below]).

(53) See the 1515-1516 Pavia edition of *Opera omnia* by Galen in Latin translation (CHO : 114 ; DU-GA A4 = p. 280) ; the 1525 Latin translation of Hippocrates (Rome) (CHO : 25 ; DU-16 2320 ; MS 92 ; BC 628) by Marco Fabio Calvo (d. 1527) (on him see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 [1985] : 246-247 [D. Aguzzi-Barbagli]) ; and the 1526 edition of Hippocrates printed by Andreas Cratander (d. 1540) (on him, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 [1985], pp. 357-358 [P. G. Bietenholz] ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 136) in Basel, with Latin translations by Calvo, Kop, Leoniceno, and Andreas Brenta (d. 1484) (on him, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 [1985], p. 193 [T. B. Deutscher]) (CHO : 25 ; DU-16 2321 ; MS 100 ; BC 629).

Such new translations had sometimes a practical purpose, as is the case with the Byzantine translation of the treatise on smallpox by the Arabic physician abu Bakr ar-Râzî (A.D. 865-925), best known in the medieval West as *Rhazes* ([54]). This Byzantine version was translated into Latin by Giorgio Valla probably because it seemed to offer some therapeutic value for the treatment of syphilis ([55]), which was spreading throughout Europe at that time and seemed then to be a new disease ([56]). Valla's methodological proposal – that is, transferring therapeutic methods from one medical condition to another one – was re-

(54) On Râzî, see the recent syntheses of Richter-Bernburg, 2006 ; and Iskandar, 2008, with the supplementary information of Glick *et al.*, 2005, pp. 434-436 (Th.-A. Druart). On his treatise and, more generally, on the knowledge of smallpox in the Arabic World, the Middle Ages and Byzantium (including Valla's translation), see Leven, 1993. On its Byzantine translation – attributed to Symeon Seth (11th cent.) – see Congourdeau, 1996.

(55) Valla, 1498. On the possible practical aim of this translation, see the dedicatory epistle (f. [R/ 4] recto, ll. 1-27). On the search for cures, see French and Arrizabalaga, 1998.

(56) On the history of syphilis, see, among others and recently, the study by Arrizabalaga *et al.*, 1997 ; and the short synthesis in Campbell, 2003, p. 739. See also French and Arrizabalaga, 1998.

futed by the Ferrarese physician and university teacher Nicolao Leoniceno (1428-1524) (57). According to Leoniceno, indeed, the reintroduction of ancient therapeutics into contemporary medical practice required new investigation of the ancient literature in question, particularly relating to the identification of the plants used as medicines. To this end, he promoted a careful philological analysis of ancient Greek texts, thus applying to scientific texts the methods of textual criticism developed by Poliziano for literary works (58).

This program may have provided the motivation for Leoniceno's contribution to the printing of ancient Greek scientific and medical literature (59). He collaborated with Aldo Manuzio in the production of the five volume edition (1495-1497) of Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) (60), which also included the *Historia plantarum* and *De causis plantarum* by Theophrastus, and may have encouraged Manuzio to publish the *editio princeps* of the first-century manual of pharmacology by Dioscorides (*De materia medica*) (61), which came out in 1499 (62). Printing of Greek medical texts gradually increased. The 1499 edition of Dioscorides, which also included in some copies the two poems on toxicology by Nicander (2nd cent. B.C.) (63), was followed in 1518 by a second edition (64), printed by Aldo Manuzio's son-in-law and successor Gian Francesco d'Asola (ca. 1498-1557 or 1558) (65), who prepared it with the help of the humanist Geronimo Roscio (*floruit* 1475-1525) (66), and in 1523 by a third edition of Nicander by the same d'Asola (67). Two years later (1525), the first Greek version of the complete works by Galen (5 volumes) came out of d'Asola's printing atelier(68), followed, the next year (1526), by the entire *Corpus* attributed to Hippocrates (69). The Aldina house also published two early-Byzantine encyclopedias : that by Paul of Egina (7th cent. A.D.) (70) in 1528 (71), and the *Libri medicinales XVI* by Aetius of Amida (6th cent. A.D.) (72) in 1534 (73).

(57) The abundant literature on Leoniceno is listed in *NDSB*, 2008, vol. 4, pp. 264-267 (A. Touwaide). On his activity as a translator of Greek classical medical texts specifically, see Bacalexi, 2004, pp. 248-250 and 253-258. Leoniceno owned a library that was remarkable at the time for its Greek manuscripts (for its catalogues and a study, see Mugnai Carrara, 1991, and, for his Galenic *codices*, Fortuna, 1992).

(58) On this aspect of Leoniceno's activity, see Touwaide, 2000. It is probably significant that Poliziano and Leoniceno exchanged some letters (Perosa, 1980, pp. 87-88 ; Fortuna, 1999, p. 491). The 1492 booklet by Leoniceno, *De Plinii erroribus* (HC 10021 ; KL 598.1), is dedicated to Poliziano and contains one of his letters.

(59) On Leoniceno and the Aldina editions of Galen and Hippocrates (below), see Fortuna, 2006.

(60) Sicherl, 1976. On the edition of Aristotle (HC 1657 ; KL 83.1 ; CHO : 54), see Renouard, 1834, pp. 7-9 (vol. 1), 10-11 (vol. 2), 11 (vols. 3 and 4), 16 (vol. 5) ; Walsh, 1993, pp. 505-506 (vol. 1), 510-511 (vol. 2), 511 (vol. 3), 511-512 (vol. 4), 517 (vol. 5) ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, pp. 55 (vol. 1), 59-60 (vol. 2), 60-61 (vol. 3), 61-62 (vol. 40, and 66-67 (vol. 5) ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, pp. 50 (vol. 1), 53-54 (vol. 4), 57-58 (vol. 3), 58-59 (vol. 2), and 59 (vol. 5).

(61) On Dioscorides, see *BNP*, vol. 10 (2007), cols. 670-672 (A. Touwaide).

(62) The volume also contains the two treatises on venoms and poisons ascribed to Dioscorides (on these works, see Touwaide, 1981, 1984, and 1992/2). On this edition (HC 6257 ; KL 342.1 ; CHO : 78), see Renouard, 1834, p. 21, and, more recently, Walsh, 1993, pp. 523-524 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, p. 73, and Barker *et al.*, 2001, p. 63. For the identification of its sources (main source was ms. Salamanca, BU. 2659), see Touwaide, 1999 and 2003 (the information in Staikos, 1998, p. 389, note 18 is incorrect).

(63) On Nicander, see *BNP*, vol. 9 (2006), cols. 706-708 (M. Fantuzzi).

(64) On this edition (CHO : 78 ; DU-16 1133), which no longer included Nicander's poems, see Renouard, 1834, p. 82 ; Cataldi Palau, 1998, p. 612 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, p. 169 ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, p. 140.

(65) On d'Asola and his activity, see now the fundamental work by Cataldi Palau, 1998.

(66) On Roscio, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 371.

(67) On this edition (CHO : 63 ; DU-16 3339), see Renouard, 1834, pp. 95-96 ; Cataldi Palau, 1998, p. 634 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, p. 205 ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, p. 166.

(68) On this edition (CHO : 112 ; DU-16 1478), see Renouard, 1834, pp. 101-102 ; Mani, 1956 ; and, more recently, Irigoin, 1996 ; Béguin, 1996 ; Cataldi Palau, 1998, pp. 639-640 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, pp. 217-221 ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, pp. 172-175 ; and Domingues, 2004 , pp. 166-167. See also the 2005 facsimile edition of the first two volumes (including an introduction by A. Tselikas).

(69) On this edition (CHO : 22 ; DU-16 2316 ; MS 102 ; BC 181), see Renouard, 1834, p. 102 ; Cataldi Palau, 1998, pp. 642-643 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, pp. 221-222 ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, pp. 175-176. Also, see Nutton, 1989, p. 426. For a comparative study of the Galen and Hippocrates editions, see Potter, 1998.

(70) On Paul of Egina, see *BNP*, vol. 10 (2007), cols. 635-636 (A. Touwaide).

(71) On this edition (CHO : 142 ; DU-16 3547), see Renouard, 1834, p. 106 ; Cataldi Palau, 1998, pp. 650-651 ; Kallendorf and Wells, 1998, p. 233 ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, p. 183.

(72) On Aetius, see *BNP*, vol. 1 (2002), col. 276 (V. Nutton).

(73) On this edition (CHO : 133 ; DU-16 43), see Renouard, 1834, p. 112 ; Cataldi Palau, 1998, pp. 660-661 ; Barker *et al.*, 2001, p. 195.

The selection of texts and manuscripts depended directly on manuscript availability, production, and circulation, and often on serendipitous discoveries not necessarily characterized by, or resulting in, textual accuracy ([74]).

Editorial work expanded from Italy to Germany ([75]), and then on to France ([76]). The editions of this second wave were sometimes based on

(74) On the manuscript sources of Aldo Manuzio's editions, for example, which for a long time were thought to come from the San Marco library, see the pioneering work of Sicherl, 1976, on the Aristotle edition, in which the author identified the manuscripts used. They had not come from the San Marco collection, which was not yet accessible to scholars (see, for example, Wilson, 1977, pp. 393-396). Sicherl further expanded this first research to other Aldina editions ; see his volume of 1997, which is a collection of previously published studies on a broad range of classical authors. Several other contributions have been published since, dealing with other editions of Aldo Manuzio and capitalizing on the groundbreaking work of Sicherl. For a synthesis of the manuscripts used by Aldo Manuzio for his editions, see Staikos, 1998, pp. 387-390. An example of serendipitous discovery of manuscript is the model of the 1526 Aldina of Hippocrates, as Nutton, 1989, p. 426 and note 19, suggested.

(75) In 1529, two new editions of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, were published simultaneously in Cologne (Johannes Heyl, better known as Johannes Soter [d. ca. 1543]) (CHO : 78 ; DU-16 1134), and Basel (Johannes Bebel [d. ca. 1550]) (CHO : 78). In 1538, Andreas Cratander published in Basel the second Greek edition of Galen (5 volumes) (CHO : 113 ; DU-16 1749) (on this edition, see Domingues, 2004, pp. 166-167), and of Paul of Egina (CHO : 142 ; DU-16 3548), and Michel Isengrin published, also in Basel, the first printed edition of the Byzantine Symeon Seth (CHO : 150 ; DU-16 4210). On this expansion, see Nauert, 1995, pp. 102-131, and, on Germany specifically, Harlfinger, Barn *et al.*, 1989 ; Overfield, 1992 ; and Nutton, 1997.

(76) The first edition of the Greek text of Cassius (3rd cent. A.D.) identified as the *iatrosophistes* was prepared by Jacques Toussaint and published in 1541 in Paris by the widow of Cr. Neobarius (CHO : 88 ; DU-16 878) (on this edition, Garzya, 1999) ; in 1548 in Paris, Robert Estienne (below) published the first Greek edition of Alexander of Tralles (below) ; in 1549, Jacques Goupyl (below) published a new edition of Dioscorides' Greek text (with the Latin translation of Jean du Ruel [or Ruel] [1474-1537] [on him, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 162]) (with two different printings : one by the widow of Arnold Birkmann [DU-16 1136], and the other by Pierre Haultin [ca. 1510-1587] [DU-16 1135]) (on this edition [CHO : 78-79], see Riddle, 1980, pp. 81-82) ; the same year, a new Greek edition of Nicander by Jean de Gorris (1505-1577) (on him, Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 215) came out in Paris with a Latin translation (CHO : 63-64) ; then, the royal printers Adrien Turnèbe (1512-1565) (on him, Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 412-413 ;

manuscripts recently brought to Europe, on new copies made in such centers as Venice, or on codices discovered in existing collections ; more often, however, they reproduced the text of previous editions, to which they added new conjectures, corrections, and other textual interventions not necessarily made with the support of manuscript evidence. The holdings of the Royal Library in Paris enabled the French scholar Jacques Goupyl (ca. 1525-1564) ([77]) to publish in Paris in 1548 Alexander of Tralles (6th cent. A.D.) ([78]) and the Byzantine translation of the treatise on smallpox by Râzî (*editio princeps* of both) ([79]), and, in 1549, a new critical edition of Dioscorides, *De materia medica* (above).

During the period 1520-1540, Italian printers began offering repeated new editions of previously published collections of works in the form of *Opera omnia*. In 1522, Lucantonio Giunti (1457-1538) ([80]) printed the entire corpus of Galen in Latin translation (three volumes) in Venice, with reeditions in 1528 and 1533 ([81]). After his death, his sons continued this strategy with a new version of Galen's works in 1541-1542 ([82]), which was reedited several times. Among these reeditions was one in

Campbell, 2003, p. 768) and Guillaume Morel (below) (1505-1564) (Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 313) started their production with the following editions : Aretaeus (CHO : 84 ; DU-16 255) (Roselli, 2004) and Rufus of Ephesus (CHO : 90 ; DU-16 3990), both in 1554, by Jacques Goupyl, as first editions of the Greek text, printed by Turnèbe ; Theophilus Protospatharius (*De corporis humani fabrica*, 1555 ; first edition, Greek) (CHO : 140 ; DU-16 4341) ; Johannes Actuarius (*Opera omnia* in Latin translation by Jacques Goupyl) (CHO : 154), and Oribasius (books 24 and 25, in Greek) (CHO : 122), both in 1557 ; Nicander (by Jean de Gorris [above], Greek text with Latin translation, 1557) (CHO : 64 ; DU-16 3341) ; and Demetrius (15th cent. [?] [see Diller, 1978, and more recently Lazaris, 2006]) (*De podagra*, 1558, first edition of the Greek text with a Latin translation perhaps by Adrien Turnèbe) (CHO : 155 ; DU-16 1115) (on this edition, see Lazaris, 2006, pp. 233-236) by Morel. On French Renaissance culture, see Kelley, 1992, and, more generally, Gadoffre, 1997.

(77) On Jacques Goupyl, see Maillard *et al.*, 1998, p. 216.

(78) On Alexander of Tralles, see *BNP*, vol. 1 (2002), cols. 484-485 (V. Nutton).

(79) CHO : 136, and DU-16 143. The manuscripts used as sources are the *Parisini graeci* 2200 and 2201 (see Förstel, 2001, and Guardasole, 2004).

(80) On Lucantonio Giunti, see *DBI*, vol. 57 (2001), pp. 93-98 (M. Ceresa). On the editions of Galen mentioned here, see Domingues, 2004, pp. 168-172.

(81) CHO : 114 for all three editions ; DU-GA A5 and A6 (p. 280) for the 1522 and 1528 editions ; DU-16 1750 for the 1528 edition.

(82) CHO : 114 ; DU-GA A7 (p. 280) ; DU-16 1751.

1550 by Agostino Gadaldini (1515-1575) ([83]), and another in 1556 that included additions by Giambattista Rasario (1517-1578) ([84]). The translation (with commentary) of Dioscorides, *De materia medica* (including the two treatises on venoms and poisons ascribed to Dioscorides), by the Sienese physician Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500-1577) ([85]) underwent a similar series of revisions and reeditions. After a modest and small-format Italian translation in 1544 ([86]) (which was not even a novelty, as Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano [b. 1502] published the first Italian translation of the treatise in Venice in 1542 ([87])), Mattioli translated into Latin his own Italian version, added a commentary, and continuously expanded it, producing constantly revised editions ([88]). After his work was reproduced in a unauthorized illustrated version in Mantua in 1549 ([89]), Mattioli introduced in 1554 small representations of plants into the text ([90]), and large ones in 1562 ([91]). This scientific endeavour benefitted from the dynamism – and contributed to the success – of the Valgrisi publishing company in Venice.

By the mid-16th century, scholars were becoming manuscript hunters. Agostino Gadaldini, head of Giunti medical publications, was constant-

(83) CHO : 114 ; DU-GA A11 (p. 280) ; DU-16 1754. On Gadaldini, see Garofalo, 2004.

(84) CHO : 114 ; DU-GA A12 (p. 280) ; DU-16 1756. On Rasario, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 361-362. The other editions (CHO : 114) are the following : 4th 1565 (DU-GA A15 ; DU-16 1759) ; 5th 1576-1577 (DU-GA A5 ; DU-16 1760) ; 6th 1586 (DU-GA A17 ; DU-16 1761) ; 7th 1596-1597 (DU-GA A18 ; DU-16 1762) ; 8th 1609 ; 9th 1625.

(85) The literature on Mattioli is immense ; see, among others, *DSB*, vol. 9 (1974), pp. 178-180 (B. Zanobio) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 298 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 513.

(86) CHO : 81 ; DU-16 1160.

(87) CHO : 81 ; DU-16 1159.

(88) DU-16 1162-1164.

(89) Pietro Andrea Matthioli, *Il Dioscoride ... co i suoi discorsi da esso la seconda volta illusrati, & diligentemente ampliati : Con la giunta del sesto libro de i rimedi di tutti veleni, da lui novamente tradotto, & con dottisimi discorsi per tutto commentato, con la giunta di tutte le figure delle Piante, delle Herbe, delle Pietre, et de gli Animali, tratte dal vero & istesso naturale, & non piu stampate*. In Mantova, appresso Iacomo Roffinello, 1549.

(90) DU-16 3008.

(91) DU-16 3014. Edition in Czech, further published in German (1563) and in Latin (1564).

ly looking for previously unknown manuscripts ([92]), as was Girolamo Donzellini (ca. 1527-1587) ([93]), who provided the editor of Hippocrates (Basel, 1579 ([94])) Theodor Zwinger (1533-1588) ([95]) with information on manuscripts, and also received collations from another editor of Greek texts, Girolamo Mercuriale (1530-1606) ([96]). No less remarkable is the Spaniard Andrés Laguna (between 1494 and 1511-1559) ([97]), who traveled across Europe as a physician, ending in Rome as the *archiater* of Jules III (pope 1550-1555). He collated variant readings in manuscripts of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, and published them in 1554 (Lyon) ([98]) as an introduction to his Spanish translation of the work, the first edition of which came out of the printing atelier of Juan Latio, in fact, Hans De Laet (1524 [?]-1566) ([99]), in Anvers in 1555 ([100]).

The production of new publications – be they *editiones principes*, reeditions of previously edited works, or new printings – reached a peak around mid-16th century ([101]), and included a great variety of works : Aetius by Janus Cornarius (Lyon) ([102]), and Nicolaus Myrepsus (15th

(92) Nutton, 1989, pp. 427-428.

(93) On Donzellini, see *DBI*, vol. 41 (1992), pp. 238-243 (A. Jacobson Schutte) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 157.

(94) CHO : 36 ; DU-16 4805 ; MS 485 and 495 ; BC 4496.

(95) On Zwinger, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 437.

(96) Nutton, 1989, p. 428. On Mercuriale : Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 302-303 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 526.

(97) On Laguna, see, for example, Lopez Rueda, 1973, pp. 367, 378-382 ; Granjel, 1980, *passim* ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 257. On Laguna and his publications, the works by González Manjarrés, 2000 and 2000/2 should not be taken into consideration.

(98) DU-16 2704.

(99) On De Laet, see Rouzet, 1975, pp. 115-117.

(100) CHO : 81. The work was further published in several reeditions in Spain (Salamanca) by Mathias Gast (d. 1577), who was first a bookseller and then a printer in Belgium (Anvers) before moving to Spain (see, for example, the 1566 and 1570 editions in DU-16 1165 and 1166 respectively).

(101) Based on Choulant, 1841 (however incomplete and sometimes mistaken it might be), the number of editions of ancient medical texts by decades during the 16th century is as follows :

1500-1509 : 7	1510-1519 : 12	1520-1529 : 20	1530-1539 : 39	1540-1549 : 52
1550-1559 : 53	1560-1569 : 24	1570-1579 : 18	1580-1589 : 12	1590-1599 : 16

(102) CHO : 134 ; DU-16 49. On this edition, see Tartaglia, 1996.

cent.) [103] (Basel) [104] by Leonhart Fuchs (1501-1566) [105], both in Latin and in 1549 ; the *Opera omnia* of Galen in Latin (Lyon) in 1549-1551 [106], of Aristotle in Greek in 1551-1553 (Venice) [107], of Aretaeus of Cappadocia (2nd cent. A.D. [?]) [108] in Latin by Giulio Paolo Crasso (d. 1574) [109] in 1552 [110], and of Nicander in Greek with a Latin translation by Pedro Jaime Esteve (ca. 1500-1556) [111], also in 1552 in Valence [112] ; *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* and *per genera* by Galen in Greek in 1553 in Bologna [113], followed by Johannes Zacharias Actuarius (14th cent.) [114], *De methodis medendi*, also in Greek in 1554 in Venice [115] ; the *Explanationes in Galeni librum ad Glauconem de medendi methodo* by Stephanus of Alexandria (6th cent. A.D.) [116] in the Latin version of Gadaldini in 1554 (Venice), and 1555 and 1558 (Lyon) [117] ; Alexander of Tralles by Johannes Winter (*Guinterius*) (ca. 1505-1574) [118] in both

(103) On Nicolaus Myrepsus, see Hunger, 1978, p. 312 ; Eftychiadou, 1983, p. 211 ; *ODB*, 1991, p. 1492 (J. Scarborough-A. Cutler).
(104) CHO : 158 ; DU-16 3345.
(105) On Fuchs, see *DSB*, vol. 15 (1978), pp. 160-162 (F. N. Egerton) ; on him as translator of ancient Greek medical texts, see Bacalexi, 2004, pp. 251-253 and 258-267.
(106) CHO : 114 ; DU-GA A10 (p. 280).
(107) CHO : 54.
(108) On Aretaeus, see *BNP*, vol. 1 (2002), cols. 1051-1052 (V. Nutton).
(109) On Crasso (whose first name is spelled Giulio or Giunio), see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 135-136.
(110) CHO : 86 ; DU-16 256. On this edition, see Roselli, 2004, pp. 99-100.
(111) On Esteve, see Lopez Rueda, 1973, pp. 121, 339, 367, 404, 434 ; Granjel, 1980, pp. 23, 49, 75, 153, 254 ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 173-174.
(112) CHO : 64.
(113) CHO : 116. On the printed editions of the first treatise, see Guardasole, 1999.
(114) On Johannes Actuarius, see Hunger, 1978, pp. 312-313 ; Kourouzês, 1980-1982 ; Eftychiadou, 1983, pp. 308-309 ; *ODB*, 1991, p. 1056 (J. Scarborough - A. M. Talbot).
(115) CHO : 154 ; DU-16 4262 for the 1554 edition and 4263 for the 1555 one.
(116) On Stephanus of Alexandria and his work, see Wolska-Conus, 1989, 1992, 1994, 1996, and 1998.
(117) CHO : 138.
(118) On Johannes Winter (Guinterius), often defined as Andernacus (of Andernach), see *DSB*, vol. 5 (1972), pp. 585-586 (C. D. O'Malley) ; Bietenholz-Deutscher, vol. 2 (1986), pp. 152-153 (K. Von Greyerz - P. G. Bietenholz) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 225.

Greek and Latin in 1556 (Basel) [119] ; Pseudo-Galen, *De humoribus* in Greek (first edition) in Strasbourg in 1557 [120] ; a French translation of Dioscorides by Martin Matthée (*floruit* 1544-1559) [121] in 1559 (Lyon) [122] ; the second edition of the *Opera omnia* of Alexander of Tralles, in the Latin version of Johannes Winter (Lyon), in 1560 [123] ; and, in 1561, a posthumous new printing of the Latin translation of Symeon Seth, *Syntagma de cibariorum facultate* by Giglio Gregorio Giraldi (1479-1552) [124] in Basel [125], first published in 1538 in his *editio princeps* of the Greek text of the work [126].

Significantly, the places of publications of these works were all across Europe : Venice and Bologna, Paris and Lyon, Basel, and also Valence, and the publishers included such famous ones as Robert Estienne (1503-1559) [127] and Guillaume Morel (1505-1564) [128] in Paris ; Johannes Oporinus (1507-1568) [129], the heirs of Andreas Cratander and Johann Bebel in Basel ; and the Giunti, Vincenzo Valgrisi (*fl.* 1540-1572), and the heirs of Aldo Manuzio in Venice. Aside from these editions in the original language or in Latin translation, the 1540s saw the appearance of the vernacular [130], with a French translation of Paul of Egina's Book VI in 1540

(119) CHO : 136 ; DU-16 144.
(120) CHO : 117 ; DU-GA 1557.4.
(121) On Matthée, see Chavy, 1988, vol. 2, p. 961 ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 297-298.
(122) CHO : 82 ; DU-16 1158.
(123) CHO : 137 ; DU-16 151.
(124) On Giraldi, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 208.
(125) CHO : 151 ; DU-16 4211.
(126) CHO : 150 ; DU-16 4210.
(127) On Robert Estienne, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 175 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 261.
(128) On Morel, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 313.
(129) On Oporinus, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 328 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 568.
(130) On this phenomenon, see, for example, Bunker, 1939, who studies the translations of Greek works into French during the decade 1540-1550. For the translations into French, see Chavy, 1988. More generally, for bibliographical lists on the translations of classical works into vernacular languages, see Jacopo Maria Paitoni (1710-1774) for Italian (5 vols., 1766-1767) ; Ludwig Wilhelm Brüggemann (1743-1817) for English (1797) ; Johann Friedrich Degen (1725-1836) for German (2 vols., 1797-1798). Also, Joseph William Moss (1803-1862) compiled *A Manual of Classical Bibliography* which listed the editions, translations, and commentaries on classical Greek and Latin works in several

(Lyon) [131], no less than four translations of Dioscorides, *De materia medica* : three into Italian (1542, 1544 [both in Venice] and 1547 [Florence]), and one into German (1546, Frankfurt) [132], and Italian translations of Galen, *De dignotione ex insomniis* [133], and Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* [134] (both in 1549 and in Venice).

The authors of many of 16th-century editions and translations often claimed, on triumphant title pages or in the *praefatio*, that they based their work on manuscripts of *great antiquity* (for example *antiquissimus*, *antiquitatis mirae*, *mire vetustus* or *vetustissimus* [135]), which made it possible to improve the text in innumerable passages. If manuscripts were actually used in many instances, they were not necessarily as ancient as scholars of that time estimated or wanted their readers to think. In his Latin translation of Paul of Egina, first published in 1532 in Paris, for instance, Johann Winter announced in the preface that he used an *antiquum exemplar* and another manuscript *admirandae vetustatis* [136]. Whereas the latter, the actual *Parisinus graecus* 2206, is indeed an eleventh-century codex [137], the former, probably *Parisinus graecus* 2047, seems to be of the fifteenth century only [138].

As a result of this activity, the French scholar and printer Henri Estienne (ca. 1531-1598) [139] was able to publish as early as 1567 his *Medicae artis principes* [140], which contained, according to its title, a Latin

modern languages (English, French, Italian, Spanish, German and, as the title says, *occasionally in other languages*) published in 1825.

(131) CHO : 143 ; DU-16 3567.

(132) On all these translations, see CHO : 81 ; DU-16 1159 (Italian, 1542), 1160 (Italian, 1544), 1161 (Italian, 1547).

(133) CHO : 117.

(134) CHO : 59.

(135) On the meaning of these adjectives in the humanistic philological lexicon, see Rizzo, 1973, pp. 147-167.

(136) On the edition, including the text of its preface, see Rice, 1980, pp. 166-169.

(137) Heiberg, 1921, p. v.

(138) Rice, 1980, p. 166.

(139) On Estienne, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 174-175 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 261.

(140) CHO : 408 ; DU-16 3049. Estienne might have followed the model of such volume as *Medici antiqui omnes qui latinis litteris ...* (CHO : 408) published in 1547 by the Aldina press in Venice and containing a similar collection of Latin medical treatises, although similar collections had been printed earlier.

translation of a corpus of Greek medical treatises after Hippocrates and Galen : Rufus of Ephesus (1st cent. A.D.) [141] and Aretaeus ; the early-Byzantine Oribasius, Aetius, Alexander of Tralles, and Paul of Egina ; and even two late-Byzantine physicians, Actuarius and Nicolaus Myrepsus. Before these translations (1564), Estienne published a dictionary of ancient Greek medical terms [142]. Such project was not totally new, as the Spanish humanist Antonio Nebrija (1441-1522) [143] had compiled a dictionary of ancient medical terminology, which he did not publish, however [144]. Also, the German humanist Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574) [145] published in 1551 a dictionary of Greek and Latin terms of anatomy and physiology [146].

Lists of manuscripts and inventories of collections were circulating during the same period, as were also texts, in manuscript or printed form. All this allowed for encyclopedic compilations, either general or specifically devoted to ancient medicine. Coming after Poliziano and his prophetic *Panepistemon* (1490) [147], Giorgio Valla made precursory work : after he translated into Latin several ancient Greek philosophical and scientific works [148], he published an encyclopedia of sciences in his *De expetendis ac fugiendis* [149], for which he compiled and translated into Latin a vast quantity of ancient scientific texts, many probably on the basis of manuscripts from his own collection. Shortly after, Symphorien

(141) On Rufus, see *BNP*, vol. 12 (2008), cols. 756-757 (V. Nutton).

(142) CHO : 424 ; DU-16 1402.

(143) On Nebrija, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 3 (1987), pp. 9-10 (A. Pacheco) ; and Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 320.

(144) The material for this medical dictionary was included in the 1545 edition of his *Dictionarium latino-hispanicum*, which was believed for a long time to be lost and has been recently edited by Carrera de la Red, 2001.

(145) On Camerarius, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 (1985), pp. 247-248 (I. Guenther) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, pp. 94-95 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 132.

(146) CHO : 423.

(147) As its title indicates (*Angeli Politiani praelectio cui titulus Panepistemon*), the work, which inventories all human knowledge, was an *introduction*, in fact, to Poliziano's lectures on Aristotle, *Ethics to Nicomach*. For its text, see the reprint of the 1553 edition of Poliziano's *Opera omnia* by Maïer, vol. 1 (1971), pp. 462-473. On the work, see, for example, Mandosio, 1996 ; Idem, 1997, pp. 368-377 ; and, more recently : Nanni, 2007 for a specific aspect (technique).

(148) Valla, 1498.

(149) Valla, 1501.

Champier (ca. 1472-ca. 1535) (150) published a list of illustrious physicians (Lyon, 1506) (151). No other such work appeared until 1530, however, when the German physician Otto Brunfels (1488-1534) (152) published a *Catalogus illustrium Medicorum* (153), in which he listed all ancient physicians known at that time. Then, in 1545, the Swiss philologist and naturalist Conrad Gessner (1516-1565) (154) started publishing his *Bibliotheca Universalis* (155), in which he created entries for all known authors and written works, also mentioning manuscripts and printed editions (156). Such antiquarian collectionism was not only textual, but could also be sometimes iconic : the Hungarian János Zsámboki (1531-1584 (157)) pulled together a gallery of portraits of ancient physicians published in Anvers in 1574 (158). Later, the French Pascal Lecoq (1567-1632) compiled a *Bibliotheca medica* published in 1590 (159) and listing no fewer than 1,224 authors, which was followed in 1591 by a similar encyclopedic catalogue by Israel Spach (1560-1610), the *Nomenclator scriptorum medicorum* (160), each of which replaced Brunfels' *Catalogus*.

After such translation and editorial activity and attempts at encyclopedism, scholarly studies in the 17th century shifted from the texts to the collections and their manuscripts, also including a first form of theory of ecdotics. In 1639, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini (1595-1655) collected and published lists of the manuscripts in libraries in Padua and its sur-

(150) On Champier, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 (1985), pp. 291-292 (B. P. Copenhaver).

(151) DU-16 935. On the work, see also Besterman, 1940, p. 11, and 60-61.

(152) On Brunfels, see *NDB*, vol. 2 (1955), pp. 677-678 (H. Grimm) ; *DSB*, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 535-538 (J. Stannard) ; Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 1 (1985), pp. 206-207 (M. U. Chrisman) ; and Campbell, 2003, p. 118.

(153) DU-16 721.

(154) On Gessner, see *NDB*, vol. 6 (1964), pp. 342-345 (E. K. Fueter) ; and Pyle, 2000. The spelling Gesner derives from the Latinized form of his name.

(155) 1545-1555. On the *Bibliotheca*, see Braun, 1990, pp. 43-55.

(156) On Gessner's entreprise, see Besterman, 1940, pp. 15-21 (who contests the title of "Father of Bibliography" he is often credited with), and 62 ; more recently, see Balsamo, 1984/1990, pp. 26-46.

(157) On Zsámboki, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 3 (1987), pp. 467-468 (H. Kowlaska) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 436.

(158) Sambucus, 1574. On the work, see Bowen and Imhof, 2008, pp. 195-196.

(159) DU-16 2749. On the work, see Besterman, 1940, pp. 27, and 71.

(160) DU-16 4242. On the work, see Besterman, 1940, pp. 27, and 71.

rounding region (161), doing the same in 1650 for Venice (162). At almost the same time, the French Jesuit Philippe Labbé (1607-1667) (163), who was, among many other things, a Byzantinist (164) and a historian of medicine (165), published in Paris a list of catalogues of libraries in the *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum* (166), and a list of bibliographies of all kinds (167) that was later revised and expanded by Antoine Teissier (1632-1715) (168). Labbé's catalogue of catalogues was replaced in 1739 by a similar list by another Frenchman, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741) (169).

Between Labbé and Montfaucon, cataloguing of manuscripts made substantial progress with the Austrian Peter Lambeck (1628-1680) (170), who described the *codices* in the Imperial Library in Vienna (1665-1679) (171), also including a vast amount of historical data on the authors of the texts contained in the manuscripts, and on the texts themselves (172). Nevertheless, the practice of gathering existing lists of man-

(161) Tomasini, 1639.

(162) Tomasini, 1650.

(163) On Labbé, see *DBF*, fasc. 108 (1994), p. 1323 (P. Duclos).

(164) See his *De Byzantinae historiae scriptoribus*, Parisiis, E Typographia regia, 1648.

(165) See *Vita Claudii Galeni Medicorum Principis, Ex propriis operibus collecta*, Parisiis, G. Benard, 1660.

(166) Labbé, 1653, with a second edition in 1657. On the *Bibliotheca*, see Besterman, 1940, p. 36.

(167) This list was first published in the 1653 *Nova bibliotheca*. It was published independently under the title *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum* in 1664.

(168) Teisserius, 1686. On Teissier, see *Biographie universelle*, vol. 41 (1854), pp. 116-117 (Vincens Saint-Laurent). On the work, see Besterman, 1940, p. 50.

(169) Montfaucon, 1739. On Montfaucon, see *Biographie universelle*, vol. 29 (1854), pp. 104-106 (Weiss).

(170) On Lambeck, see *NDB*, vol. 13 (1982), pp. 426-427 (G. König).

(171) Lambeck, 1665-1679.

(172) See for example the description of the 6th-century manuscript of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, now *medicus graecus* 1 (on which, see note 48). It contains a history of the several physicians represented in the illustrations of the opening folios (vol. 2, cols. 135-195 in the reedition by Harles), a historical notice on Dioscorides based on the preface of *De materia medica* (cols. 195-216, and 253-258), and, in the commentary on the dedication picture to Anicia Juliana, the history and genealogical trees of Byzantine emperors (cols. 219-253). Finally, there is also a section on Eutecnius, author of the paraphrases on Nicander and Oppian contained in the manuscript (cols. 260-265), and an inventory of the other manuscripts of Dioscorides in the Vienna library that

uscripts following Tomasini's model continued with summary indices of manuscripts from collections of England and Ireland by Bernard Edward (1638-1697) (173), published posthumously in 1697 (174), or, for example, from collections in Italy inventoried by Montfaucon (175). In the late 17th century and particularly in the 18th century, however, new catalogues with differing levels of accuracy and completeness appeared. Among them were catalogues for the following collections (listed here in order of publication) : the Academy of Leipzig by Joachim Feller (1628-1691) in 1676 (176) ; a supplement to Lambeck's catalogue of the Imperial Library in Vienna by Daniel de Nessel (1644-1699) in 1690 (177) ; the *Bibliotheca Coisliana* in Paris in 1715 by Montfaucon (178) ; the King's Library in London in 1734 (179) ; the *Bibliotheca regia* in Paris in 1739-1744 (180) ; the San Marco Library in Venice by Antonio Maria Zanetti (1706-1778) in collaboration with Antonio Bongiovanni (b. 1712) in 1740 (181) ; the Royal Library of Turin by Giuseppe Pasini (1687-1770) in collaboration with Antonio Rivautella (1708-1753) and Francesco Berta (1719-1787) in 1749 (182) ; the Harleian collection in London in 1759-1763 (183) ; the Bibliotheca Mediceo Laurenziana in Florence by Angelo Maria Bandini (1726-1803) in 1764-1770 (184) ; and the King's Library in Madrid by Juan de Iriarte (1701-1771) in 1769 (185).

could be used for the edition of the text (... *mentionem ... aliorum nonnullorum Codicum Mstorum, qui in eadem Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea adservantur, & adornandae novae editioni Dioscorides possunt inservire*) (col. 265) (cols. 265-270). This is followed by the list of the editions and translations of *De materia medica* (cols. 270-278) and an index of the Renaissance editors, translators, and commentators on the text, including Aben Bitar (in fact, ibn al-Baitar [ca. 1190-1248]) (cols. 277-285 ; see cols. 284-285 for Aben Bitar).

(173) On Bernard, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 5, pp. 424-426 (H. de Quehen).
(174) Bernard, 1697.
(175) Montfaucon, 1702.
(176) Feller, 1676.
(177) de Nessel, 1690.
(178) Montfaucon, 1715.
(179) Casley, 1734.
(180) *Catalogus codicum*, 1739-1744.
(181) Zanetti and Bongiovanni, 1740.
(182) Pasini *et al.*, 1749.
(183) *Catalogue of the Harleian Collection*, 1759-1763.
(184) Bandini, 1764-1770.
(185) Iriarte, 1769.

During the same period, new *editiones principes* of medical treatises were not as numerous as in the 16th century. According to Choulant's bibliography, indeed, 70 and 73 such publications came out during the 17th and 18th centuries respectively, while more than 250 had appeared during the 16th century. There were some first editions of Greek works : Andromachus (1st cent. A.D.) (186) in 1607 (Zurich) (187) ; the anonymous *Introductio anatomica* in 1616 (Hamburg) (188), with a second edition as early as 1618 in Leiden (189) ; and Palladius (4th cent. A.D.) (190) in 1646 in Paris (191). Activity concentrated on previously published treatises, with second editions of Greek texts appearing : Aretaeus (Augsburg) (192), and Galen, *De ossibus ad introducendos* (Palermo) (193), both in 1603 ; reeditions of previously published texts (some including a Latin translation) of Cassius in 1653 (Leipzig) (194), Symeon Seth in 1658 (Paris) (195), and Nemesius in 1671 (Oxford) (196). Overshadowing all else, there was the monumental Greco-Latin edition of Galen prepared by René Chartier (1572-1654) (197) on the basis of the Giuntina of 1565, which was published in Paris, in part posthumously, from 1639 to 1679 (198). Production was largely dominated, however, by the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, which constituted half of the publications of the century. Other important titles included (in chronological order of publication) : Aristotle's *Parva naturalia* (Frankfurt, 1601) (199), *Problemata* (Frankfurt, 1602-1607) (200), *Historia animalium* (Toulouse, 1619) (201) and *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1619) (202), all in Greek with a Latin translation ; a Latin translation of Demetrius

(186) On Andromachus, see *BNP*, vol. 1 (2002), col. 685 (V. Nutton).
(187) CHO : 72.
(188) CHO : 128-129.
(189) CHO : 129.
(190) On Palladius, see Diller, 1943.
(191) CHO : 132.
(192) CHO : 85.
(193) CHO : 116.
(194) CHO : 89.
(195) CHO : 151.
(196) CHO : 127.
(197) On Chartier, see Kollesch, 1968.
(198) CHO : 113 (identified as Paris, 1679).
(199) CHO : 53.
(200) CHO : 53.
(201) CHO : 50.
(202) CHO : 54. On this edition, see Roselli, 2004, p. 101.

Pepagomenos (Saint Omer, 1619) (203) ; an English translation of Nemesius (London, 1636) (204) ; the *Historia plantarum* of Theophrastus (Amsterdam, 1644) (205) in Greek with a Latin translation ; and Ioannes Actuarius, *De urinis*, in Latin (Utrecht, 1670) (206).

The texts put at the disposal of scholars were a mix of ancient and new. The 1644 *Historia plantarum* of Theophrastus, for example, presented a Greek text that was revised by consulting Greek manuscripts, while the Latin translation was that of Theodorus of Gaza first published in 1483. Similarly, the commentary by Johannes Bodaeus (d. 1636) (207) reproduced that of the humanist physicians Jules César Scaliger (1484-1558) (208) and Robert Constantin (ca. 1530-1605) (209).

While the field of medical texts was characterized by this paucity of new works, other fields were blooming and a theoretical reflection on the process of textual tradition was even beginning. The first attempts came from Biblical studies, particularly thanks to the French Oratorian priest Richard Simon (1638-1712) (210). After an *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Paris, 1678) and a similar *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1689), he published an *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1690), followed by an *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1693), and *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1695). These essays were not well received by the church and their author was expelled from his order, finishing his life isolated.

At the beginning of the 18th century, interest in the history of medicine increased and became practical. In 1716, the English physician John Freind (1675-1728) (211), author of a history of medicine and editor of ancient Greek medical texts, published a critical edition, with Latin

(203) CHO : 156.
(204) CHO : 128.
(205) CHO : 59.
(206) CHO : 154.
(207) On Bodaeus, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 71.
(208) On Scaliger, see Bietenholz and Deutscher, vol. 3 (1987), pp. 212-214 (A. Grafton) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 383 ; Campbell, 2003, p. 687.
(209) On Constantin, see *DBF*, vol. 9 (1961), pp. 517-518 (M. Prevost) ; Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 125.
(210) On Simon, see Molien, 1941 and, more recently, Dohmen, 2000.
(211) On Freind, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 20, pp. 944-946 (A. Guerrini) ; and Bickel, 2007, p. 267.

translation, of the *Epidemics I* and *III* of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (212). In the commentary, he discussed purgation, which was frequently used in Hippocratic medicine, and suggested applying it to the treatment of smallpox, referring also to Râzî's treatise (213), in a way reminiscent of Giorgio Valla. Such therapeutic method, which, before the publication of the Hippocratic edition, had been the object of a series of epistolary exchanges in the English medical world (214), including a letter from John Mead (1673-1754) (215) to Freind, had wide-ranging repercussions, starting with a refutation by John Woodward (1665-1728) (216). In 1719, Freind responded to Woodward (217), and, in 1723, the French historian of medicine Daniel Le Clerc (below) included a paragraph on this point in the new edition (1723) of his work (218), as did also Freind himself in *History of Physick* (219). After the German physician Johann Gottfried Hahn (1694-1753) collected the passages of ancient Greek medical literature supposedly referring to smallpox in 1733 (220), Mead published in 1747 an essay on smallpox written in Latin, in which he included a translation of Râzî's treatise (221). The polemic was amplified by the many reeditions and even translations of the several works dealing with the topic, as well as the *Opera omnia* of Freind and Mead, repeatedly published until late in the 18th century. In 1766, the Arabic text of Râzî was edited and

(212) Freind, *Hippocratis de morbis popularibus*, 1717 (the imprimatur is dated *Decembris 7mo 1716*).
(213) See p. 88 of the 1717 edition.
(214) See the series of letters included in Freind's Hippocratic edition of 1717 on pp. 104-135, dated from 1710 to December 1716. Mead's letter is on pp. 119-127, with the reply of Freind on pp. 129-135.
(215) On Mead, see Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, p. 900 (H.-U. Lammel).
(216) The title of Woodward's work is interesting : *The State of Physick : and of Diseases ; with an Inquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of them : But more particularly of the Smallpox. With some considerations upon the new Practice of Purgeing in that Disease. To the whole is premitted, An Idea of the Nature and Mechanism of Man : of the Disorders to which it is obnoxious : and of the Method of Rectifying them.* On Woodward, see Levine, 1977.
(217) Freind, 1719. Significantly, Freind published the work under a pseudonym : Dr. Byfielde.
(218) Le Clerc, 1723, pp. 776-778.
(219) Freind, 1725, part II, p. 189.
(220) Hahn, 1733, with a reedition in 1751, and other essays on the same topic in Hahn, 1736 and 1753.
(221) Mead, 1747. See pp. 97-147.

translated into Latin [222], and shortly after into French [223]. Its Latin version was included in the *Artis medica principes* of Albrecht Haller (below) of 1772 [224].

Eighteenth-century editions and translations of texts differed from those of the seventeenth century in that they were characterized by a much reduced presence of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (19 items), a dramatic reduction of publications only in Latin, and repeated versions of Aretaeus with different languages following a typical pattern [225] : Latin in 1700 (Padua ; reproduction of Crasso's 1522 edition [above]) ; Greek and Latin in 1723 (Oxford, by John Freind ; including readings from two manuscripts), and 1731 (Leiden, by Herman Boerhaave [1668-1738] [226], with previously published material) ; Latin again in 1771 (Lausanne ; reproduction of Boerhhave's translation) ; English and German in 1785 (London) and 1790 (Vienna) ; and Latin finally in 1790 (Vienna ; text of the Oxford edition of 1723). Among the other authors published, one could mention Andromachus (2nd edition, Greek and Latin, Nuremberg, 1754) [227] ; Aristotle, with a Greco-French version of the *Historia animalium* in Paris in 1783 [228], and a Greco-Latin one of the *Opera omnia* in Zweibrücken and Strasbourg in 1791-1800 [229] ; Demetrius Pepagomenos (Leiden, 1743, by Bernard [below], on the basis of the 1558 edition and a manuscript of Leiden) [230] ; Erotianus (Leipzig, 1780, reproducing earlier publications and including variant readings from manuscripts) [231] ; and Galen, *Quod optimus medicus philosophus quoque* sit (Halle, 1788, by Sprengel [below]) [232], all three with Greek text and Latin translation ; and, in chronological order of publication and all in Greek with a Latin version : Theophilus, *De urinis* (2nd edition, Leiden, 1703, on the basis of a manuscript of the Bodleian) [233] ; Rufus (London,

(222) Channing, 1766.
(223) Paulet, 1768.
(224) Haller, 1772, vol. 7, pp. 211-270.
(225) On all these editions, see CHO : 85-87.
(226) On Boerhaave, see Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, pp. 197-198 (B. I. Tshisuaka).
(227) CHO : 73.
(228) CHO : 50.
(229) CHO : 54.
(230) CHO : 155.
(231) CHO : 75.
(232) CHO : 115.
(233) CHO : 140.

1726, reproducing earlier publications) [234] ; Oribasius (Leiden, 1735, also reproducing previously published texts) [235] ; and Theophanes Nonnos (below) (Gotha and Amsterdam, 1794-1795, by Bernard [below], based on the previous edition [1568] and several manuscripts) [236].

The fresh activity suggested by some of these publications is confirmed by others. In 1749, the philologist Johannes Stephanus Bernard, who edited Theophanes Nonnos and to whom we shall return, published in Amsterdam and Leiden a fragment *De febribus* [237], which he attributed to a Synesius who was not the homonym author of Cyrene (ca. 370-ca. 413 [238]) [239]. In the same volume, he included the corresponding extract from the *Viaticum* by Constantine the African [240], as he saw the similarity between the two texts [241]. Bernard suspected that the two texts went back to a common source. With the help of the Arabist Johann Jacob Reiske (1716-1774) [242] he was able to identify that shared source as the *zâd al musâfir wa qût al hâdir* of ibn al-Jazzâr (d. 979/980 or 1010 A.D.) [243], on whom he wrote a long chapter in the *De febribus* [244]. His documentation included, among others, Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, Labbé's *Bibliotheca Nova*, Fabricius (below), Freind (below), and Lambeck's catalogue of the imperial library in Vienna, to mention just a few. However meticulous his analysis was, Bernard did not know that what he thought to be a text by a Synesius was in fact a chapter extracted from the Byzantine translation of ibn al-Jazzâr's

(234) CHO : 91.
(235) CHO : 123.
(236) CHO : 147.
(237) Bernard, 1749
(238) CHO : 152. On Synesius, see *ODB*, 1991, p. 1993 (B. Baldwin).
(239) Bernard read the text in a manuscript of the library in Leiden (actually *Voss. gr.* F 65) as the title page announced (... *nunc primum ex codice MS. Bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae* ...). The attribution to Synesius came from the catalogue of the library, which, in turn, took it from the spine of the book as Bernard mentions (f. *** verso - ***2 recto). On the identity of Synesius, see f. ***2 verso : "... Plures existerunt olim Synesii ...".
(240) See the second part of the volume, with its own pagination.
(241) See the *Praefatio*, f. ** verso.
(242) On Reiske, see *NDB*, vol. 21 (2003), pp. 391-392 (Hartmut Bobzin).
(243) On ibn al-Jazzâr, see Ullmann, 1970, pp. 147-149 ; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 304-307 ; Micheau, 1996. For an edition of Book 6, see Bos, 1997.
(244) ff. **2 verso - *****2 recto.

work [245], that is, the so-called *Efodia tôn apodêmountôn* made in Sicily probably in the 11th century [246]. Bernard also collected the fragments of Nicander and compiled a lexicon of the *Thêriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*, which he left unpublished, however [247].

Others scholars also were bringing new texts to light. Angelo Maria Bandini, who was the curator of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence and catalogued its Greek manuscripts (above), published in 1764 an edition of Nicander (Florence) [248]. Although he reproduced the Greek text of the 1557 edition by Jean de Gorris (Paris) [249] together with the previously unpublished Italian translation by Antonio Maria Salvini (1653-1729) [250], he also included in the same volume the *editio princeps* of the *Paraphrases* by Eutecnius (between the 3rd and the 5th centuries) [251], which he had discovered among the Laurentian manuscripts. Almost thirty years later, actually in 1792, the German philologist Johann Gottlob Schneider (1750-1822) published in Halle a new edition of Nicander, *Alexipharmaka* [252], the text of which he corrected by consulting manuscripts.

The quantity of available information made possible the renewal of earlier Renaissance encyclopedism [253]. In the field of classical studies, Johann Albert Fabricius (1668-1736) [254] authored a monumental *Bibliotheca Graeca* [255] in which he inventoried all the ancient authors known to him. Along with a biography for each, Fabricius included a listing of their works, citing their manuscripts and the scholarly literature pub-

(245) The text of the *Efodia* is still unpublished. The fragment edited by Bernard is Book 7, chapters 1-8, in the version of the text contained in the manuscript *Vaticanus graecus* 300 (= ff. 206 verso - 228 verso).
(246) The Greek text, of which Gerasimos Pentogalos announced an edition, is still unpublished. For preliminary studies, see Touwaide, 2002, 2004, and 2008/2.
(247) The lexicon was included in the 1816 edition of Nicander by Johann Gottlob Schneider (below).
(248) CHO : 64.
(249) CHO : 64. On this edition see above.
(250) The translation was completed in 1701 and left unpublished.
(251) On Eutecnius, see *BNP*, vol. 5 (2004), cols. 231-232 (S. Fornaro).
(252) CHO : 64.
(253) On the encyclopedic nature of philology and philological encyclopedism, see Hummel, 2000.
(254) On Fabricius, see *NDB*, vol. 4 (1959), pp. 732-733 (H. Reincke).
(255) Fabricius, 1705-1728 for the first edition in 13 volumes.

lished on each author and work printed in the West [256]. Its thirteenth, and final, volume is a 456-page collection of data on ancient medicine and sciences [257]. The Swiss physician, biologist, and naturalist Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777) [258] applied this pattern to the biomedical literature in his several *Bibliothecae*. The first was the *Bibliotheca botanica* (1771-1772) [259], which included entries - actually entire chapters - on ancient physicians [260]. It was followed by the *Bibliotheca chirurgica* (1775-1175), the *Bibliotheca anatomica* (1774-1777) and, finally, the *Bibliotheca medicinae practicae* (1776-1788).

Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca* went through a number of reeditions. The fourth, edited by Gottlieb Christoph Harles (1738-1815), was published in 1790-1804 [261]. It contained new chapters on such figures as Hippocrates [262], Dioscorides [263], and Galen [264] written by Johann Christian Gottlieb Ackermann (1756-1801) [265], who had previously published a

(256) On the *Bibliotheca*, see Balsamo, 1984/1990, pp. 113-114.
(257) Volume 13 contains the Chapter IX of the third part of Book VI. Among other things, it contains the following : (pp. 1-4) *Index scriptorum a Theophrasto citatorum* ; (p. 4) *In Prisciani Lydi paraphrasi in Theophrastum de sensu & phantasia, citatur ...* ; (pp. 4-15) *De Nicolao Myrepso, Alexandrino Medico*, which includes (pp. 9-15) an *Index eorum quorum medicamenta a Nicolao Alexandrino referuntur* ; (pp. 14-456) *Elenchus Medicorum Veterum*, including self-contained essays on such topics as : (pp. 192-246) *Hippocratis Theologia* by Johannes Stephano (first published in 1638 and reproduced here) ; (pp. 259-298) *De viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes, libellus, Johannis Leonis Africani* (reproduction of the 1528 edition) ; (pp. 329-333) the Greek texts related to Menecrates ; (pp. 395-423) *Sexti Platonici Philosophi, Liber de medicina ex animalibus* and *De avibus* ; (pp. 441-444) *Index in Valesci de Taranta Philoniu, ad paginas edit. Francof. A. 1599* ; (pp. 446-451) *Carmen de medicina, ab aliis Vindiciano adscriptum, ab aliis Marcello Empirico* (the running title on p. 447 attributes the text to Serenus Sammonicus [between the 2nd and the 4th cent. A.D. ; see *BNP*, vol. 13 [2008], col. 311 [A. Touwaide]).
(258) On Haller, see *NDSB*, 2008, vol. 3, pp. 214-216 (H. Steinke) ; Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, pp. 528-529 (U. Boschung) ; and Bickel, 2007, p. 268.
(259) On the *Bibliotheca Botanica*, see G. Mann in the 1969 reprint of the *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, pp. v*-x*.
(260) See, for instance, the chapter on Dioscorides (vol. 1, pp. 79-87 [page 79 is numbered 97]).
(261) Fabricius-Harles, 1790-1804.
(262) Vol. 2 (1791), pp. 506-611.
(263) Vol. 4 (1795), pp. 673-702.
(264) Vol. 5 (1793), pp. 397-500.
(265) On Ackermann, see *NDB*, vol. 1 (1953), p. 38 (M. Schmid).

history of ancient medicine entitled *Institutiones historiae medicinae* (266). All such contributions followed a standard model, with the biography of the author, the list of his works (authentic or not) and, for each such work, the list of its manuscripts (267).

By Ackermann's time, knowledge of ancient medicine had greatly increased as a direct result of better cataloguing of manuscript collections (268), of a first theoretical approach to manuscript studies by Bernard Montfaucon (269), and of the newly published or revised editions of ancient Greek medical texts – however limited they still were – from the mid-18th century on (above). New histories of medicine from Antiquity forward were produced (270). As early as 1702, while all this activity was still developing, the Frenchman Daniel Le Clerc (1652-1728) (271) published in Amsterdam what is generally considered the first history of ancient medicine in the West (272). Many other works of medical historiography followed during the 18th century, although with different objectives, methods, and results. Albeit with an interruption between 1732 and 1778, during the 18th century no fewer than eight major works were published in Europe (actually in England, Germany,

(266) Ackermann, 1792. On it, Bickel, 2007, pp. 74-75.

(267) The sequence of the names above, which might seem somewhat ahistorical, follows the order of the chapters on these authors in Fabricius' *Bibliotheca*.

(268) See above, pp. 475-478.

(269) See his *Palaeographia graeca*, first published in Paris in 1708.

(270) For an overview and an analysis of these histories of medicine, see Grmek, 1995, and, for a more in-depth analysis, Bickel, 2007.

(271) On Le Clerc, see *Biographie universelle*, vol. 23 (1854), pp. 522-523 (Tabaraud) ; Bickel, 2007, pp. 46, 269.

(272) *Histoire de la médecine, où l'on voit l'origine et le progrès de cet art, de siècle en siècle ; les sectes, qui s'y sont formées ; les noms des médecins, leurs découvertes, leurs opinions, et les circontances les plus remarquables de leur vie* (with two reprints : 1723 [Amsterdam] and 1729 [La Haye] [see Bickel, 2007, p. 47 for the latter]). It has to be noted that Le Clerc's essay covers the history of ancient medicine until Galen's time (this explains why Freind [below] took over from Galen on). This volume should not be confused with a preliminary essay by Le Clerc (where his name is not explicitly mentioned ; the author is identified as D. L. C. D. M. [Daniel Le Clerc, Doctor Medicinae]) with almost the same title, published in Geneva in 1696, which is a first draft of the first part of the 1702 edition. On Le Clerc's history, see Grmek, 1995, p. 15 ; Bickel, 2007, pp. 44-45 and 166-167 (the latter referring to the 1696 edition).

France, and the Netherlands) by (in chronological order of publication) : Johann Conrad Barchusen (1666-1723) (Amsterdam, 1710) (273) ; Andreas Othmar Goelicke (1671-1744) (Frankfurt am Oder, 1717-1720) (274) ; John Freind (London, 1725-1726) (275) ; Johann Heinrich Shulze (1687-1744) (Leipzig, 1728) (276) ; Francis Clifton (d. 1736) (London, 1732) (277) ; John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815) (London, 1778) (278) ;

(273) *Historia medicinae in qua, si non omnia pleraque saltem medicorum ratiocinia, dogmata, hypotheses, quae ab exordio medicinae ad nostra usque tempora inclaruerunt, pertractantur*. A revised edition was published in 1723 under a different title : *De medicinae origine et progressu dissertationes. In quibus medicorum sectae, institutiones, decreta, hypotheses, praeceptiones, &c. ab initio medicinae usque ad nostra tempora traduntur*. Barchusen also compiled a collection of formulas for medicines from historical and contemporary sources (first edition [1690] : *Pharmacopoeus synopticus, seu Synopsispharmaceutica, pleasque medicaminum compositiones ac formulas, eorumque dextram tan chemica, quam Galenicam conficiendi methodum exhibens ; in medicinae & pharmaciae studiosorum usum conscripta* ; second edition [1696] : *Pharmacopoeus synopticus. Plerasque medicaminum compositiones, ac fomulas, eorumque dextram tam chemica quam Galenicam conficiendi et componendi methodum exhibens* ; third edition [1712] : *Synopsis pharmaciae, Methodum pleraque medicamenta, sive a Veteribus sive a Recentioribus excogitata, componensi juxta & conficiendi tradens*). On Barchusen (also spelled Barkhausen), see Bickel, 2007, p. 266. On his *Historia*, Grmek, 1995, p. 16 ; Bickel, 2007, pp. 45, 85-86.

(274) *Historia medicinae universalis, qua celebriorum quorumcunque medicorum qui a primis artis natalibus ad nostra usque tempora inclaruerunt, vitae, nomina, dogmata singularia, ratiocinia, hypotheses, sectae, etc. adcurate pretractantur*. On Goelicke, see Bickel, 2007, p. 266 ; on his work : Grmek, 1995, p. 16, and Bickel, 2007, pp. 45, 132.

(275) *The history of physick ; from the time of Galen to the beginning of the sixteenth century ; chiefly with regard to practice*. The work was translated into French (*Histoire de la médecine depuis Galien jusqu'au XVI*e *siècle, où l'on voit les progrès de cet art de siècle en siècle par rapport principalement à la thérapeutique* [1728]) and into Latin (*Historia medicinae a Galeni tempore usque ad initium saeculi decimi sexti. In qua praecipue notantur quae ad Praxin pertinent* [1734]). On Freind, see above ; on the work, Grmek, 1995, p. 4 ; Bickel, 2007, pp. 45, 127.

(276) *Historia medicinae a rerum initio ad annum urbis Romae DXXXV deducta*. On Shulze, see Bickel, 2007, p. 272. On the work, see Grmek, 1995, p. 16 ; Bickel, 2007, pp. 45, 48, 225.

(277) *The state of physick ancient and modern, briefly consider'd, with a plan for the improvement of it*. On Clifton, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 12, p. 216 (G. Goodwin - P. Wallis). On his work, Grmek, 1995, p. 17 ; Bickel, 2007, p. 105.

(278) *History of the origin of medicine*. On Lettsom, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 33, pp. 513-515 (J. J. Payne-R. Porter). On his work, Grmek, 1995, p. 17 ; Bickel, 2007, p. 171.

William Black (1749/50-1829) (London, 1782) (279); and Johann Daniel Metzger (1733-1805) (Königsberg, 1792) (280). The *Dictionnaire historique de la médecine ancienne et moderne* by Nicolas François Joseph Eloy (1714-1788) (281), first published in Mons in 1778 (4 volumes) (282), went further, as it systematized the information in alphabetical order of author's last name, which is more efficient than a narrative, making it possible for practitioners to easily access data.

Use of, and even search for, manuscripts to establish the text of ancient works became more frequent toward the end of the 18th century. The German philologist Christian Friedrich von Matthaei (1744-1811) (283) published in 1782-1788 an edition of the New Testament in 12 volumes for the preparation of which he claims to have consulted a hundred manuscripts from different libraries (284). A professor at the Imperial University of Moscow in 1772, he took advantage of the resources of the Synodial collection of Greek manuscripts of which he published the first catalogue in 1805 (285). Also, he edited Nemesius (Halle, 1802) (286) using manuscripts in German collections; Rufus (Moscow, 1806) (287) on the basis of manuscripts of Augsburg and Moscow; and Oribasius (Moscow, 1808) (288); as well as a collection of physicians (Moscow, 1808) (289), from manuscripts of the Synodial Library in Moscow.

Consultation of library resources was becoming more frequent, and scholars began staying abroad for lengthy periods in order to explore

(279) *An historical sketch of medicine and surgery, from their origin to the present time, and of the principal authors, discoveries, improvements, imperfections and errors.* On Black, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 5, p. 914 (J. F. Payne - A. McConnell), and, on his work, Grmek, 1995, p. 17, and Bickel, 2007, p. 89-90.

(280) *Skizze einer pragmatischen Literärgeschichte der Medicin.* On this history, see Grmek, 1995, p. 18; Bickel, 2007, p. 186.

(281) On Eloy, see Sondervorst in the 1973 reprint of the 1778 edition.

(282) Eloy, 1778.

(283) On Matthaei, see *ADB*, vol. 20 (1884), p. 606 (Eyssenhardt). For his activity in Russia, see Wes, 1991, pp. 74, 75, 75-85, 94, 95, 96-97, 102, 103, 115, 120, 169, 171-172, 203, 229, 346, note 27.

(284) Matthaei, 1782-1788.

(285) Matthaei, 1805.

(286) CHO : 127.

(287) CHO : 91.

(288) CHO : 123.

(289) CHO : 411.

the collections of a library. After spending fifteen years researching the royal collections in Paris, the French Jean-Batiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison (1750-1805) (290), for example, journeyed to Venice in September 1778, where he stayed until April 1782 (291) and where he expected to discover unknown treasures. He was right, as he brought to light the old *codex Venetus A* of the *Iliad* (292), as well as other less important codices, some containing previously unpublished medical texts. As a result, Villoison published in 1781 a collection of previously unedited texts from the Marciana (293) under a title that became more and more common at that time: *Anecdota*. Interestingly, Villoison's expedition was funded by the French government as a scientific mission.

The turmoil of the French Revolution – from which d'Ansse de Villoison escaped, seeking refuge in the provinces – and the Napoleonic wars, along with the changing fate of private libraries transformed the geography of manuscript collections. Properties of religious communities in France – including their libraries – were confiscated during the Revolution and books transferred to state-owned libraries. Napoleon selected manuscripts from collections in the areas that were taken into the French empire, and had them moved to the Bibliothèque nationale. The German scholar Gustav Friedrich Hänel (1792-1878) visited the libraries in France (294) and other European countries to catalog their manuscripts, and published a catalogue in 1830 (295). Among the private

(290) On Villoison, see the study by Joret, 1910.

(291) Joret, 1910, pp. 157-213.

(292) *Marcianus graecus* 454 Z (coll. 822), on which see Mioni, 1981-1985, vol. 2, pp. 236-240. On this discovery, see Joret, 1910, pp. 183-186, 198.

(293) Villoison, 1781. The second volume contains, according to Villoison himself, data coming from 1,500 *Marciani* manuscripts (Joret, 1910, p. 187).

(294) See, in the introduction of his 1830 catalogue, the following passage on the reasons that he started his explorations of French libraries: p. [III] "... Dum Gallia, exeunte saeculo proxime superiore, in summa rerum conversione et perturbatione versabatur, quidquid librorum in monasteriis et aedibus sacris reconditum atque abditum erat, in lucem protractum est. Ex his alii Parisios translati, alii direpti sunt, alii perierunt : longe autem maxima pars in vicinas urbes comportata est, ubi nunc ad haec fere bene disposita doctrinae instrumenta omnibus omnium gentium viris doctis patet aditus ... Hae bibliothecae mihi erant investigandae atque perscrutandae ...".

(295) Haenel, 1830, listing the manuscripts in the collections of France (cols. 1-508), Switzerland (cols. 513-744), Belgium and the Netherlands (cols.

collections that changed owner during this period was the one assembled by Guillaume Pellicier (ca. 1490-1568) (296). After leaving Pellicer's possession, it went through a series of vicissitudes (297), until in the 18th century it became property of the Dutch book collector Jan Meerman (1753-1815). At his death and after additional misfortune (298), the collection was sold at auction in 1824 in The Hague, where a large number of the Pellicier manuscripts were acquired by the baronet Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) of Cheltenham (U.K.) (299).

History of ancient medicine was becoming a field of academic study. A first figure to illustrate this new direction is probably the philologist Johannes Stephanus (or Jean Etienne) Bernard (1718-1793) (300). Of French origin, he was born in Berlin and lived in the Netherlands. In Leiden, Bernard published in 1749 a critical edition of the fragment of the *Efodia* discussed above (301), and, in 1794-1795, an edition – still in use – of the 10th-century *Epitome* by the enigmatic Theophanes Nonnos (Chrysobalantes) (302). Also, he left unpublished material, among it the fragments of Nicander and an index of the *Thêriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* previously mentioned (303), which were subsequently edited by historians of medicine.

749-774), Great Britain (cols. 781-910), Spain (cols. 917-1008), and Portugal (cols. 1013-1044). The work includes an index of author's names, which refers to the column where they are mentioned.

(296) Guillaume Pellicier, who was charged by the King of France François Ier to purchase manuscripts in Venice for the royal collection (Irigoin, 1977), built a personal collection that has been repeatedly analyzed (Foerster, 1885 ; Omont, 1885 and 1891 ; and, most recently, Cataldi Palau, 1985 and 1986 ; and Palau, 1986). On Pellicier, see recently *NDSB*, 2008, vol. 6, pp. 67-69 (A. Touwaide) with the previous literature.

(297) For the history of the collection, see Cataldi Palau, 1986.

(298) On the history of the collection, see recently van Heel, 2007.

(299) On Thomas Phillipps, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 44, pp. 91-94 (A. Bell). On the formation of his collection, see Munby, 1954 and 1956.

(300) On Bernard, see the biography presented by Douma, 1939, as a doctoral thesis at the University of Groningen.

(301) See pp. 483-484.

(302) Bernard, 1794-1795. On Theophanes Nonnos (Chrysobalantes), see Sonderkamp, 1985 and 1987, who discovered the actual identity of the personage.

(303) See p. 484.

Another such erudite is the German theologian, physician, and philologist Christian Gottfried Gruner (1744-1815) (304). A professor of medicine and botany at the University of Jena, he was a prolific historian of ancient medicine, who also edited previously unpublished papers of Bernard (305).

A third academic of interest here is Friedrich Reinhold Dietz (1804-1836) (306), a German physician, author of critical editions of ancient Greek medical texts, and Oriental philologist (307) of Königsberg (*Regiomontanus Prussorum*). In preparing critical editions, he did not limit his work to consulting only locally available manuscripts, but he traveled through Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Britain (308) systematically searching codices containing Greek medical texts (309), principally

(304) On Gruner, see *NDB*, vol. 7 (1966), pp. 230-231 (W. Fischer) ; and Broman, 1996, pp. 84-85.

(305) Gruner, 1795, 1796, and 1796/2-5.

(306) On Dietz, see Hagen, 1974 ; Killy and Vierhaus, vol. 2 (2002), p. 597.

(307) In 1825 Dietz defended a thesis on Islam (based on a text reproduced from a manuscript) at the University of Königsberg. During this travels (below), he also consulted codices of the Arabic translations of Greek medical treatises. In Dietz, 1832, p. x, he mentions, indeed, that he compared Dioscorides' text and the Arabic translation by Hunayn ibn Ishaq, and also transcribed five manuscripts of Hunayn's Arabic translation of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*. Also, in 1833 he presented for his MD thesis an inventory of the materia medica in ibn al-Baytar, based, according to the title of the work, on manuscripts of El Escorial, Madrid, Paris, and Hamburg.

(308) Dietz, 1832, p. VII, and 1834, vol. 1, p. IV.

(309) For the list of ancient physicians of interest to Dietz, see Dietz, 1832, pp. IX-X, where these physicians are mentioned in the order here. Supplementary information on the research conducted by Dietz on some of these authors can also be found in other of his publications or in other bibliographical references. The sources for such supplementary information are mentioned in the notes following the name of some of the ancient authors listed here. This list can also be complemented by Dietz, 1834, vol. 1, pp. III-IV, where Dietz alludes to the edition of Byzantine physicians from Oribasius to the 15th century. It is remarkable that Galen is absent from the 1832 list and the 1834 supplement. According to Daremberg, 1845, p. 8, Dietz's paper did not contain anything on Galen because Dietz avoided tackling the immense œuvre of Galen and limited himself to fragments or treatises that had remained unpublished and even unknown. Nevertheless, Dietz published in 1832 a critical edition of Galen, *De dissectione musculorum* and *De consuetudine* (below).

Hippocrates [310], but also Oribasius [311] (he was supposed to prepare an edition for the corpus edited by Kühn, as we shall see [312]), Aetius [313], the commentators on Hippocrates [314], Ioannes Zacharias Actuarius, Greek chemical works, Soranus [315], Paul of Egina [316], Rufus of Ephe-

(310) Dietz, 1834, vol. 1, p. IV declares to have devoted much time to the correction of Hippocrates' text. Since Dietz' papers seem to be currently inaccessible or lost (below), for a list of Hippocrates manuscripts that he consulted, see Daremberg, 1845, pp. 2-3, which mentions codices from Vienna, Munich, Rome, Naples, Venice, Florence, Milan, Turin, El Escorial, and Paris. In 1827, Dietz published an edition of *De morbo sacro*, which relied on previous editions (Jouanna, 2003, pp. CXXVII-CXVIII). Later on, however, he collated manuscripts of *De morbo sacro*: possibly two in Vienna (*medici graeci* 4 and 24), one in Milan (= [?] *Ambrosianus* C 85 Sup.), and two of the Vatican library still unidentified (Rivier, 1962, pp. 180-185, followed by Jouanna, 2003, pp. CXXVII-CXXVIII). According to Emile Littré (8 [1849], p. 351 note 1, reproduced in Rivier, 1962, p. 181 note 2), the variant readings collated by Dietz were copied by the son of a certain Ideler not better identified (Rivier, 1962, pp. 181, note 2, and 185 doubts that this unidentified person is Julius Ludwig Ideler, the editor of the *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, 1841-1842 [below]), who gave them to Charles Daremberg (below). Daremberg, in turn, communicated this transcription of Dietz's notes to Emile Littré.

(311) According to Daremberg, 1845, p. 7, Dietz collected an "immense quantity of material for Oribasius", which comprises (pp. 6-8) the *Parisini* 2189, 2190, and 2237; a manuscript in Naples; another in Florence; another in Turin; a copy of a codex in Vienna, with variant readings from manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Barberiniana in Rome, of the Vatican Library, of Florence, and of Milan; a copy of an "excellent" manuscript from the Vatican, with variant readings from a manuscript in Venice; material from a Vatican manuscript which contains readings extracted from a Florentine manuscript, and a piece from a manuscript of Venice.

(312) See Kühn in Galen, vol. 19 (1830), p. VI, and Nutton, 1976, p. 7. Dietz, 1832, p. IX refers to his collations of Oribasius' manuscripts; see also p. XI; and Dietz, 1834, vol. 1, pp. III-IV. On Dietz's participation in Kühn's corpus, see below.

(313) On Dietz' interest in manuscripts of Aetius, see also Kühn in his edition of Galen, vol. 19 (1830), p. VI.

(314) See his 1834 edition (below).

(315) Dietz discovered the ms. *Parisinus graecus* 2153, which he collated without being able to publish his work, however. According to Burguière, Gourevitch, Malinas, 1988, pp. XLVII-XLVIII, his collations were transmitted by August Lobeck (1781-1860), a professor at Königsberg University from 1814 onward, to a member of his family, Justus Lobeck (d. 1869), who published them in 1838 in an uncritical way in a volume without an editor's name. In 1882, Valentin Rose reproduced again Dietz's collations in his edition of the so-called *Mustio* (see p. XLIX). On this discovery, see also King, 2007, p. 16 and note 51.

(316) On Paul of Egina, see also Daremberg, 1845, p. 8.

sus [317], Erotianus, Nicander [318], Theophilus [319], Symeon Seth, and others [320]. Interestingly, Dietz did not travel as a private scholar, but with financial support granted by government [321], as had d'Ansse de Villoison, although, in Dietz's case it was the government of Prussia.

It might be worth noting that, some thirty years before Dietz, the English botanist John Sibthorp (1758-1796) [322] traveled to Greece to describe and identify the local flora on the basis of the system created by Carl von Linnaeus (1708-1778) [323]. In order to take advantage of historical resources before beginning his field work, Sibthorp stopped in Vienna on his way to Greece in 1786 where he could examine and make notes from the 6th-century manuscript now at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *medicus graecus* 1 [324], and the 7th-century copy now in Naples [325], which both contain the herbal extracted from Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, and are lavishly illustrated with polychrome representations of plants. Sibthorp also visited Mount Athos in 1787

(317) For Rufus, see also Daremberg, 1845, p. 4, mentioning that Dietz collated a manuscript of the Vatican Library and another from Florence.

(318) According to Daremberg, 1845, p. 8, Dietz transcribed variant readings from two manuscripts of Venice for the scholia of Nicander, *Thêriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*.

(319) Daremberg, 1845, p. 8, identifies this work by Theophilus as the *Treatise on urines*.

(320) Among these others, Severus iatrosophist (who seems to be unknown; see Roselli, 2003, p. 401, note 1). See below for Dietz's 1836 edition.

(321) Dietz, 1832, p. VIII.

(322) On Sibthorp, see Bruce, 1970; and *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 50, pp. 496-498 (K. B. Sterling). See also below.

(323) See his *Prodromus Florae Graecae* in 2 volumes (1806-1813) and his *Flora Graeca* in 10 volumes (1806-1840), both published posthumously. On the *Flora Graeca*, see Stearn, 1976; Lack and Mabberley, 1999; and, more recently, Harris, 2007.

(324) On this point, see Stearn, 1976, followed by Lack and Mabberley, 1999, pp. 32-33, 200, 203. On this manuscript, see note 48.

(325) Lack and Mabberley, 1999, pp. 32-33, 200, 203. On this manuscript, see the facsimile (with a volume of commentary) by Lilla *et al.*, 1988, and the color reproduction (also with a volume of essays) by Ciancaspro *et al.*, 1999.

where he inspected a codex of Dioscorides, possibly the mid-11th-century copy in the collection of the Megisti Lavra Monastery ([326]).

The practical application of ancient scientific knowledge was developed further in the work of the German physician, botanist, philologist, and historian of medicine Kurt Sprengel (1766-1833) ([327]). His history of ancient medicine, entitled *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der Medizin* ([328]), aims to be practical, even though it also presents the linkages between the several ancient authors and schools, as well as their philosophical trends. At the same time, however, the more structured approach to the study of ancient scientific literature followed by Dietz was gaining ground. Slightly later than Dietz, indeed, but on his model, the German scholar Immanuel Bekker (1785-1871) ([329]) made a similar grand tour of European libraries to inventory and study the Greek manuscripts of the many classical works of which he later published editions, most notably of Aristotle ([330]).

Returning to Dietz, although he published new editions based on the material collected during his grand tour ([331]), he did not fully complete

(326) Ms. Ω 75. Hypothesis formulated by Mabberley and Lack, 1999, p. 84. On this manuscript, see Spyridon and Eustratiades, 1925, p. 343 ; Kourilas, 1935 ; Touwaide, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 7-16 ; Christodoulou, 1986, pp. 131-199 ; and, more recently, Cronier, 2006. No reproduction of the whole manuscript is available, although several folios appear in Pelekanidou *et al.*, 1979, pp. 104-111 ; and in Touwaide *et al.*, 2002.

(327) On Sprengel, see Kaiser and Völker, 1982 ; Broman, 1996, pp. 139-143 ; Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, pp. 1351-1352 (B. I. Tshisuaka) ; and Bickel, 2007, pp. 50 and 272.

(328) First edition in 1792-1803, 5 vols. The work was reedited twice (1800-1803 and 1821-1828), and also translated into French (with two translations : *Essai d'une histoire pragmatique de la médecine*, 1809-1810, and *Histoire de la médecine depuis son origine jusqu'au* xix*e* *siècle*, 1815), and Italian (*Storia prammatica della medicina*, 1812-1816, and a further edition, 1839-1842). On the work, Grmek, 1995, p. 18, and Bickel, 2007, pp. 48-49, 51, 236-237.

(329) On Bekker, see *NDB*, vol. 2 (1955), pp. 24-25 (K. G. Loeben).

(330) Edition of Aristotle in 5 vols., 1831 (1-3), 1836 (4), and 1870 (5), with another edition in 11 vols. in 1837.

(331) Dietz published four critical editions (in chronological order) :

a) Hippocrates, *De morbo sacro* (1827) (above).

b) Galen, *De dissectione musculorum* and *De consuetudine* (1832). On p. xi he explains that *De dissectione musculorum* was published in Kühn's edition (vol. 18/2 [1830], pp. 926-1026) on the basis of a Parisian manuscript (p. xv : *Parisinus graecus* 2219) as he discovered when he was staying in Paris. He found

his programme because he died in 1836 at age thirty-two. Letters by Alexander von Humboldt (1796-1859) to Dietz's widow indicate that she bequeathed her husband's papers, including collations, transcriptions, notes, and analyses of the manuscripts that he personally inspected, to the University of Königsberg ([332]).

Editorial activity in the field of ancient Greek medicine, which had often been limited to single works, was transformed into a systematic entreprise by the German physician and historian of medicine Karl Gottlob Kühn (1754-1840) ([333]). A professor at the University of Leipzig, he launched a monumental *Medicorum graecorum opera quae exstant* intended to include the works of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen, Aretaeus, Oribasius, Aetius, and Paul of Egina in 28 volumes ([334]). The vol-

another codex in the Ambrosian Library in 1829 (p. xiv : *Ambrosianus* Q 87), and in 1830 another one in the Escorial collection (p. xv : manuscript II.3.7). In the same volume, Dietz also published *De consuetudine* (*editio princeps*), on the basis of a Florentine manuscript (see p. xii and xvi where the manuscript is identified as Plut. LXXV. cod. 7).

c) Alexandrian commentators on Hippocrates (1834). For Apollonios of Kition, Dietz consulted the *Florentinus Laurentianus* Plut. LXXIV. Cod. VII (see vol. 1, p. vi), and the *Parisini graeci* 2247 and 2248 of the Greek surgeons (vol. 1, pp. viii-ix and x-xi), as well as Phillipps 1533 (vol. 1, p. xii), which he did not use, however, as he identified it as an apograph of a *Parisinus*. For Stephanus the Sophist (in fact, Stephanus of Athens [see vol. 1, pp. xvi-xviii]), Dietz consulted the *Laurentianus* LIX.14 (vol. 1, p. xviii), and the *Ambrosiani* L. 30 (vol. 1, pp. xviii-xix), A. 27. infer. (*sic*) (vol. 1, p. xix), and L. 110 (vol. 1, p. xx).

d) Severus iatrosophist (1836). This was Dietz's doctoral thesis at Albertus University in Königsberg (on it, see Roselli, 2003).

(332) Daremberg, 1845, p. 2 mentions that Dietz's papers were the property of Prussian state and that they were deposited at the library of the Albertus University in Königsberg. In spite of repeated contacts, it has not been possible thus far to verify if Dietz's papers are still among the holdings of Kaliningrad libraries. According to the entry by U. Hirsch in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* vol. 5 (1877), pp. 210-211, the Library of Königsberg had only a part of Dietz's papers at that time, something that suggests that part of Dietz's papers might have left the library in one or another way between 1844-1845 (Daremberg's stay in Germany) and 1877 (Hirsch's entry). According to Rivier, 1962, p. 185 note 3, relying on an information provided by Karl Deichgräber in 1954, Dietz' papers have to be considered as lost "since the events of 1945" (translation is mine).

(333) On Kühn, see Schubring, 1965, and Nutton, 1976, pp. 7-8, and 2002.

(334) On these editions, see Kühn in Galen, vol. 19 (1830), pp. vi-vii.

umes on the last three authors never appeared ; Oribasius was to have been edited by Dietz ; Aetius by Karl Christian Lebrecht Weigel (1769-1845), who authored an *Aetianarum exercitationum specimen* (Leipzig, 1791) and traveled to Italy and other regions in search of codices (335) ; and Paul by Kurt Sprengel (336). The others were published between 1821 and 1833. Kühn himself edited all (337) except the two volumes on Dioscorides, which were edited by Sprengel (338). While Kühn mainly reproduced the text of previous editions (339), Sprengel, instead, collected variant readings from codices on the basis of a personal inspection of such manuscripts or through collations reported in existing printed editions (340).

Early industrial printing, which was developing in the first decades of the 19th century, had a deep impact on scholarly activity, as it allowed not only for the publication of such large series as the *Medicorum graecorum opera quae exstant* of Kühn with its 23,000+ pages, but also for quick reprints and reeditions. This was particularly the case in the field of

(335) On Weigel, *Specimen*, see Choulant, 1841, p. 135.

(336) Sprengel edited Discorides in 2 volumes (nos. 25-26 of Kühn's *Corpus*), 1829-1830.

(337) Hippocrates, 3 volumes (nos. 21-23 of the *Corpus*), 1825-1827 ; Galen, 20 volumes (nos. 1-20), 1821-1833 ; and Aretaeus (no. 24), 1 volume, 1828.

(338) On this edition, see the presentation made by Sprengel himself (1828 and 1828/2, both reproduced in Sprengel, 1844, pp. 96-102 and 102-105, respectively).

(339) For Galen, see vol. 1 (1821), pp. IX-XIII, where Kühn explains that he reproduced the edition of Chartier, and that he collated the manuscripts that he could find, together with the corrections and conjectures by Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609) and Janus Cornarius (1500-1558), which he noted in copies of the 1525 Aldina edition of Galen by d'Asola. In volume 1 (pp. XVII-CCLXV), Kühn added the *Biographia Literaria Claudii Galeni* by Ackermann, published in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, 4th edition, amplifying it however (Nutton, 1976, p. 8). On the Aretaeus edition, see Hude, 1958, p. X. For Hipocrates, which includes also a notice by Ackermann, see Littré, vol. 1 (1839), p. 553, who considers that Kühn's edition is nothing more than a reprint (*sic*) of the edition published in 1595 (CHO : 22-23) by Anuce Foës (1528-1595) (on him, see Maillard *et al.*, 1995, p. 187). For a slightly different (and perhaps more equilibrated) evaluation, see Choulant, 1841, p. 24.

(340) The fact is explicitly stated on the title page of his edition. For the sources he used, see Touwaide, 1995.

bibliography (341). Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776-1847) (342), for example (343), authored an *Introduction to the knowledge of rare and valuable editions of the Greek and Latin classics* (London, 1802), and Jacques-Charles Brunet (1780-1867) wrote a *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (Paris, 1810). Both Dibdin's and Brunet's works were reprinted several times. Neither of them included ancient scientific literature, however, as Brunet's manual was general and Dibdin's, though specialized on antiquity and listing all works printed from 1500, was focused on classical literature, philosophy, and history. It would fall to Germany, where the work of editing scientific texts dramatically developed as we have seen, to expand the scope of classical studies and to transform bibliography accordingly.

Berlin bookseller Theodor Johann Christian Enslin (1787-1851) (344), who further became a publisher, specialized in medicine, natural sciences, and school books. He also compiled thematic bibliographies on a wide range of matters, including classical studies, which he published. He first put on the market the *Bibliotheca Auctorum Classicorum et Graecorum et Latinorum* in which he listed the scholarly publications from 1700 (that is, almost from the period of Fabricius' *Bibliotheca graeca)* on all classical authors, thus including scientific literature and physicians, pharmacologists, and others (345). Similar bibliographies on classical literature were published in Germany during the same period. Franz Ludwig Anton Schweiger (1803-1872) compiled, indeed, a manual of classical bibliography (346), as did also Samuel Friedrich Wilhelm

(341) On the transformation of bibliography in the 19th century, see Balsamo, 1984/1990, pp. 143-176.

(342) On Dibdin, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 16, pp. 33-34 (John V. Richardson, Jr.) for a short entry, and O'Dwyer, 1967, for a detailed study.

(343) To the examples here, one could add the bibliographies of translations into the vernacular of classical texts mentioned above (p. 473).

(344) On Enslin, see *ADB*, vol. 6 (1877), p. 154 (E. Kechlner).

(345) First edition : Enslin, 1817. For the reeditions, see below.

(346) 3 vols., Leipzig, 1830–1834. Volume 1 is devoted to Greek literature and volumes 2-3 to Latin literature. The work covers the whole printed production from the 15th century to the 1820s. In volume 1, the following authors of medical works are included : Aetius (pp. 18-19), Alexander of Tralles (p. 22), Aretaeus (pp. 43-44), Asclepiades (p. 69), Cassius *iatrosophistes* (p. 77), Constantinus Afer (p. 84), Demetrius Pepagomenos (p. 85), Dioscorides (pp. 103-104), Erotianus (pp. 109-110), Eutecnius (p. 124), Galen (pp. 124-127), Hippo-

Hoffmann (1803-1873) [347]. Complementing these general bibliographies, Ludwig Choulant (1791-1861) [348] specialized in medical bibliography. After a manual especially devoted to ancient medicine and first published in 1828 [349], he authored a more general bibliography of the history of medicine and natural sciences published in Leipzig by Engelmann [350].

Enslin's bibliography was reedited several times until its fifth edition in 1831 [351]. The sixth edition (1847) was deeply revised, and edited and published by one of Enslin's apprentices, Wilhelm Engelmann (1808-1878) [352]. Following the model of his mentor, Engelmann founded a publishing company in Leipzig and took over the business of producing

crates (pp. 149-156), Moschion (p. 207), Nicander (pp. 211-212), Nonnus (p. 215), Oribasius (p. 218), Palladius medicus (p. 222), Paulus Aegineta (p. 223), Rufus Ephesius (p. 284), Sethus (p. 286), Theophilus protospatharius (p. 319), Theophrastus (pp. 319-323), Xenocrates (p. 334), and also Aerzte (pp. 352-353) in the section on collected works.

(347) The work was first published in 1832-1836 (*Lexicon bibliographicum sive Index editionum et interpretationum scriptorum graecorum tum sacrorum tum profanorum*), with a second edition in 3 volumes, 1838-1845 (*Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literature der Griechen*). Although it refers to Fabricius (1st edition, as well 4th by Harles), the work lists all publications from the beginning of printing. For the authors of medical and related texts, see (in the second edition) : Adamantius (1.9-10), Aelius Promotus (1.21), Aetius Amidenus (1.98-101), Alexander Trallianus (1.122-123), Antyllus (1.194), Apollonius Citiensis (1.201), Archigenes (1.227), Aretaeus (1.236-238), Artemidorus (1.382-383), Asclepiades (1.384), Atrampsychus (1.385), Bassus (1.422), Cassianus Bassus (1.422-424), Cassius (1.438), Damocrates (1.498), Dexippus (1.543), Diocles (1.556-557), Dioscorides (1.599-608),

(348) On Choulant, see Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, pp. 259-260 (M. Wenzel).

(349) Choulant, 1828 ; 2nd edition (revised and augmented) 1841 (with several reprints). The title of the manual is significant : *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medicin zur Kenntniss der griechischen, lateinischen und arabischen Schriften im ärztlichen Fache und zur bibliographischen Unterscheidung ihrer verschiedenen Ausgaben, Übersetzungen und Erläuterungen.* On his work, see Bickel, 2007, pp. 103-104.

(350) Choulant, 1842.

(351) 2nd edition : 1820 ; 3rd : 1823 ; 4th : 1825 ; 5th : 1831, which was published in collaboration with Christian Wilhelm Löflund.

(352) Engelmann, 1847. Before this new edition, Engelmann published in 1840 a supplement to Enslin's 5th edition, covering the current production of the years 1830-1839. On Engelmann, see *ADB*, vol. 48 (1904), pp. 378-379 (K. F. Pfau).

bibliographies, including the field of classical studies. Enslin's work received a new title (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum et Graecorum et Latinorum*) in the 1847 edition [353], and was complemented with a supplement published in 1853 and covering the years 1847-1852 [354], while in the previous reeditions current production had been assimilated into the body of the work. In the subsequent editions of the Enslin-Engelmann bibliography, the new material was assimilated into the body of the bibliography in a cumulative way. The 8th edition was issued in 1880-1882 under the direction of Emil von Preuss (b. 1845) and contained all the literature from 1700 to 1878 [355]. It was completed by a set of volumes under the same title published in 1909-1913 and edited by Rudolf Kluszmann (1846-1925) [356], which contained the production of the years 1878-1896.

This problem of keeping a bibliography current was solved in a different way by Conrad Bursian (1830-1883), who started in 1873 the publication of a yearly volume covering the current production : the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, which extended well into the 20th century.

In this evolution of classical scholarly literature, encyclopedism became more autonomous and took a new direction with August Friedrich von Pauly (1796-1845). More interested in the concrete aspects of life than in linguistics, literary criticism, or hermeneutics, as he himself stated and maybe under the influence of the *Encyclopédie* (1765-1772) of the Frenchmen Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and Jean le Rond d'Alembert

(353) The work opens with a list of the ancient authors dealt with (pp. IX-XLVIII). Under *Aerzte* (pp. XXVII-XXVIII), it mentions the following authors, in chronological order (names here are spelled in the English way) : Hippocrates, Praxagoras, Diocles, Herophilos, Mnesitheos, Heraclides, Asclepiades, Apollonius of Citium, Xenocrates, Dioscorides, Andromachos, Rufus, Archigenes, Aretaeus, Soranus, Moschion, Herodotos, Galen, Alexander of Aphrodisia, Antyllos, Oribasius, Aetius, Palladius, Theophilus Protospatharius, Paul of Egina, Theophanes Nonnos, Synesius, and Demetrius Pepagomenos.

(354) Engelmann, 1853.

(355) Preuss, 1880.

(356) Kluszmann first compiled a supplement (which was also an update) to Herrmann's bibliography (1871) (covering the production in the field of classical studies in Germany during the years 1858-1869), which was published in 1874 and covered German current production up to 1873 (Kluszmann [*sic*], 1874).

(1717-1783), where these topics received a significant place, Pauly conceived and started publishing a *Real-Encyclopädie der Alterthumswissenschaft* in 1839 (Stuttgart). His death in 1854 at age forty-nine prevented him from completing the work, however, which was achieved in 1852 (6 volumes).

The principles for the edition of classical texts underpinning the search of manuscripts, the publication of catalogues, and other scholarly entreprises, were made explicit by the German classical philologist Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) ([357]). The author of critical editions of many classical authors, he applied rules of objective evaluation of the manuscripts to be used as sources for the edition ([358]), particularly in his editions of Propertius ([359]) and Lucretius ([360]). Lachmann, however, did not formulate an explicit theory of ecdotics ; this was done later by another philologist, the Danish Jean-Nicolas Madvig (1804-1886) ([361]) in his edition of Cicero, *De finibus* ([362]). Printed editions of texts made on the basis of manuscript availability rather than on a census of possibly all copies and their codicological and textual analysis were not eliminated, however, as the *Patrologia Graeca* and its Latin equivalent by the Maurist Jacques-Paul Migne (1800-1875) indicate ([363]).

In 1847 the French physician and historian of medicine Charles Daremberg (1817-1872) ([364]) proposed the publication of a new corpus of ancient medical texts, the *Collection des médecins grecs et latins* ([365]), with an intention similar to that of Dietz, that is, to produce critical editions

(357) On Lachmann, see *NDB*, vol. 13 (1982), pp. 371-374 (K. Kühnel).
(358) On the development of his method, see Timpanaro, 1963, with the English translation by Most, 2005, which includes an analysis of Timpanaro's contribution to the history of ecdotics.
(359) 1816.
(360) 1850.
(361) On Madvig, see Larsen and Raeder, 1981.
(362) Madvig, 1839.
(363) On Migne and his publishing enterprise, see Bloch, 1994.
(364) On Charles Daremberg's activity as historian of medicine, see the several articles by Gourevitch in the bibliography, as well as *DBF*, vol. 10 (1965), col. 180 (J.-C. Roman d'Amat), and Grmek, 1999.
(365) On this *Collection*, see his 1847 prospectus, further reproduced in the first volume of his 1851 edition of Oribasius (pp. III-LX) under the title *Plan de la collection des médecins grecs et latins*. Reference here is made to the 1851 edition. According to Daremberg himself (1851, p. IV), followed by Gourevitch, 1994/2, p. 21, note 28, the project dated back to 1843. In fact, it justified the missions to Germany, England, and Italy, and thus needs to predate the first mission, in 1844 (below).

based on an accurate examination and collation of manuscripts. Daremberg differred from Dietz, however, as he wanted to be exhaustive.

In a first trip in 1844, Daremberg visited libraries in Germany (principally Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Breslau [University, and Mary Magdalen]) and Belgium (Brussels) ([366]). In Berlin, he wanted to consult – and take advantage of – the material gathered by Dietz, which had been put at his disposal ([367]). In subsequent trips, he made similar research expeditions to England (London, Oxford, and Middle Hill) in 1847 ([368]) and 1849 (Oxford again, and Cambridge) ([369]), and to Italy in the winter 1849-1850 ([370]). From these and other travels ([371]), he brought back a great wealth of data, which he combined with the results of his examination *in loco* of the codices in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. From this material, he prepared what he called a *Catalogue raisonné des manu-*

(366) See the 1845 report. The mission was commissioned by the Ministry of Public Instruction in December 1844 and was for three months. According to Daremberg, 1848, p. 863, the mission took place in 1844. The report is of April 1845.
(367) Daremberg, 1845, pp. 1-8, referring to Hippocrates, Rufus of Ephesus, and Oribasius. Daremberg, 1851, p. IV, stated explicitly that he had Dietz's manuscripts at his disposal in Berlin.
(368) See the 1848 report, which includes the list of the libraries visited : Oxford, Bodleian Library ; London, British Museum and Medical Society ; Middle Hill, Phillipps Library. Daremberg does not seem to have inspected the collections of the several colleges in Oxford, as he wrote that he reserved this work for later explorations (p. 16). Daremberg, 1853, pp. 8-9, reproduces the list and information of the 1848 report.
(369) Daremberg, 1853, p. 7, for the date and the places. On p. 9, he details the Oxford libraries he visited : Caius (Gonville and Caius), Emmanuel, Trinity, Corpus Christi (Christ Church), St. John, and St. Peter (Peterhouse), as well as Cambridge University Library.
(370) No report of this mission to Italy has been published. However, there are documents in manuscript form, some of which have been published by Gourevitch, 1994/2.
(371) In his 1870 booklet summarizing his life-long activity (Daremberg, 1870/2), Daremberg states (p. 4) that he traveled four times through all [*sic*] Italy, four times through all [*sic*] Germany, twice to Switzerland, twice to Belgium, and eight times to England (London, Oxford, Cambridge) and Edinburgh, and to the libraries of Lord Ashburnam [which he could not visit during his 1847 and 1849 missions ; see his 1853 report, p. 9], and Sir Thomas Phillipps).

scrits médicaux (372), a project that dated back to an incubation in the years 1841-1844 (373). The catalogue was conceived as the necessary first step for the publication of medical texts in the *Collection des médecins grecs et latins* (374). As Daremberg explained, his catalogue was more than a list of manuscripts : it also included data on the production of the manuscripts (their period and place of writing), as such information is of primary importance for the history of science (375). A specimen of the catalogue was published in two parts in 1851 and 1852 (376), with a revised edition in 1853 (377). Although Daremberg stated that most of the data in this specimen was collected during his 1847 and 1849 travels to England (378), he also included material from his trips to Germany and Italy, and some data from libraries in Spain and Austria, which he probably knew through published catalogues. Also, he added many manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (379). As active he had been, however, neither the full *Catalogue raisonné* nor the comprehensive *Collection* of ancient medical texts he had envisioned ever appeared. His only publication in this field were the specimen of the *Catalogue* (380), and

(372) On this *Catalogue raisonné*, see the 1870 curriculum of Daremberg (p. 4), where he claims to have listed all the Greek medical manuscripts.

(373) See the 1853 report, pp. 1-2, where Daremberg explains the genesis of his work.

(374) Daremberg, 1853, p. 5, defines it as a *special catalogue* (maybe it should be better defined as a *thematic catalogue*) perhaps in opposition to such a catalogue as Bernard, 1697, which he quotes on p. 6 and might be considered as a *general catalogue*.

(375) Daremberg, 1853, p. 11.

(376) Daremberg, 1851/2 and 1852.

(377) Daremberg, 1853.

(378) Daremberg, 1853, pp. 6-7.

(379) There is no index of manuscripts in the 1853 catalogue. Quoted manuscripts total 138, which were found in the following places (alphabetical order of names) : Cambridge 5 ; Dresden 2 ; El Escorial 2 ; Florence 6 ; London 12 ; Middle Hill 22 ; Munich 9 ; Oxford 36 ; Paris 25 ; Turin 1 ; Vatican City 5 ; Vienna 13. The index of these manuscripts will be published in a subsequent work. As for the authors studied by Daremberg, see the 1853 work, pp. 237-239, where 84 different names are listed.

(380) Daremberg, 1851/2 and 1852, with the revised edition of 1853. For an overview of the material actually collected by Daremberg, see his papers at the library of the National Academy of Medicine in Paris, listed in Boinet, 1908, pp. 57-80. .

an edition of Oribasius prepared in collaboration with the Dutch scholar Ulgo Cats Bussemaker (1810-1865) (381).

New critical editions of classical Greek medical treatises based on the personal examination of manuscripts became gradually more abundant during the 19th century, the most prestigious and probably also the most accomplished of which was the complete work of Hippocrates by the French scholar Emile Littré (1801-1880) (382). Also, some previously neglected important and lesser important texts were edited or reedited, be it on the basis of an examination of the manuscripts or, instead, of manuscripts found by serendipity. In addition, several texts were translated into a modern language. Among such works (editions and/or translations) are (in chronological order of publication) : Alexander of Tralles by Theodor Puschmann (1844-1899) (383) ; the *Problemata* of Alexander of Aphrodisia, the *Epistula de vermis* of Alexander of Tralles (384), Asclepiades, Cassius *iatrosophistes* (385), Theophilus, and Xenocrates, to mention some, by Julius Ideler (1809-1842) in the *Physici greci minores* (386) ; Adamantius by Valentin Rose (1829-1916) in his *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina* (387) ; Alexander of Aphrodisia by Karl Usener (1834-1905) in 1859 ; Apollonius of Cytium by Hermann Schöne (1870-1941) in 1896 ; Aretaeus by Francis Adams (1796-1861) (388) ; Herophilus

(381) As Daremberg himself mentions in the presentation of his *Collection des médecins grecs et latins* (1851, p. v), he met Ulgo Cats Bussemaker in Germany, where he, too, aimed to exploit Dietz's papers. According to Daremberg, Bussemaker "planned to copy from the same papers of Dietz all the material on Oribasius" (translation is mine).

(382) Littré, 1839-1861. From the abundant literature on Littré, see Hamburger, 1988.

(383) On Puschmann, see *NDB*, vol. 21 (2003), pp. 13-14 (W. G. Locher) ; and Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, p. 1204 (W. E. Garabek). Edition in 1878-1879.

(384) On this text and its versions, see De Lucia, 2003.

(385) On its editions, see Garzya, 1999.

(386) 1841-1842 ; in vol. 1, see pp. 3-80 and 81-106 (Alexander), 305 (Alexander of Tralles), 202 (Asclepiades), 144-167 (Cassius), 397-408 and 261-284 (Theophilus), and 121-133 (Xenocrates). On Ideler, see *NDB*, vol. 10 (1974), p. 116 (G. Baader).

(387) Volume 1 (1864), pp. 29-48.

(388) Published in 1856. On Adams, *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 224-226 (V. Nutton). He also translated Hippocrates (2 vols. 1849) and Paul of Egina (with a first volume [Books I-III] in 1834, and the complete translation in 3 volumes in 1844-1847, all with a commentary) into English (on which, see Gourevitch, 1999).

by Karl Friedrich Heinrich Marx (1796-1877) in 1840 ; Meletius by John Anthony Cramer (1793-1848) in his *Anecdota Graeca* (389) ; the *Scriptores physiognomici* by Richard Förster (1843-1922) (390) ; Theophilus by William Alexander Greenhill (1814-1894) (391), and the alchemists by Marcelin Berthelot (1827-1907) and Charles-Emile Ruelle (1833-1912) (392).

During the same period, interest in the illustrations in Greek medical texts arose. At the very beginning of the 19th century, the Frenchman Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759-1818) published an article in which he denied that plant representations in the manuscripts of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, had any value (393). Half a century later, the German bibliographer of the history of medicine Ludwig Choulant, already mentioned (394), who had published in 1852 a history and bibliography of anatomical drawing (395) and a study on illustrated medical incunabula (396), drew the attention of the scientific community to the Vienna and Naples copies of Dioscorides' work and to their use by Western botanists from Rembert Dodoens (1516-1585), author of the famous *Cruydeboeck* first published in 1554 and reedited in multiple editions and languages, to Sibthorp (397). After the Frenchmen François Lenormant and Edouard de Chanot studied miniatures of the Paris Nicander in 1875 and 1876 (398), Henri Bordier published in 1883 a systematic census of the illustrations in the Greek codices of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, in which he gave both an inventory of all medical manuscripts with illustrations or ornamentation and the description of such elements (399). However, it was only with the magistral study of the codex Vienna *medicus graecus* 1 that accompanied its first facsimile that this type of analysis was fully developed (400).

(389) Cramer, 1835-1837.
(390) Förster, 1893.
(391) On Greenhill, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 23, pp. 603-604 (P. Butler).
(392) Berthelot and Ruelle, 1887-1888.
(393) Millin, 1802.
(394) See p. 498.
(395) Choulant, 1852.
(396) Choulant, 1858.
(397) Choulant, 1855.
(398) Lenormant, 1875 and 1875/2, and de Chanot, 1876.
(399) Bordier, 1883.
(400) de Karabacek, 1906. On the manuscript, see above, note 48.

In spite of this increasing activity, many texts remained unedited and even unknown. In an effort to fill this lacuna, Georges A. Costomiris (1849-1902) (401), an Athenian ophthalmologist doing historico-medical research in Paris in the footsteps of Daremberg (402), began in 1887 to browse the holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (403), and to consult the printed catalogues of Greek manuscripts that were published for other collections worldwide (404). In so doing, he wanted to bring to the attention of the scholarly community the many Greek medical texts still overlooked or even unknown (405), and to make editions possible by exhaustively listing their manuscripts (406). This was, in a certain way, a complement to Daremberg's projected *Catalogue raisonné*, with the difference, however, that Costomiris' work dealt only with unedited texts. Costomiris' catalogue, published in five issues of the French *Revue des Études Grecques* (407), listed 214 different codices (408)

(401) Biographical data on Georges A. Costomiris (whose name is also spelled Kostomoirіs or Kostomoiros) are scant : a report by Charles Henry Stanley Davis on the work discussed here is published in *Biblia* 17.2 (1904), pp. 38-40 ; a short notice in Pagel's *Geschichte der Medicin und der Krankheiten*, p. 412, col. 2, no. 71 ; and an obituary in *Janus* 7 (1902), p. 615. Costomiris himself mentions in the first issue of the series here (1889, p. 347 note 1) a publication of his on the history of ophthalmology in ancient Greece (Kostomoiris, 1877). See also below.
(402) Costomiris, 1889, pp. 349-350 mentions explicitly that he consulted the manuscripts and notes of Daremberg at the library of the Academy of Medicine in Paris.
(403) Idem 343.
(404) Idem 350.
(405) Idem 346.
(406) Idem 350, where Costomiris claims to have found "almost all the unpublished texts on medicine", and proceeds to list "all the manuscripts which, to the extend of his knowledge, are preserved in several libraries" (translation is mine).
(407) Costomiris, 1889-1897.
(408) No index of the manuscripts being included in Costomiris' publication, I will publish it in another work. It has to be noted that Costomiris, 1889, p. 349 claims to have studied "more than four hundred manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale" (translation is mine). Manuscripts cited are from the following places (alphabetical order of names) : Athens (1 codex), Athos (13), Berlin (7), Brussels (5), Cambridge (1), Dresden (1), El Escorial (13), Florence (18), Leiden (3), Leipzig (1), London (4), Milan (1), Munich (5), Naples (4), Oxford (11), Paris (79), Patmos (3), Thessalonika (1), Vatican City (12), Venice (11), and Vienna (21).

containing the texts of twenty authors (409). On the basis of such inventory – and as a sort of *défense et illustration* – Costomiris produced a critical edition of the twelfth book of Aetius' medical encyclopaedia (410).

By the end of the 19th century, new catalogues of manuscript collections were being published, sometimes in response to such circumstances as the relocation of an entire collection. This is the case of the Pellicier collection, then owned by Thomas Phillipps. The collection was bought by Prussia (411), and then catalogued by Wilhelm Friderich Adolf Studemund (1843-1899) and Leopold Cohn (1856-1915) (412). Also, a thematic catalogue had been begun : the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, published at the initiative and, for a certain period of time, under the direction of Franz Cumont (1868-1947), the Belgian philologist in voluntary exile in Rome and Paris (413). It was a long-term program, published in 20 volumes from 1898 to 1953.

Across Europe, although primarily in Germany and France, physicians capitalized on such renewed activity and produced new histories of medicine (414). Among them, one could mention (in chronological order of publication) Heinrich Häser (1811-1884) (415), Pierre-Victor Renouard (b. 1798) (416), Salvatore De Renzi (1800-1872) (417), Francesco

(409) The alphabetical list of authors, which is not included in Costomiris' publication is the following (with the references to the several issues of Costomiris' work [1-5], and the pages) : Actuarius : 5.414-445 ; Aelius Promotus : 1.363-368 ; Aetius : 2.150-179 ; Alexandre Sophistes : 3.97-99 ; Anonymous of Daremberg : 2.145-147 ; Cratevas : 1.358-363 ; Damnastes : 4.71-72 ; *Ephodia* : 3.101-110 ; Galen : 1.368-383 ; *Hippiatrica* : 4.61-69 ; Hippocrates : 1.352-358 ; Leo the Philosopher : 3.99-100 ; Metrodora : 2.147-148 ; Myrepsus : 5.406-414 ; Oribasius : 2.148-150 ; Psellos : 4.68-60 ; Seth : 4.70-71 ; Theophanes Nonnos : 3.100-101 ; Timotheus : 3.99 ; Tzetzes : 5.405.

(410) Kostomoiris, 1892.

(411) On this purchase, see Munby, 1960, p. 22-26.

(412) Studemund and Cohn, 1896.

(413) On Cumont, see De Ruyt, 1976. For the astrological manuscripts, see *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 20 vols., 1898-1953.

(414) On these works, see Grmek, 1995, and Bickel, 2007.

(415) 1845, with two more editions, the third of which (3 vols., 1875-1882) is the most accomplished. On Häser, see Bickel, 2007, p. 268. On the work, Grmek, 1995, p. 20, and Bickel, 2007, p. 52 and 142.

(416) 1846. On Renouard and his work, Grmek, 1995, p. 20, and Bickel, 2007, pp. 213-214.

(417) 1845-1848. On De Renzi, see *DBI*, vol. 39 (1991), pp. 112-118 (V. Cappelletti-F. Di Torcchio) ; and Bickel, 2007, p. 267. On the work, Bickel, 2007,

Puccinotti (1794-1872) (418), Charles Daremberg (419), and Julius Pagel (1851-1912) (420).

By Diels' time, cataloguing of manuscripts had substantially progressed, making possible an exhaustive heuristic of the *codices* to be used in the preparation of an edition ; ecdotics had become a discipline with its own methods ; bibliography was no longer a province of encyclopedism or antiquarianism, but a scientific field with frequent updated reeditions. On the basis of the above, the door seemed to be open for a renewed and systematic study of the history of ancient medicine based on reliable new versions of the primary sources.

2. While preparing his doctoral dissertation at Bonn University under the direction of the aforementioned Karl Usener (421), Hermann Diels experienced the insufficiency of 19th-century editions of classical texts for the analysis of ancient philosophical literature (422). A member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences from 1881 onward, he succeeded Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) in 1895 as the Permanent Secretary of its section of philosophico-historical studies. In this capacity, in 1901, he attended the first conference of the International Association of Academies, held in Paris, where he was invited by the Danish scholar and historian of ancient science Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1854-1928) (423) to publish a new corpus of ancient Greek literature as a joint project of the academies of Berlin and Copenhagen (424). The same year, Diels submitted to the

p. 114. De Renzi is mainly known for his monumental collection of documents (5 vols.) on the supposed medical school of Salerno (De Renzi, 1852-1859).

(418) 1850-1866. On Puccinotti and his work, see Grmek, 1995, p. 20, and Bickel, 2007, pp. 211-212.

(419) 1865 and 1870. On these works, see Grmek, 1995, pp. 21-22 for the second, and Bickel, 2005, p. 53 for both ; 109-110 for the first, and 110 for the second.

(420) 1898. On Pagel, see *NDB*, vol. 19 (1999), p. 759 (H. Goerke) ; Gerabek *et al.*, 2005, pp. 1087-1088 (V. Roelcke) ; and Bickel, 2007, p. 271. On the work, see Grmek, 1995, p. 22 ; Bickel, 2007, pp. 54 and 200.

(421) See p. 503.

(422) See his 1870 doctoral thesis *De Galeni historia philosopha* (*sic*). See also his *Doxographi graeci*, 1879, pp. 233-258 and 595-648.

(423) On Heiberg, see Adler, 1980.

(424) See the report by Diels himself in the introduction (*Vorbemerkung*) to the 1906 reedition of the catalogue : Diels, 1906/2, pp. I-II. See also *BNP-Cl. Trad.*, vol. 1 (2006), col. 1060 (V. Nutton).

Academy a proposal for a *Corpus Medicorum* that would be solidly grounded on a close examination of manuscripts and their tradition (425). As a preliminary, the entreprise required an inventory of all manuscripts of the treatises to be later edited in the *Corpus*. The Academy accepted the project and has supported it since. The inventory of manuscripts was the 1905-1906 catalogue with its 1907 supplement.

3. In a first phase, the preparation of such an inventory (426) required systematic browsing of the printed catalogues of manuscripts available at that time (427). Those consulted by Diels' collaborators are listed together with several other works on pages XI-XXIII of the 1906 reedition (428), with additional list in the 1908 supplement, pp. 23-24. The resulting data was compiled in two files : one by collections (*catalogus codicum* according to Diels' own expression) and the other by texts (*catalogus scriptorum*) (429). This first inventory was further completed by means of *in-situ* inspection of collections and manuscripts by philologists and librarians mainly from Germany, but also from Austria-Hungary, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, and the Netherlands (430). All the work was performed without delay (431) so the necessary reference could be completed quickly and work on the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* could begin (432).

(425) For the history of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin until Diels' time, see Harnack, 1900. For the role played by Diels in the creation of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, see Kollesch, 1973.

(426) For the presentation of the method of work, see the 1906 reedition of Diels' catalogue : Diels, 1906/2, pp. III-IX.

(427) At that time, the available printed catalogues of Latin manuscripts containing the works of the Fathers of the Church had been inventoried in the *Catalogus catalogorum* published in 1902 by Wilhelm Weinberger (1866-1932) as a tool for the preparation of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Weinberger, 1902). It lists the catalogues of the collections (in the order they appear in the work) in Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Hungary, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany.

(428) These catalogues are listed under the title *Verzeichnis der ausgenutzten Bibliotheken und Bibliothekskataloge*.

(429) Diels, 1906/2, p. IV.

(430) See the list of the collaborators in Diels, 1906/2, p. X.

(431) On this point, see Diels, 1906/2, pp. II, and VI.

(432) Several reports on the work for the *Corpus* were presented by Diels to the Berlin Academy of Sciences in its reports (*Sitzungsberichte*). See Kollesch, 1999.

The catalogue of manuscripts was published in two parts, the first on Hippocrates and Galen, and the second on physicians of classical Antiquity and the early Middle Ages (433), with a supplement including corrections and additions to both parts. For each author and text, the catalogue lists the Greek manuscripts, followed by the codices of any Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew translations (the sections on translations are identified with the letters A, B, C, and D respectively). The codices in each section are ordered alphabetically according to the name of the place where they were preserved. City names are followed by those of the libraries and, when appropriate, the collections. Whatever the section, all the relevant manuscripts are identified by means of the shelfmark they had at the time or by an alternate identification taken from the literature. Usually, such identification is followed by some indication of the period in which the codex was produced, and the folios that contain the relevant text.

Part 2. Toward a New Catalogue

4. However useful it was and still is, Diels' catalogue needs an update for many reasons, from a possible change of shelfmark system in some libraries to the relocation of single items or even entire collections (435).

An example of a change of shelfmarks is the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (Italy), which has also changed its name since Diels' time and is now called Biblioteca Universitaria e Estense. The change of the shelfmarks was not a simple change of the numbers attributed to each volume, but – more radically – a transformation of the system of shelf-

(433) On the selection of the post-classical authors, see below p. 530.

(434) In some cases, Diels reproduced the numbers that manuscripts had in ancient inventories of collections, which were not the shelfmarks of the manuscripts. Also, Diels included items deprived of any shelfmark, number, or any identification. See below.

(435) In the examples quoted from here onward, references to Diels' catalogue are made according to the following system : number of the volume of the catalogue (I, II, and N. respectively, for the first part on Hippocrates and Galen ; the second for the other physicians, and the supplement [*Nachtrag*]), followed by the number of the page. For example, I.5, referring to volume I (= Hippocrates and Galen), page 5. In the instance that a manuscript is noted several times on the same page, the number of the page is followed by the number of mentions between parentheses. For instance : I.87(3).

marks. For instance, a particular manuscript identified in Diels' catalogue as III.A.4 (436) and often in subsequent literature as 18 (in reference to the sequential number this item has in the standard catalogue of the library (437)), is now α.M.9.5 (438).

In addition, some libraries have changed their names, as the case above suggests. In some cases the transformation is a slight one, as, for example, for the Bibliothèque nationale (BN) in Paris (France), which is now the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). In others, however, such new appellation may not tell the full story. A case is the library identified in Diels' catalogue as the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin (Germany). It became first the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in 1918 and was then divided into two different institutions after World War II : the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin and the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin. Since the reunification of Germany in 1992, these two institutions are now associated and called Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB PK), with two different sites.

Damage, destruction, or the relocation of single items – and even of entire collections – during the 20th century also make an update of Diels' catalogue necessary. This is particularly true for libraries in Germany and Eastern Europe, some of which were heavily affected by World War II. Of the medical manuscripts in Berlin listed by Diels as being part of the Königliche Bibliothek, the *graec. folio* and *graec. quarto* series are now divided between Berlin (after some were preserved for a certain time in Tübingen and others in Marburg) on the site of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (439), and Krakow (Poland), in the collection of the Jagiellonski University (440). Other items from the same collection were lost through the destruction of World War II (441). The collection of the then Königliche Bibliothek in Dresden (Germany) underwent a similar *fortuna* : the codices Da 1 and Da 5 mentioned in Diels' catalogue (442)

(436) See II.67.
(437) Puntoni, 1896. See p. 392 for this codex.
(438) A table of concordance of Modena old and new shelfmarks is found in Samberger, 1965, pp. 456-459.
(439) Medical manuscript folio 35.
(440) *Codices* with medical contents : folio 7, 37, 38, 39 ; quarto 2, 5, 46.
(441) Among them, the medical item quarto 21.
(442) I.61, 100 for Da 1, and II.64, 73, 78, 108, 109, 110, 111, and N.69 for Da 5.

once belonged to the collection of Matthaei (443), which was later absorbed into the Synodical Library in Moscow, and then transferred in 1788 to Dresden. After World War II, the major part of the collection, including Da 1 and Da 5, was returned in 1948 to Moscow, where it should be at the State Archive. Of the manuscripts remaining in Dresden, the item Da 57 (444) was damaged during the war to the point it is almost unusable, and the number Da 67 (445) seems to have been destroyed. Only the codex Da 58 (446) is in good condition. The manuscript of the Princes Lobkowitz in Raudnitz (at that time in Austria-Hungary) referred to in Diels' catalogue (447) was moved to Prague in 1948 and integrated into the collections of the National Library of Czechoslovakia (448), now the Czech Republic.

In other cases, manuscripts or entire collections changed owner and/or location independently from 20th-century wars and geopolitical events. Many volumes of the Archivo-Biblioteca del Cabildo Metropolitano (La Seo) in Zaragoza (Spain) have been extracted from the collection and sold on the antiquarian market (449). The medical items are now in the Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library at Yale University in New Haven (U.S.) (450). The collection of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall (U.K.) has been deposited in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (451), and the manuscripts that once belonged to the Colegios Mayores of Salamanca (Spain) and were transferred to the Palacio Real of Madrid in 1803, were returned to their original location in 1954 (452). Also, the collection of the Medical Society of London (U.K.) was deposited at the Wellcome Institute in 1967 and then acquired in 1984 by the Library (which is now the Wellcome Library) (453). The enormous collection assembled by Sir Thomas Phillipps in Cheltenham

(443) On his editions, see above.
(444) Mentioned in Diels II.67.
(445) Mentioned II.108.
(446) II.67.
(447) II.6.
(448) Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier, 1983, p. XIX.
(449) Olivier, 1976.
(450) See Bond, 1962, pp. 61 and 63, mss. 32, 35, and 50.
(451) See Barbour, 1960.
(452) Beaujouan, 1962, pp. 14-15, 41-56.
(453) See the exhibition catalogue *Books from the Medical Society*, 1985, pp. 2-3.

(U.K.) was gradually dismembered from the end of the 19th century on (454). Although some volumes were the object of private negotiations between Phillipps' heirs and private collectors worldwide (455), by the late 1970s the bulk of the collection had been sold at auction by Sotheby's in London (456). Last, but certainly not least, among the collections that changed owner, is the library of Barberini family in Rome (Italy). While it is listed as a libary of its own in the inventory of libraries (457), it was already part of the Vatican Library when Diels' catalogue was compiled, as it was absorbed into the Vatican Library in 1902 where it formed the *Barberiniana* collection (458) and received new shelfmarks (459).

Furthermore, some manuscripts that Diels had found listed in historical works – particularly 17th-century descriptions of cities and their

(454) On its dispersion until the late 1950s, see Munby, 1960.

(455) See for example the manuscript Phillipps 21975, purchased in 1920 by the New York collector J. P. Morgan, now preserved in the Morgan Library in New York, shelfmark M 652 (see the checklist of manuscripts below no. [22]).

(456) Greek manuscripts were included in the sales held by Sotheby's in 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1976 (June and November), and 1977. The rest were purchased by the antiquarian bookseller Hans Peter Kraus (1907-1988) in New York (Kraus, 1979). After Kraus' death, his books (including 30+ Phillipps items) were acquired by Sotheby's and auctioned in 2003 (Phillipps numbers are 57 [= ms. Phillipps 2607], 211, 214 [= 3639], 217 [= 26466], 225 [= 4135], 310, 317, 352, 354, 360 [= 24463], 381, 401, 406, 433, 435, 437, 446 [= 29893], 454, 476, 480, 491 [= 23255], 517, 519, 562 [= 4135], 570 [= 18161], 572, 573, 585, 586 [= 8266], 603, and 607 [= 7532]. None of them contain ancient Greek medical texts). In 1949, 29 manuscripts were deposited on loan at the British Museum. Nineteen of them were sold at auction in London by Christie's (Phillipps numbers are 18 [= ms. Phillipps 12270 ; BL loan 36/27], 19 [= 1222 ; 36/26], 20 [= 204 ; 36/3], 21 [= 6652 ; 36/21], 22 [= 4614 ; 39/19], 23 [= 4185 ; 36/13], 24 [= 4273 ; 36/17], 25 [= 2839 ; 36/11], 26 [= 199 ; 36/2], 27 [= 4073 and 22128 ; 36/28], 29 [= 3374 ; 36/15], 30 [= 794 ; 36/7]. 31 [= 2838 ; 36/10], 32 [= 2920 ; 36/12], 33 [= 8161 ; 36/24], 34 [= 127 ; 36/1], 35 [= 4393 ; 36/18], 36 [682 ; 36/5], and 37 [= 703 changed into 702 and 700 ; 36/6]. None of them contain ancient Greek medical texts). Eight items of the 1949 loan are now in the collections of the British Library, in the Additional collection (loan 36/4 = Addit. 82950 ; 36/13 = Addit. 82951 ; 36/14 = Addit. 82956 ; 36/20 = Addit. 82952 ; 36/22 = Addit. 82953 ; 36/23 = Addit. 82957 ; 36/25 = Addit. 82954 ; 36/29 = Addit. 82955 [none of them contain Greek medical texts). Three items of the loan (36/8, 36/9, and 36/16) are not located.

(457) Diels 1906/2, p. XVI.

(458) Bignami Odier, 1973, pp. 109, 126 note 94, 242, 255 note 132.

(459) Table of concordance in Mogenet, 1989, pp. XI-XIII.

library collections such as those of Tomasini – and that were not well identified when the catalogue was prepared have been located since. As an example, there is the case of a Dioscorides found in the 1639 list of Padua libraries by Tomasini and said to be in the collection of Ioannis Rhodii (460), in fact the Danish physician Johann Rhode (1587-1659) who sojourned in Padua and was the *Praefectus* of the Botanic Garden in 1631 (461). Whereas this codex was considered as unlocated by Diels (462), it has been identified since as manuscript 194 of the Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile in Padua (Italy) (463). Similarly, the Paul of Egina manuscript of the Bibliotheca S[ti] Joannis a Viridario (San Giovanni da Verdara) in Padua referred to without any number, shelfmark, or other reference in Diels (464) can be found among the holdings of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (Italy) under the shelfmark *appendix graeca* V.1 (465).

Finally, collections for which no catalogue was available in Diels' time have now been described and some appear to contain medical manuscripts that Diels and his collaborators could not have known. This is the case of the collections of the Meteora in Greece (466), for instance, among the holdings of which one item contains the works by the 11th-century medical writer and translator from Arabic Symeon Seth (467).

5. A further in-depth examination of Diels' catalogue reveals that the information it provides is sometimes incorrect or misleading. The list of the manuscripts in libraries in the United Kingdom and Ireland is significant from this viewpoint, as it presents almost all the types of such problems.

(460) The manuscript is quoted in Diels II.29. It appears in Tomasini, 1639, p. 138.

(461) On Rhode, see Minelli, 1995, pp. 71-72.

(462) "Verbleib unbekannt".

(463) The codex was discovered by Mioni, 1959 and 1959/2. For a recent notice with the literature, Touwaide, 1985, p. 198, no. 10.

(464) II.77.

(465) Formentin, 1978, p. 19-20, and Mioni, 1972, p. 253.

(466) See Béès, 1967 (*Metamorfôseôs*) and 1984 (*Barlaam*) ; Sofianos, 1986 (*Hagios Stefanos*) and 1993 (*Hagia Triada*).

(467) *Metamorfôsis* 403, 15th century (Béès, 1967, pp. 419-422, with the additions of Vranoussis and Sofianos in the second edition, 1998, p. 665). The manuscript was unknown to Seth's editor (Langkavel, 1868).

A first of such problems is the fact that some manuscripts included in Diels' catalogue had already been destroyed when the work was compiled. This is the case, for example, of the item identified as London, [Bibl. eccl. Westmonast.], [1100] ([468]). This codex, which seems to have been a Latin manuscript, was destroyed in the fire that ravaged the library collections of Westminster Abbey in January, 1695.

Another source of mistake is the incorrect location of some manuscripts, as for example, the codices identified as Oxford, [Eccl. Wigorn.], [745] ([469]), [768] ([470]), and [1760] ([471]). None of these manuscripts are to be found in Oxford, but in Worcester, in the Worcester Cathedral Library. Furthermore, they seem to correspond to two items of this collection and not three, currently identified with the shelfmarks Q.96 and F.85 ([472]). Both of these are Latin codices. Of the same type of mistake is the codex presented as [Amsterdam] [Amstelodam. ?], without any shelfmark ([473]). This is actually codex D'Orville 3 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford ([474]).

Occasionally Diels placed a manuscript in a location it had already left. The item designated [Norfolk : nr. 3189] without further indication of collection and reported to contain the *Aphorismi* by Hippocrates ([475]) seems to correspond to number 3184 (and not 3189 ([476])) in Bernard's catalogue of manuscripts of England and Spain ([477]). It was a Latin manuscript included in a group of codices donated by Henry Howard, 6th Duke of Norfolk, (1628-1684) to Gresham College in London in 1667 ([478]). In the current state of research this codex cannot be traced ([479]).

(468) I.89.
(469) I.97-98.
(470) I.13.
(471) I.5.
(472) The origin of the numbers attributed to these manuscripts in Diels' catalogue is unknown.
(473) I.109.
(474) On this manuscript, see, in the checklist below, no. [139].
(475) I.13.
(476) Number 3189 in Bernard, 1697, vol. 2, p. 80, is a Psalter.
(477) Bernard, 1697, vol. 2, p. 80.
(478) Bernard, 1697, vol. 2, pp. 74-84. On Gresham College, see a synthesis in Campbell, 2003, pp. 359-360, and detailed studies in Ames-Lewis, 1999.
(479) Of the 4,000 volumes originally donated to the College by the Duke of Norfolk, only 500 are currently preserved (some, such as Arundel 204 and 527,

Diels sometimes refers to a manuscript without offering any shelfmark. In addition to the Amsterdam codex above, there is the case of an Arundelian item of the British Library (cited in Diels as British Museum, as it was called at that time) mentioned in Diels' first volume ([480]). Judging from the content given by Diels, this item seems to be Arundel 537, which appears under its correct shelfmark in the second volume of Diels' catalogue ([481]). Also, there is the instance of a particular manuscript at the Medical Society in London that is listed without any identification ([482]). From its contents it can be identified as item MS. MSL 83 of the Wellcome Library in London ([483])). Another of such cases is the *Oxoniensis Bodleianus* Miscell. without number ([484]), which is actually MS. Rawl. G. 94 of the Bodleian Library ([485]).

Similarly, some manuscripts are cited in Diels' catalogue through the secondary literature, where they are not necessarily identified with exactness. One instance of this is a manuscript of the Bodleian Library identified through a reference to Puschmann, I.90 ([486]), that is, the edition of Alexander of Tralles mentioned above ([487]). This codex is actually the manuscript D'Orville 34 of the Bodleian Library ([488]).

In other cases the shelfmarks cited in Diels' catalogue are different from those actually in use at the time the work was compiled. The best example is provided by the D'Orville manuscripts at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Those listed in Diels' catalogue are identified as X 1. 1. 3, X 1. 4. 3, and X 1. 4. 29 ([489]), while they were – and still are – D'Orville

are currently in the collections of the British Library). The collection was created by the grandfather of Henry Howard, Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), when he served as ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire. It included the library of the German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), bought by Thomas Howard in 1636. See Paisey, 2000, p. 106.
(480) I.93.
(481) II.108, 109, 110. On this manuscript, see McKendrick, 1999, p. 19.
(482) I.150.
(483) On this manuscript, see Dawson, 1932, p. 91.
(484) II.28.
(485) On this manuscript, see Coxe, 1853, p. 712, Miscell, p. 155.
(486) II.12.
(487) Edition by Puschmann, 1878-1879. On it, see above, p. 503 and note 383.
(488) On this manuscript, see Madan, 1897, pp. 45-46, no. 16912.
(489) See I.101, 110, 111 ; and II.37, 71 for X 1. 1. 3 ; II.67 for X 1. 4. 3 ; and I.49 for X 1. 4. 29.

3, 105, and 131 respectively ([490]). In fact Diels' collaborators used the outdated catalogue of the D'Orville collection by the classical scholar Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855) ([491]), instead of that by the sub-librarian, and later on librarian, of the Bodleian, Falconer Madan (1851-1935), then of recent publication ([492]). Strangely enough, however, for one d'Orville, the two shelfmarks (the old and the new ones) are mentioned together ([493]).

For some manuscripts, the shelfmark provided in Diels' catalogue is erroneous. An instance of this is the codex identified as London, British Museum, Regius [1734, 4], which supposedly contains the Hippocratic *Prognosticon* ([494]). While no item of the Royal collection bears such a number, there is a Harley 1734, instead, which contains indeed the *Prognosticon*. However, this is an English translation of the text.

In a certain number of instances, codices are listed under two different shelfmarks. The manuscripts identified as Caius College in Cambridge (Gonville and Caius College) 47 ([495]), 76 ([496]), 355 ([497]), 946 ([498]), 948 ([499]), and 949 ([500]) are actually three and not six, as the numbers 946, 948, and 949 refer to the same items as the numbers 47, 355, and 76 respectively. These are now – and were already in Diels' time – identified as 47/24, 76/43, and 355/582 ([501]). Another example of such duplication is provided by the item London, Medical Society, We 29 ([502]), which

(490) On these manuscripts, see Madan, 1897, p. 38 (no. 16881), 62 (no. 16983), and 68-69 (no. 17009) respectively.

(491) On Gaisford, see *ODNB*, 2004, vol. 21, pp. 283-285 (Hugh Lloyd-Jones). For these manuscripts, see in Gaisford's catalogue (1806), pp. 12, 21, and 100-101 respectively.

(492) Madan, 1897.

(493) See II.67 : X 2. 6. 2 (= 432), which corresponds, indeed, to current D'Orville 432 (on the manuscript, see Madan, 1897, p. 121, no. 17310).

(494) I.5.

(495) I.68, 74, 91, 122.

(496) I.11, 29, 80 ; II.109.

(497) I.5, 12, 73, 79 (2 mentions), 111.

(498) I.68, 120.

(499) I.111.

(500) I.80.

(501) On these manuscripts, see James, 1907, pp. 39-40, 73-75, and 402-404 respectively.

(502) II.48.

is the same as H H i 21. 22 = We 28. 29 ([503]), and is now at the Wellcome Library where it is identified as MS. MSL 52 B ([504]).

Sometimes, several, if not all, of the mechanisms of error above combined in single entries. This is the case for the item identified as Cambridge, [Cath. Metens.] [226] ([505]). No such cathedral or church can be located in Cambridge. It is, in fact, the cathedral church of Metz (France), which had indeed held a collection of manuscripts ([506]). However, when Diels compiled his catalogue, this collection was no longer owned by the cathedral but by the city library of Metz, as it had been confiscated by the state in the wave of the French Revolution. There, the manuscript no longer had the number it had when it was in the cathedral collection, but was number 174. The story is not over : during World War II, the collection was sheltered by the German troops, but was unfortunately hit by a fire that destroyed some items, among them the one in question. At any rate, this was a Latin manuscript, and thus should not have been included among the Greek ones.

Finally, several Latin and some Arabic manuscripts have been erroneously included in the list of Greek manuscripts. I have already mentioned the manuscripts of Metz and Westminster Abbey in London. This happened also for Gonville and Caius College ([507]), Pembroke College ([508]), Peterhouse ([509]) and the University Library ([510]) in Cambridge, Trinity College in Dublin ([511]), the British Library in London ([512]), and, in

(503) I.41, 131 ; II.7, 102, 108-109, 110.

(504) Dawson, 1932, pp. 59-60.

(505) See I.109.

(506) See in the list of manuscripts below, under Cambridge, Cath. Metens.

(507) Manuscripts 59/153 (I.5 where the manuscript is identified as [954]), 95/47 (I.21 : [959]), and 345/620 (I.12 : [962]).

(508) Manuscript 228 (I.5 and 12 : [Pembroch.], [2055]).

(509) Manuscript 14 (I. 5 and 12 : [St. Petri], [1866]).

(510) Manuscript Ii. 2. 5 (I.5 : Cantabrig. [2329] without identification of library).

(511) Trinity College Dublin, probably manuscript 403 (Latin) (I.10 and 19 [Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [cod. Brit. 502], and [Dublin], [Coll. Trinit.], [502], actually referring to the same item). See also I.42 : [Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [1709], which is an Arabic manuscript now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Marsh 379, and I.148 : [Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [1218], which is the Arabic manuscript of the Bodleian, MS. Marsh 158. Archbishop Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713) bequeathed his oriental manuscripts to the Bodleian.

(512) I.111 : London, British Museum, Regius 12 F III corresponding to current Royal 12 F iii of the British Library.

Oxford, the Bodleian Library (513), Merton College (514), and New College (515).

To give a quantitative sense, Diels listed 179 items that he thought to be in the United Kingdom and Ireland. In fact, 35 of the manuscripts he listed are in Latin, 2 in Arabic, and 1 in English. Additionally, 10 items are incorrectly identified, 5 insufficiently identified to be located, 9 listed through explicitly cited secondary literature, and 18 are duplicates. On the other hand, of the correctly identified manuscripts, 1 has been destroyed since the publication of the catalogue, 23 changed location, and 34 received new shelfmarks although they have not moved. Finally, 36 new manuscripts can be added, a number that might increase in the future when the work of census will be made directly on the collections and no longer on available printed catalogues as is currently the case.

Several such problems result from the fact that information was reproduced from secondary literature and was not double-checked. The *tabula siglorum* warns readers about this (516) :

> [ ] = die Hds. ist nur aus Ackermann's *Hist. litteraria Hippocratis* (Kühn Med. Gr. Opp. XXI, 1ff.) und *Hist. litt. Cl. Galeni* (Kühn M. G. O. I, XVII ff.) oder aus Littré (Œuvr. compl. d'Hippocr. Par. 1839-61. 10 Bde) bekannt.

Indeed, through Diels' entire catalogue, 351 items are bracketed : 44 for which all the information is between square brackets (thus including the city, library, collection, and shelfmark), and 307 for which only the shelfmark is between square brackets. Given that the works referred to deal with Hippocrates and Galen, these bracketed mentions of manuscripts should have appeared only in the first part of the catalogue. However, some bracketed information appear also in the second part (517).

(513) Current manuscripts Ashmole 1285 (see I.5 erroneously under Cambridge in the catalogue), and 1471 (I.122) ; Auct. F. 5. 30 (I.5) ; e Mus. 19 (I.135) ; Bodl. 483 (I.117) ; Laud. Lat. 43 (I.5), 65 (I.5, 13, 61), 106 (I.13) and 125 (I.61) ; Laud. misc. 237 (I.5,13) and 617 (I.133).

(514) Manuscripts 218 (I.63, 91 : [Coll. Merton.], [685]), 220 (I.5, 13 : [687]), 221 (I.5, 13 : [688]), 222 (I.5, 13 : [689]), 255 (I.13 : [722]) and 262 (I.49 : [729]).

(515) Manuscripts 166 (I.13 : [Coll. Novi], [1130])and 170 ([Coll. Novi], [1134]).

(516) See p. [2] in the *Zeichenerklärung* in the 1906 reedition of the catalogue.

(517) II.10 Alexander Trallianus ; II.17 (2 occurrences), 18 (2 occurrences), 19 (2 occurrences) Aretaeus ; II.58 Lucas ; II.81 Paulus Nicaeensis.

Square brackets are also used in references to other printed works, however, such as the 1697 catalogue of manuscripts in Britain and Ireland by Bernard (518), Lambeck's catalogue of Vienna manuscripts (including Kollar's revised edition and De Nessel's supplement) (519), Montfaucon's catalogue (520), Bandini's catalogue of the Medicea Laurenziana library in Florence (521), a not-better identified catalogue of Leiden (522), and an inaccurately identified work by Verdier (523).

Some manuscripts are identified by reference to an earlier owner, such as Matthias Corvinus (524), Michael Cantacuzenus (525), the *codex* Adelphi (526), Andreas Asulanus (527), Josephus Scaligerus (528), and a *codex Regius* (529), while others are just identified by their location : *codex Londinensis* (530) and *codex Venetus* (531).

Finally, however meticulous they might have been in preparing the catalogue, be it in browsing the printed catalogues or in personally inspecting the collections, Diels' collaborators overlooked a certain

(518) The catalogue is identified as *cod. Brit.* or as some variation of *cat. mss. Angl.* See I.10, 19, 61 (2 occurrences), 117, 122 (2 occurrences), 133.

(519) See for example I.98 : Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri X* [Wien : Vindob. ap. Lamb. II c. 6 (L. VI-VIII)]. For other similar mentions of Lambeck (abbreviated Lamb.), see I.8, 42, 65, 83, 89. For the Lambecius Kollar edition (abbreviated Lambec. ed. Kollar), see I.123, 124, 149 (5 occurrences). For de Nessel, see I.80, 102.

(520) See for instance 1.103 : Galen, *In Hippocratis de humoribus librum commentarii III* [B.R. Paris. 120 ap. Montf. II 902], and also I.58, 64, 65, 96, 121, 126, 128, 135, 148, and also I.64 Galen, *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, Turin ("zitiert bei Montfaucon 1837,Gal. de IV elementis' ; nicht verifiziert").

(521) I.117 : Galen, *De lacte* [Florenz : Laurent. ap. Bandini III 122 (De sero lactis)] (*nicht von Galen*).

(522) I.123 Galen, *Hippiatrosophium* [Leyden : Vossian. Cat. bibl. Lugd. Bat. p. 398, n. 50].

(523) I.124 : Galen, *Hippocratis liber resolutionis, quem Galenus explicat* [Konstantinopel : Constantinopol. apud Verdier], and I.148 Galen, *Excerpta varia* [Konstantinopel : Constantinop. ap. Verdier II 57].

(524) I.102.

(525) I.116 (2 occurrences), 123, 132.

(526) I.59 (3 occurrences), 60 (2 occurrences).

(527) I.59.

(528) I.59.

(529) I.59, 60.

(530) I.59 (2 occurrences), 60.

(531) I.60.

number of items, even though they were listed in printed catalogues of manuscripts available at that time. As an example of this is the manuscript now in Cambridge, University Library Ee. 5. 7, on which a notice was available at Diels' time in the catalogue by Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926) published in 1900 ([532]).

6. Coming after the 1906 *Addenda* in the reedition of the catalogue ([533]), the 1907 supplement, which contains 360 entries, completed and updated somewhat the inventory of manuscripts, corrected some mistakes, and added detail to information provided by the catalogue.

Some manuscripts were added, such as ([534]) : numbers 39 and 68 of the Bibl. tês Boulês in Athens (that is, the library of the Parliament) ([535]) ; the codex Atheniensis 1478 ([536]) ; the Phillipps. 1562, 1576, and 1577 in Berlin ([537]) ; manuscript 46 of the Patriarch. Alexandrin. in Cairo ([538]) ; a papyrus in Cairo ([539]) ; the Laurent. 28.13 and 28.33 of the Biblioteca Mediceo Laurentiana ([540]) ; the Additional 14620 and 17148 of the British Museum ([541]) ; nine *Ambrosiani* : A 45 Sup. ([542]), A 80 Sup. ([543]), C 69 Sup. ([544]), E 6 Sup. ([545]), E 37 Sup. ([546]), F 23 Sup. ([547]), F 112 Sup. ([548]), H 2 Inf. ([549]) and P 90 Sup. ([550]) ; the Monac. 551 ([551]) ; one codex of Neu-Ephesus ([552]) ; the

(532) Browne, 1900, p. 307.
(533) See I.151 and II.113-115 (which includes addenda to parts I and II).
(534) The identification of the libraries is that of the catalogue (see pp. XI-XXIII of the 1906 reedition).
(535) Number 39 : N.26 (7 occurrences) ; number 68 : N.25, 28 (2 occurrences), 46.
(536) N.60.
(537) 1562 : N.47 ; 1576 : N.58 ; 1577 : N.36, 51.
(538) N.41, 68.
(539) N.52.
(540) N.36, 53, and N.53 respectively.
(541) N.50 for both.
(542) N.27 (2 occurrences), 31, 38, 64.
(543) N.41.
(544) N.47.
(545) N.41.
(546) N.37, 44, 66, 67, 69.
(547) N.27, 29.
(548) N.32 (2 occurrences).
(549) N.27, 28, 44, 63, 64.
(550) N.25, 38, 58.
(551) N.38, 39, 56.

Borbon. I 17 of Naples ([553]) ; the Corsin. 1410 in Rome ([554]) ; in Vienna, the manuscript XI. 167 of the Colleg. S. J. Rossianus (Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegiums ([555])) ([556]), and one of the private collection of *Gymnasialprofessor* Eduard Gollob ([557]) ; and the Guelferb. 4148 (64 Weissenb.) in Wolfenbüttel ([558]).

In some instances, the supplement may delete a manuscript or text. This is the case with the *Monacensis graecus* 39, in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which, according to the catalogue contains Galen, *De morbis excerpta* ([559]), but in fact does not according to the supplement ([560]). The same happens with another *Monacensis* (*graecus* 278), listed among the copies of Galen, *Prognostica*, in the catalogue ([561]), and eliminated in the supplement ([562]). Similarly, the manuscript identified as Padua, [Bibl. Cathedr. P 129] in the catalogue ([563]) has to be eliminated as it resulted from an error of the secondary literature as the supplement explains ([564]).

In other cases, the location of the manuscripts listed in the catalogue is corrected. The items identified as *ad plut. dextr. 16* (or : *XVI*) and *XVII* in the Bibliotheca Sti Joannis a Viridario (with variants in the spelling) in Padua ([565]) are identified in the supplement ([566]) as numbers 283 and 282, respectively, of the collection of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall ([567]), where these manuscripts were already in Diels' time.

(552) Number 152 of a library not better identified (N.43).
(553) N.60.
(554) N.26, 28 (2 occurrences), 39 (2 occurrences).
(555) N.24.
(556) N.27 (2 occurrences), 28, 30, 39, 51, 56 (2 occurrences), 63 (2 occurrences), 65, 66.
(557) N.27. On Gollob, see N.24.
(558) N.32.
(559) I.126.
(560) N.38.
(561) I.130.
(562) N.39.
(563) II.17, 18 (2 occurrences), 19.
(564) N.45, tracing the mistake back to Kühn, Montfaucon and, eventually, Tomasini.
(565) 16 : II.6 ; XVI : II.70 ; XVII : I.3, 5, 13, 21, 30 ; II.77.
(566) N.43 about II.6 for number 16, and N.26 about I.21 for XVII.
(567) This collection is now at the Bodleian Library in Oxford (UK), where the two manuscripts are items Holkham Gr. 108 and 115 respectively (see below, part 3 of the article).

Sometimes, only the shelfmark is updated, as, for example, with the manuscripts listed as *Miscellanei* 211 and 212 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford in the catalogue (568), and more correctly as Auct. T II 11 and Auct. II 12 respectively in the supplement (569). In other cases, mistakes in the shelfmarks are corrected. The identification of a codex as Mailand, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 102 Inf. (listed as containing Galen, *Ars medica* and *De remediis parabilibus libri III*) in the catalogue (570) is corrected to C 102 Sup. in the supplement (571), while this manuscript is correctly identified in another section of the catalogue (572).

In some other cases, the whole identification of a codex is corrected. The item listed as Wien, Hofbibliothek, *medicus graecus* 34 among the copies of *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarii VII* in the catalogue (573), is identified as being in fact a manuscript of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, *supplementum graecum* 447 in the supplement (574).

Supplementary information on manuscripts indicated their period of production. This is the case of a group of Ambrosiani containing Galen's text, which are listed together in the supplement at the beginning of the part on Galen (575).

These supplementary manuscripts made it possible to increase the list of items for such texts as Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*, *De morbis 1*, *De morbo sacro* and *De septimanis*, and *Prognosticon*, for example ; Galen, *De constitutione artis medicinae*, *De ossibus*, *De optima corporis nostri constitutione*, and *De symptomatum differentiis* ; Pseudo-Galen, *Definitiones medicae*, *De pulsibus ad Antonium* and *Remedia* ; Constantine Meliteniotes ; Diocles ; and Heliodorus.

The supplement introduced such new authors as Manuel Commenus (576), and Philippus Xerus (577), and also some new texts such as the

(568) Both are mentioned in the catalogue II.36.
(569) N.50.
(570) I.61 and 100 respectively.
(571) N.30 and 34 respectively.
(572) II.30 among the copies of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*.
(573) I.105.
(574) N.35.
(575) N.29, where 11 manuscripts are mentioned.
(576) N.57.
(577) N.63, referring to II.85, where Philippus Xerus does not appear, however.

De febribus, supposedly by Synesius (578). It eliminated other authors such as Ptolemaeus (579), and Vincentius Damodes (580). Also, the supplement clarified the chronology or the identity of some authors mentioned in the second part of the catalogue, such as Abraham (581) or Antonius Pyropulus (582). It revised the attribution of some texts, Herophilus and Hierophilus Sophista (583), Maximus (Planudes ?) (584), and Theodoretus (585) being examples.

Similarly, the supplement provided a better identification of some texts, including the title, *incipit* and *desinit* as, for example, the *Compositiones medicamentorum* by Euphemius Siculus (586) or *De nonnullorum medicamentorum compositione* by Ioannes Staphidaces (587). Also, it detailed better the content of some works as, for instance, *De compositione medicamentorum, alphabetice* by Nicolaus Myrepsus, which contains, according to the supplement, 48 chapters (588).

Finally, corrections deal with the foliation (or pagination) of the texts within the manuscripts. In the manuscript Mailand, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 108 Sup., the treatise of Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, listed as beginning on f. 19 in the catalogue (589), has to be read on f. 35, instead, according to the supplement (590). Similarly, the same treatise listed as being in codex Munich, Hofbibliothek, *graecus* 39, f. 86 in the catalogue (591), is indicated as contained on ff. 86-130 verso in the supplement (592). Or – to quote but a few – the manuscript Rom, Biblioteca

(578) N.66. On this text and its attribution, see above p. 483.
(579) N.64 correcting II.87. Correction by F. Cumont.
(580) N.68 ad II.107.581.
(581) N.42 (dating Abraham to the 11th cent.) referring to II.4 (where no time period is mentioned).
(582) N.45 (dating Antonius to the 15th cent.) referring to II.15 (where no time period is mentioned).
(583) N.54 referring to I.48-49 and 49.
(584) N.57 correcting II.62.
(585) N.67 on II.100.
(586) N.51 supplementing II.38.
(587) N.55 and II.55.
(588) N.60 and II.69.
(589) I.76.
(590) N.31.
(591) I.76.
(592) N.31-32.

Vaticana, Reg. Suec. 175, contains Galen, *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentarii III*, not on f. 1 as the catalogue indicates (593), but on f. 2r as the supplement rectifies (594).

7. Although the 1907 supplement to Diels' catalogue was announced as a first one, it was not followed by any other. This is probably the reason that scholars started publishing corrections and additions, the first of which appeared in 1916 (595). None of such contributions, however, covered the whole field of Greek medical manuscripts, contrary to what happened for the Latin and Arabic codices.

For the Latin medical manuscripts, indeed, the two medievists Lynn Thorndike (1882-1965) and Pearl Kibre (1902-1985) published a catalogue of textual *incipit* based on a systematic examination of a vast range of manuscripts (596). This catalogue has been recently revised, updated, and transferred into an electronic format by Linda Voigts and Patricia Kurtz (597), and will be available through the Internet (598). For Hippocrates, Kibre compiled a catalogue of the manuscripts containing Latin translations (599), and, for Galen, Richard J. Durling (1932-1999) published the first two of three lists of corrigenda and addenda (600), later followed by the third as a posthumous publication edited by Stefania Fortuna and Annamaria Raia (601). More generally, as early as 1956 Augusto Beccaria produced a catalogue of Latin medical manuscripts predating the activity at Salerno (602), and Ernest Wickersheimer (1880-1965) prepared a catalogue of Latin medical codices in French collections that was published posthumously in 1966 (603). Durling extracted the medical items from the monumental *Iter italicum* of Paul Oskar

(593) I.107.
(594) N.35.
(595) For example Mercati, 1916, 1917, and 1917/2.
(596) Thorndike and Kibre, 1963.
(597) Voigts and Kurz, 2004.
(598) According to L. Voigts' announcement, the catalogue will be on the Web site of the National Library of Medicine, in Bethesda, MD (http://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/).
(599) Kibre, 1975-1981, with a reedition in 1985.
(600) Durling, 1967/2, and 1981.
(601) Fortuna and Raia, 2006.
(602) Beccaria, 1956.
(603) Wickersheimer, 1966.

Kristeller (1905-1999), which is devoted to humanistic and little-known Latin manuscripts in European collections (604).

As for the Arabic translations of classical Greek medical treatises, the two German philologists Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971) and Richard Walzer (1900-1975) took Diels' list of manuscripts as a basis to review the holdings of Istanbul libraries. In 1934, they published a catalogue of the manuscripts they identified, which included corrections to Diel's inventory (605). More recently, the two scholars Manfred Ullmann and Fuat Sezgin published almost simultaneously, but independently, two different encyclopedic works on the history of Arabic medicine that contain lists of manuscripts by author and treatise, including the Arabic translations of Greek works (606).

No such general revisions have been done for the cataloguing of Greek medical manuscripts (607), even though much research has been conducted on single texts and manuscripts, particularly during the last decades of the 20th century (608). Since the interruption of World War II, and particularly toward the end of the century, the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* has published many new editions based on a renewed heuris-

(604) Durling, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1993. For the *Iter italicum*, see Kristeller, 1963-1997.
(605) Ritter and Walzer, 1934, on which see Meissner, 1935, for example.
(606) Ullmann, 1970 and Sezgin, 1970 and 1971.
(607) The so-called *Greek Index Project*, which aimed to catalogue all the manuscripts of all Greek authors from Antiquity to the end of Byzantium (Sinkewicz and Hayes, 1989, and Sinkewicz, 1990 and 1992), should be mentioned here, although it is not specifically devoted to Greek medical authors. Furthermore, it relies on a systematic browsing of printed catalogues without analysis – of either the catalogues or of the manuscripts *in situ* – and presents problems similar to those of Diels' catalogue pointed out above. Its information, however, is more current as it includes catalogues printed through the early 1990s. In 1993, the *Project* was transferred to the Institute de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes of the French CNRS and transformed into the database *PINAKES : Textes et manuscrits grecs*, which has been recently (September 2008) made available through the Internet (http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr). This version of the *Project* compensates partially for the problems of the earlier version, as it includes some update on the current location of items that have been moved.
(608) See for example the international conferences on Greek paleography (Paris, Berlin and Wolfenbüttel, Erice, Oxford, Drama, and Madrid) and their proceedings. Also, for new catalogues of manuscripts, see below.

tic of the manuscripts containing the edited texts (609). Additionally, several conferences have been devoted to Greek medical texts and their tradition (610) and some catalogues of Greek medical manuscripts have been published, most notably that of the *medici graeci* collection preserved at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna (Austria) by the late Herbert Hunger (1914-2000) (611), and that of Italy's *Tre Venezie* region (i.e., Veneto, Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, and Trentino-Alto Adige) by Mariarosa Formentin (612). Nevertheless, no survey comparable to those of Latin and Arabic medical works and manuscripts has been made, even though the cataloguing of Greek manuscripts has made substantial progress during the 20th century, particularly with the spectacular development of codicology (613) and ecdotics (614) in its second half. Catalogues of collections of Greek manuscripts have been published (615), such as those of the several collections in the Biblioteca Vaticana (616), Zaragoza (Spain) (617), Hamburg (Germany) (618), the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos (Greece) (619), and St. John Monastery on the island of Patmos (620) (Greece), or the Marciana Library in Venice (Italy) (621).

(609) 34 volumes have been published between 1950 and 2005, while 22 were published between 1908 and 1941.

(610) See for example (in chronological order) : Garzya, 1992 ; Garzya and Jouanna, 1996, 1999 ; Nutton, 2002/2 ; Garzya and Jouanna, 2003 ; Garofalo and Roselli, 2003 ; and Boudon-Millot *et al.*, 2006.

(611) Hunger, 1969.

(612) Formentin, 1978. One could also mention the study on the production of medical manuscripts in southern Italy by Ieraci Bio, 1989.

(613) See, for example, Dain, 1949 ; Irigoin, 1952 ; Devreesse, 1955 ; Harlfinger, 1971 ; Leroy, 1976 ; Hoffmann, 1998. For a bibliographical overview, see Canart, 1991.

(614) See for example Mogenet, 1950.

(615) Inventory in the so-called *Richard 2* (= Olivier, 1995) by reference to the inventory of published catalogues of Greek manuscripts compiled by Marcel Richard (1st edition : Richard, 1948 ; 2nd edition : 1958 ; with a supplement in 1964).

(616) See, for example Canart, 1979, which documents the history of the *Vaticani graeci* 1487-1962 ; Lilla, 1985 for the *Vaticani graeci* 2162-2254 (in fact, the *Columnenses* manuscripts) ; and Mogenet, 1989 for the *Barberiniani* 164-281.

(617) Escobar Chico, 1993.

(618) Molin Pradel, 2002.

(619) Sotêroudês, 1998.

(620) Kominê, 1988.

(621) For the so-called *Thesaurus antiquus*, see Mioni, 1981-1985.

8. In the late 1970s, when I was tracing the manuscripts of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and of the two treatises on toxicology attributed to him (622), I became increasingly aware that Diels' catalogue needed to be updated and revised, taking advantage of the progress made in the field of cataloguing of Greek manuscripts. Long-term research stays in several European countries beginning in the mid-1980s gave me the opportunity to directly analyze many codices and to build a collection of black-and-white microfilms that totals some 500 items in its current state (623). Most importantly, the progress of computer science during the same period and the rapid development of what is now called information technology (IT) produced the instruments needed to create, manage, and diffuse complex bodies of data. I started thus developing a catalogue of Greek medical manuscripts that was not intended to be only a list, but would also contain a codicological, paleographical, textual, and historical analysis of the manuscripts.

In 1989, at the conference of the International Society for the History of Sciences held in Hamburg and Munich, I presented such a research program, then entitled *Corpus of Greek Medical Manuscripts*, at the session specially devoted to computerized access to medieval and Renaissance manuscripts (624), and, in 1991, I presented it in more detail at the conference *Testi medici greci* held in Capri (625).

The continual progress in IT, however, invited caution so as not to definitively shape a research program that should quickly have to be reshaped. In the early 1990s, the DB III software represented the most advanced tool for database building. However limited it seems now, it

(622) The list of these manuscripts can be found in Touwaide, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 3-4. On the works, see above, note 62.

(623) These microfilms are part of the *Historia Plantarum* collection curated by the Institute for the Preservation of Medical Traditions, currently hosted in the Botany Department of the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. (U.S.A.). A similar collection was created by Henry Sigerist (1891-1957) at the Johns Hopkins Institute for the History of Medicine in Baltimore, MD (see Schalick, 1997). For other collections of microfilms, see the *Vatican Library* at Saint Louis University, St. Louis, MO, and the *Ambrosian Library Microfilm Project* at Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN. See also the collection of the Hill Monastic Library at St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.

(624) Touwaide, 1991.

(625) Touwaide, 1992.

opened promising paths for a systematic storage and an easy retrieval (including according to changing parameters) of the information resulting from the analysis of the several components of manuscripts. Nevertheless, publication was still problematic because such traditional media as paper (in whatever form – monographs, articles in scientific journals, or even loose leaves) and microfiche (which was already nearing obsolescence) made updates difficult and needed either frequently published supplements, which are cumbersome to use, or the regular publication of new and revised editions, something that did not seem to be cost effective.

The increase of computer memory capacity and processing speed, as well as the development of new software (particularly for databases) and the generalized use of Internet offered the solution to these problems by allowing more powerful and flexible data processing systems, and a medium for publication that makes integrated updates constantly and immediately possible.

9. A first step toward any catalogue of Greek medical manuscripts is the creation of an index of the items listed in Diels' catalogue. Such an index, which I compiled manually as early as 1985 (as did also, and independently from me, the late Josef A. M. Sonderkamp [1953-1990] with whom I had the privilege to be in contact), was of limited use and needed to be expanded into an accurate and updated world checklist of currently preserved Greek medical manuscripts. I began research for the task in the late 1980s, in a time when the Internet was not in general use. Relying on printed catalogues of manuscripts and, at that time, on traditional mail, I was able to revise much of the information in Diels' catalogue. In an ongoing process, I have continued since to cross-check the information collected then, taking advantage in recent times of the many resources available on the Internet and the dramatic transformation of means of communication, principally email.

To be a useful reference work, such checklist of Greek medical manuscripts needs to meet two major requirements : on one hand, it should list all the items mentioned by Diels, together with the references to their citations in the catalogue, and, on the other hand, it should make it possible to locate manuscripts according to their current location and identification. Additionally, it should complete Diels' catalogue by including the codices overlooked at that time or made known to the scholarly community since then through newly published catalogues of

Greek manuscripts or other publications. This is the object of the checklist of which a specimen is published here.

To meet the first two requirements above, a double system of entries has been created. In one, manuscripts are listed according to their mention in Diels, literally reproduced (city name, library name, collection when appropriate, and shelfmark), even if any of the identification elements of the manuscripts are incomplete, erroneous, obsolete, or defective in whatever way. When necessary, however, Diels' information is supplemented with the correct information to make it possible for the users of Diels' catalogue to locate the manuscripts today. These entries include references to each mention of the manuscripts according to the system above [626]. All data reproduced from Diels' catalogue are printed in bold type.

The primary entry for each manuscript in this system is numbered sequentially in brackets (e.g. [1]) in the left margin of the pages, so as to make cross-references possible. The purpose of this system of entries is twofold : to make it possible to find within Diels' catalogue all the mentions of any manuscript included in the catalogue, and, when necessary, to provide the reader with the current location and possible new shelfmark of such item.

Data in the second system of entries refer to the current state of collections. Such data include location, library name, collection, and shelfmark of the manuscripts. Data in this second system are printed in normal type so as to be easily distinguished from those reproduced from Diels' catalogue, which are in bold.

For each item, the checklist provides a reference to the standard printed catalogue of the libraries owning the manuscripts. Such reference appears in the rubric where the manuscripts are cited according to their current shelfmark.

10. In this revision of Diels' catalogue, works taken into consideration are those in Diels' catalogue, thus also including such works as Euteknios' paraphrases of Nicander, *Thêriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*. Nevertheless, other items have been introduced. These are not only manuscripts that escaped the attention of Diels' collaborators or that have been brought to the attention of the scholarly community thanks to

(626) See note 435.

new catalogues of manuscripts, but also works that were known in Diels' time, but were not included in his catalogue because of the definition of Greek medicine commonly accepted when Diels' catalogue was prepared (627). The works newly introduced in this way are those that were considered to be medical in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, that were related to the theory or practice of medicine, or that were used in – or resulted from – the practice and teaching of medicine. This definition includes the prescriptions, iatromathematics, oneiromancy in as much it refers to health, or notes of any kind by single individuals, for instance. Since these texts were not included in Diels, their main content is briefly identified (628), and an index of them is provided (which includes the list of the manuscripts containing each of the texts) to make it possible for the users of the checklist who are interested in a specific work, in a theme, or in the codices of a work to find them. It is to be expected that the number of newly introduced texts will increase in the future, not only because further manuscripts could be added to the present list, but also – if not above all – because the identification of the texts in the manuscripts will become more accurate as as work is done on the manuscripts directly and no longer on the catalogues as is now the case.

To be as useful as possible, in addition to this index of new texts, the list includes several other indices : Latin manuscripts, Arabic manuscripts, manuscripts listed in the catalogue but already destroyed when it was compiled, manuscripts destroyed after the publication of the catalogue, and also a list of the libraries where the manuscripts are held (alphabetical by current names of cities and libraries following the model of Olivier, 1995), together with their current addresses.

11. The checklist of manuscripts of which a specimen is presented here will be published in its entirety as a monograph. In the meantime, the index of Diels' catalogue will be freely available on the Internet at the following Web site : http://medicaltraditions.org. This index will reproduce the information of the original catalogue exactly as it is in the catalogue, without any of the corrections or complementary information described above.

(627) Diels' catalogue is much focused on the classical authors, particularly Hippocrates and Galen, whose manuscripts amount for more than 62% of the total number of items listed in the catalogue. Furthermore, only a limited number of Byzantine medical authors has been taken into consideration by Diels and his collaborators.

(628) Major text(s) only.

12. Following publication of the complete checklist just described, the research will move into a final phase – the production of the catalogue of manuscripts with medical content as explained above. In such a catalogue, each manuscript contained in the checklist (identified by the sequential number in the checklist) will be described in four sections : codicology and paleography ; contents ; history ; bibliography. All information will be indexed (mainly format, period of copy, place of copy, copyist, watermark, owners, previous collections). Also, an index of manuscripts by texts will be available, which will eventually replace Diels' catalogue.

So that the details about each manuscript can be kept current and to allow for the inclusion of new research and, perhaps, of newly found manuscripts, the catalogue will be published on the Internet. If the index of manuscripts by works will serve as a basis for the critical edition of texts as did Diels' catalogue, the other indices and multi-criteria research will provide the necessary information for the study of the history of the texts, the history of the practice of medicine as recorded by the texts and their manuscripts, the history of medical thought and teaching, and, last but far from least, the history of the place of medicine in the daily life of Byzantine owners, readers, and users of these books, something that will go well beyond what is provided by Diels' catalogue.

Part 3. Checklist of manuscripts in the United Kingdom and Ireland based on an index of Diels' catalogue

Corrigenda et addenda

no. [31] : delete (same as [47]) ;
ad no. [96], add : on the Erevan fragment of manuscript, see now R. V. Chétanian, Catalogue des fragments et manuscrits grecs du Matenadaran d'Erevan, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 69-70 (with a black and white reproduction on p. 69).

[Amsterdam] (NL), **Universitäts-Bibliothek**

[Amstelodam. ?] I.109. This ms. is in fact [139] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D'Orville 3, and not Leiden, D'Orville 3 as in Perilli, 1999, p. 431 and n. 8, 434, 437), corrected in Perilli, 2000, p. 28 n. 1.

Bethesda, MD (USA), U.S. National Institutes of Health, National Library of Medicine, History of Medicine Division

MS. 82 Census : see [24] ; Tunis, 1989, p. 6.

Cambridge (UK)

[Ashmol.]

[7751] I.5. Latin ms., actually in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1285.

Caius Coll. (Gonville and Caius College)

[1] **47** I.68, 74, 91, 122. See also below **[946]**. Now Gonville and Caius College Library, 47/24.

[2] **50** I.4, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 (2), 24 (2), 25, 26 (2), 27, 28, 29 (2), 33, 34 (2), 35 (2), 48 (2) ; II.93. Now Gonville and Caius College Library, 50/27.

[3] **76** I.11, 29, 80 ; II.109. See also below **[949]**. Now Gonville and Caius College Library, 76/43.

[4] **77** II.11. Now Gonville and Caius College Library, 77/44.

[5] **355** I.5, 12, 73, 79 (2), 111. See also below **[948]**. Now Gonville and Caius College Library, 355/582.

[6] **360** I.63, 65, 91. Now Gonville and Caius College Library, 360/587.

[946] I.68, 120. Same as [1].

[948] I.111. Same as [5].

[949] I.80. Same as [3].

[954] I.5. Latin ms., now Gonville and Caius College Library, 59/153.

[959] I.21. Latin ms., now Gonville and Caius College Library, 95/47.

[962] I.12. Latin ms., now Gonville and Caius College Library, 345/620.

[1134] I.5. Latin ms., no longer preserved.

[6605] I.120. Incorrect information taken from Ackermann, *Historia literaria*, in Galeni *Opera omnia*, ed. Kühn, vol. 1 (1821), p. 188, where the manuscript referred to is identified as *Cantabr. Caius Coll. n. 946.6605*. It thus seems that this item should be the same as no. [946] above. However, neither that manuscript nor the other one mentioned in the same notice by Ackermann (a *Vossianus* not better identified) seem to contain the text identified as *Galeni de abortivo foetu*. On the other hand, the number 6605 does not seem to come from any previous catalogue of the Gonville and Caius collection, and is of unknown origin.

Cambridge University Library

[7] Ee. 5. 7 Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, representations of plants. Browne, 1900, p. 307.

Ff. 3. 30 See [10]. Catalogue ULCambridge, 1856-67, vol. 2, pp. 426-429.

Gg. 1. 2 See [11]. Catalogue ULCambridge, 1856-67, vol. 3, pp. 8-14.

Kk. 5. 7 See [9]. Catalogue ULCambridge, 1856-67, vol. 3, p. 677.

Ll. 4. 12 See [12]. Catalogue ULCambridge, 1856-67, vol. 4, pp. 61-66.

Ll. 5. 4 See [13]. Catalogue ULCambridge, 1856-67, vol. 4, pp. 88-92.

[8] Mm. 1. 17 Index of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*. Catalogue ULCambridge, 1856-67, vol. 4, p. 109.

[Cantabrig.]

[9] **2049 (Kk V 7)** II.37. Now Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 7.

[2329] I.5. Latin ms., now Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 5.

Cantabrig. Bibl. Univ.

[10] **F. F. 3. 30** I.96, 118 ; II.9, 27. Now Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 3. 30.

[11] **Gg I 2** II.36. Now Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 2.

[12] **L l IV 12** I.21, 25, 26, 37 ; II.39. Now Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 4. 12.

[13] **L. L. 5, 4** I.11. Now Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 5. 4.

[Cath. Metens.]

[226] I.5. No church in Cambridge can be identified as *Cath. Metens.* This entry seems to refer instead to the cathedral church in Metz (France), which had until 1791 a collection of manuscripts. The item here is mentioned in Montfaucon, 1739, vol. 2, p. 1380. It was no. 174 in the collection of the city library in Metz (now Bibliothèque-Médiathèque Pontiffroy), and was destroyed in 1944 during World War II (*Catalogue général*, 1962, p. 7 for the fire of the collection, and 12 for this item). Kibre, 1985, p. 56, includes the manuscript in her list of Latin Hippocrates codices, even though she marks it with a * meaning "not examined".

Coll. St. Johann. (St John's College)

[14] **A6** II.70. Now St. John's College Library MS A.6.

Gonville and Caius College Library

47/24 See [1], and also **Caius Coll. [946]**. James, 1907, pp. 39-40.
50/27 See [2]. James, 1907, pp. 41-43.
76/43 See [3], and also **Caius Coll. [949]**. James, 1907, pp. 73-75.
77/44 See [4]. James, 1907, pp. 75-76.
355/582 See [5], and also **Caius Coll. [948]**. James, 1908, pp. 402-404.
360/587 See [6]. James, 1908, pp. 407-408.

[Pembroch.]

[2055] I.5, 12. Latin ms., now Pembroke College Library MS 228.

St John's College Library

A.6 See [14]. James, 1913, pp. 7-8.

[St. Petri]

[1866] I.5, 12. Latin ms., now Peterhouse Library Ms. 14.

Trinity Coll. (Trinity College)

[15] **1386** II.109. Now Trinity College Library, O.8.11. James, 1902, p. 308.

Trinity College Library

[16] O.4.17 *Variae lectiones in Nicandrum*. James, 1902, p. 269, nr. 1248.
O.8.11 See [15].

Cheltenham (UK), **Phillipps.**

[17] **3084** II.30. Now New Haven, CT (USA), Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Manuscript 31 vault.

[18] **3892** II.63. Now New Haven, CT (USA), Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Manuscript 33 vault.

[19] **4614** I.64, 65, 71 (2), 76, 83, 84, 93. Now New Haven, CT (USA), Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1121.

[20] **6665=6765** I.96. *Catalogus ... Phillipps*, 1837-71, p. 99, 101. In 1971 sold by Sotheby's (Sotheby, 1971, pp. 41-42, lot 498) to Alan G. Thomas Bookseller in London. Offered on sale by the latter in 1972 (Thomas, 1972, pp. 4-5 no. 5) and 1975 (Thomas, 1975, pp. 4-5 no. 4). According to Olivier, 1995, p. 222, should be in the Academy of Athens. The Academy, however, is unable to trace the manuscript.

[21] **6763** II.70 (2), 96. Now New Haven, CT (USA), Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Manuscript 34 vault.

6774 (ol. Meerm. 298) I.96. Mistake in Diels' catalogue : ms. Meerman 298 is Phillipps 6765 (see *Catalogus ... Phillipps*, 1837-71, p. 101) (see [20]).

[22] **21975** II.30, 31, 32, 34, 39 (2). Now New York, NY (USA), Morgan Library, MS M. 652.

[23] **23007** II.44. This item was a composite volume, made of three codices :
a) Galen, *De historia philosophica*.
b) *Iatromathematica*.
c) Pythagoras, *Golden verses*.
When the ms. was sold in 1978-79, it was divided into three mss. The two medical items are :
a) Galen, *De historia philosophica* : now in Provo, UT (USA), Brigham Young University, Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Vault 091 G13 1475.
b) *Iatromathematica* : private collection.

[24] **24, 386** I.89. Now Bethesda, MD (USA), National Library of Medicine, MS. 82 Census.

[Dublin] (IE)

[Bibl. Narcissi]

[1218] I.148. Arabic ms., now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Marsh 158.

[1709] I.42. Arabic ms., now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Marsh 379.

[cod. Brit. 502] I.10, 19. Latin ms., now Dublin, Trinity College Library Dublin, TCD MS 403. Same as **[Dublin], [Coll. Trinit.], [502]** below.

[Coll. Trinit.]

[502] I.5, 12. Latin ms., now Trinity College Library Dublin, TCD MS 403. Same as **[Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [cod. Brit. 502]** above.

Glasgow (UK)

Glasgow University Library, Special Collections Department
Hunter 271 (U.5.11) See [25].

Hunterian.

[25] **V. 5. 11** II.108. Now Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections Department, Ms Hunter 271 (U.5.11). Young, 1908, pp. 218-219.

Holkham (UK), **Bibl. des Gr. Leicester**

[26]	**nr. 282**	I.4, 5, 8, 10 (2), 11 (3), 12-13, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27 (2), 28 (2), 29 (2), 30, 31 (2), 32 (3), 33, 34, 35, 46 ; N.25 (3), 26 (3) (on both pages under Padua, S. Joann. in Viridario). Now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Holkham Gr. 92.
[27]	**nr. 283**	II.6 ; N.43 (under Padua, S. Joann. in Viridario). Now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Holkham Gr. 108.
[28]	**nr. 289**	II.36. Now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Holkham Gr. 112.
[29]	**nr. 293**	I.13 ; II.99. Now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Holkham Gr. 106.

London (UK)

[Bibl. eccl. Westmonast.]

[1100] I.89. This item seems to have been a Latin ms., which, in any case, was lost in the fire that destroyed part of the Westminster Abbey collections in January, 1695.

British Library

Additional : see **British Museum, Addit.**, and also :

[30]	5119	Anatomy, glossaries, prescriptions, medicines. Richard, 1952, p. 4.
[31]	8231	*Onomasticon in Dioscoridis librum De materia medica*. Richard, 1952, p. 8.
[32]	8240	Nicephorus, *Oneirocriticon*. Richard, 1952, p. 9.

Arundel : see **British Museum, Arundel.**, and also :

[33]	516	(f. 356v) *De hominis natura*. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 1-3.

Burney : see **British Museum, Burneian.**, and also :

[34]	97	(ff. 2-45v) Manuel Philes, *de animalium proprietate*. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 61-62.
[35]	124	(f. 88v) two extracts on medical matters. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 71-72.
[36]	125	Lexicography, among others Nicander. McKendrick, 1999, p. 73.
[37]	401	Index to words in Nicander. McKendrick, 1999, p. 80.

Harley : see **British Museum, Harleian.**, and also :

[38]	5564	(ff. 20v-21v) preparation of myrrh. McKendrick, 1999, p. 111.
[39]	5596	(ff. 50v-51) astrological plants. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 123-124.
[40]	5597	(ff. 9-19v, 22-42v) Artemidorus, *Oneirocriticon*. McKendrick, 1999, p. 124.
[41]	6322	(ff. 252v-266v), Synesius, *De insomniis*. McKendrick, 1999, p. 208.

Royal : see **British Museum, Regius**, and also :

[42]	16.C.ii	Medical prescriptions. McKendrick, 1999, p. 228.

Sloane : see **British Museum, Sloan.**, and also :

[43]	745	*Collectio hippiatrica*. Richard, 1952, p. 1.
[44]	3326	*Principia medicinae (graece et latine)*. Richard, 1952, p. 2.

Stowe : see **British Museum, Stowe.**

British Museum (now British Library)

Addit.

[45]	**5108**	II.29. Richard, 1952, p. 3.
[46]	**6898**	I.13, 92. Richard, 1952, p. 6.
[47]	**8231**	II.34. Richard, 1952, p. 8.
[48]	**10, 058**	I.114, 124, 125, 132-133 ; II.7, 14, 41, 58, 79, 80, 93. Richard 1952, pp. 12-13.
[49]	**11, 888**	I.68, 111. Richard, 1952, pp. 20-21.
[50]	**14620**	N.50. *Catalogue of Additions*, 1850, p. 83.
[51]	**17148**	N.50. *Catalogue of Additions*, 1864, p. 372.
[52]	**17, 900**	I.127-128, 134 ; II. 10, 33, 54, 102 (2). Richard, 1952, p. 29.
[53]	**28, 830**	I.42, 123. Richard, 1952, p. 52.
[54]	**34,060**	I.41. Richard, 1952, pp. 57-60.

Arundel.

	-	I.93. Probably same as **Arundel. 537**.
[55]	**537**	II.108, 109, 110. See also **Arundel.** - above. McKendrick, 1999, p. 19.
[56]	**538**	I.13, 17, 18, 20-21, 28, 29. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 19-20.

Burneian.

[57]	**75**	II.61. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 47-48.
[58]	**94**	I.119 ; II.59, 71, 89 (2). McKendrick, 1999, pp. 57-58.
[59]	**523**	I.58. McKendrick, 1999, p. 83.

Harleian.

[60]	**5611**	I.105. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 129-130.
[61]	**5625**	I.87 (2), 88 (2). McKendrick, 1999, p. 138.
[62]	**5626**	I.13, 41, 42, 75, 118, 123 ; II.3, 6, 15, 16-17, 56, 58, 91. McKendrick, 1999, p. 139.

[63]	**5635**	I. 38. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 143-145.
[64]	**5651**	I.85. McKendrick, 1999, p. 156.
[65]	**5652**	I.68. McKendrcik, 1999, p. 156.
[66]	**5679**	II.30, 32. McKendrick, 1999, p. 169.
[67]	**5685**	II.67. McKendrick, 1999, p. 170.
[68]	**6295**	I.5, 13, 41, 46 ; II.9, 40, 65. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 197-198.
[69]	**6301**	I.38. McKendrick, 1999, p. 201.
[70]	**6305**	I.89, 90, 117 ; II.7, 33, 79 (2), 106. McKendrick, 1999, pp. 202-203.
[71]	**6326**	II.17, 18 (3). McKendrick, 1999, pp. 209-210.

Regius

	12 F III	I.111. This is a Latin translation of [Galen], *Definitiones medicae*.
[72]	**16 C XI**	I.90. Now Royal. 16.C.xi. McKendrick, 1999, p. 232.
[73]	**16. C. XVI**	I.5 ; II.19. Now Royal. 16.C.xvi. McKendrick, 1999, p. 235.
	[1734, 4]	I.5. This seems to be a mistake, apparently referring to Harley 1734, ff. 105-105v (formerly pp. 205-206), which contains an English version of Hippocrates, *Prognostic*.

Sloan.

[74]	**804**	II.32. Richard, 1952, p. 1.
[75]	**2434**	II.6. Richard, 1952, p. 2.

Stowe

[76]	**1073**	I.5, 13, 17, 18, 77. Richard, 1952, p. 89.

Medical Society

[77]	-	I.150. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 83.
[78]	**AA a 1 = Xa 32**	I.40, 41, 47. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 14.
[79]	**A Ac 2 = Wf 15**	II.77. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 114.
[80]	**HHi 17 = We 30**	I.5, 13, 48, 100, 115, 125, 128, 131, 132-133 ; II.7, 79, 80, 98, 101, 102, 109. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 60.
[81]	**HH i 21. 22 = We 28. 29**	I.41, 131 ; II.7, 102, 108-109, 109, 110. See also below **We 29**. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 52 A&B.
[82]	**H Hi 23 = We 32a**	II.17, 18 (3), 89 (2). Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 62.
[83]	**NNa 11 = Wf 8**	II.110. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 112.
	We 29	II.48. Same as [81], vol. B.

[84]	**Wf 6**	II.71. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 126.
[85]	**Wf 7**	II.6. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 109.
[86]	**Wf 16**	II.109. Now London, Wellcome Library, MS. MSL 124.

Natural History Museum, Banks MSS

[87]	63	Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, representations of plants. No printed catalogue currently available.

Wellcome Library

[88]	MS. 289	Medical definitions. Moorat, 1962, p. 184.
[89]	MS. 344	Plant illustrations, with Greek names. Moorat, 1962, pp. 219-220.
[90]	MS. 354	Hippocrates, *Aphorismi* and *Prognostica* ; Stephanus of Alexandria, *Scholia in Progonostica*. Moorat, 1962, pp. 225-226.
	MS. MSL 14	See [78]. Dawson, 1932, p. 24.
	MS. MSL 52 A&B	See [81]. Dawson, 1932, pp. 59-60.
	MS. MSL 60	See [80]. Dawson, 1932, pp. 68-72.
	MS. MSL 62	See [82]. Dawson, 1932, p. 74.
	MS. MSL 83	See [77]. Dawson, 1932, p. 91.
	MS. MSL 109	See [85]. Dawson, 1932, p. 112.
	MS. MSL 112	See [83]. Dawson, 1932, p. 114.
	MS. MSL 114	See [79]. Dawson, 1932, pp. 115-116.
	MS. MSL 124	See [86]. Dawson, 1932, pp. 120-121.
	MS. MSL 126	See [84]. Dawson, 1932, pp. 122-123.
[91]	MS. MSL 135	Theophanes Nonnos (Chrysobalantes), *Epitome* ; *Synopsis of remedies and plasters* ; Psellus, *De victu ratione*. Dawson, 1932, pp. 130-131.

Los Angeles, CA (USA), The J. Paul Getty Museum

[92]	Ms. Ludwig XV 2 (83. MR. 172)	*Bestiary*. Sotheby, 1971, pp. 78-81 lot 515 (+ plates 18-20).

New Haven, CT (USA), Yale University

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

MS 1121	See [19]. Christie's, 2006, pp. 35-36, lot 22.

Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library

Manuscript 31 vault	See [17]. Bond, 1962, p. 61.
Manuscript 33 vault	See [18]. Bond, 1962, p. 61.
Manuscript 34 vault	See [21]. Bond, 1962, p. 61.

New York, NY (USA)

Morgan Library
MS M. 652 See [22]. Bond, 1962, p. 352.

[Norfolk]

[nr. 3189] I.13. A manuscript containing Hippocrates' *Aphorismi* appears in Bernard, 1697, vol. 2, p. 80, no. 3184 (and not 3189 [a Psalter] as quoted in Diels). It was part of a group of Latin codices donated by the Duke of Norfolk to Gresham College in London (Bernard, 1697, vol. 2, p. 84). In the current state of research this codex cannot be traced.

Oxford (UK)

Bibl. Aedis Christi (Christ Church Library)

[93]	**34**	I.56, 149. Kitchin, 1867, p. 20. Now Christ Church MS. gr. 34.
[94]	**81**	II.17, 18 (2), 19. Kitchin, 1867, p. 30. Now Christ Church MS. gr. 81.

Bibl. Bodleiana (Bodleian Library)

	[cat. mss. Angl. 1355]	I.61. Latin ms., now Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Lat. 65. Same as **Laudian. [1355]**.
	[cat. mss. Angl. 1552]	I.61. Latin ms., now Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 125.
	[Cat. mss. Angl. n. 2062]	I.117. Latin ms., now Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 483.
[95]	**- (Puschm. I p. 90)**	II.12. This is ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D'Orville 34. Madan, 1897, pp. 45-46, no. 16912.
[96]	***e 19 [31.528]***	II.30 (included in entry for **Edschmiadzin**). Now MS. Gr. class. e. 19. This is a set of photos of a fragment of manuscript (Dioscorides, *De materia medica*) in the ms. of Erevan, Matenadaran, arm. 141. Madan and Craster, 1924, p. 62, no. 31528.
	[2753]	I.5. Latin ms., now Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F. 5. 30.
	[bibl. Brit. n. 3500]	I.135. Latin ms., now Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 19.

[Ashmol.]

[mss. Angl. 7638]	I.122. Latin ms., now Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1471.

[mss. Angl. 7787]	I.122. Same as above **[mss. Angl. 7638]**.

Auct.

[97]	**F. Inf. II 3**	I.13, 18 (2). See also below **T II 3** and **Miscell. 132**. Now MS. Marshall 72 (formerly MS. Auct. F. inf. 2. 3).
	T II 3	I.5, 56. This seems to be a mistake in Diels' catalogue. Current manuscript Auct. T. 2. 3 contains Euthymios Zigabenos (see Coxe, 1853, p. 758, Misc. 203). The item here should be Auct. F. inf. 2. 3, which contains, indeed, Hippocrates, *Prognosticon* (Diels, I.5) and three other Hippocratic treatises that might have been incorrectly identified as *Excerpta* (Diels, I.56). On item Auct. F. inf. 2. 3, see above [97].
[98]	**T II 10**	I.38. See also **Miscell. 210**. Now MS. Auct. T. 2. 10.

Baroccian.

[99]	**10**	I.41. Coxe, 1853, cols. 15-18. Now MS. Barocci 10.
[100]	**50**	II.4, 107. Coxe, 1853, cols. 70-78. Now MS. Barocci 50.
[101]	**51**	I.38. Coxe, 1853, cols. 78-79. Now MS. Barocci 51.
[102]	**76**	I.5. Coxe, 1853, cols. 128-138. Now MS. Barocci 76.
[103]	**82**	II.67. Coxe, 1853, col. 142. Now MS. Barocci 82.
[104]	**88**	I.44 (2), 121, 126, 128, 130, 131 ; II.6, 20 (2), 21, 34, 47, 57, 75, 77, 81. Coxe, 1853, cols. 152-153. Now MS. Barocci 88.
[105]	**94**	II.67. Coxe, 1853, cols. 159-160. Now MS. Barocci 94.
[106]	**111**	II.98. Coxe, 1853, cols. 181-185. Now MS. Barocci 111.
[107]	**131**	I.47, 56, 72, 78, 88, 110, 126 ; II.9 (2), 63, 75. Coxe, 1853, cols. 211-230. Now MS. Barocci 131.
[108]	**150**	I.41, 133 ; II.11, 17, 21, 33, 34, 38, 41, 49 (2), 56, 58 (2), 60, 69, 74, 80, 85, 86, 99, 100 ; N.67 (Theodoretus). Coxe, 1853, cols. 262-264. Now MS. Barocci 150.
[109]	**171**	II.69. Coxe, 1853, cols. 285-286. Now MS. Barocci 171.
[110]	**173**	II.66. Coxe, 1853, cols. 288-292. Now MS. Barocci 173.
[111]	**204**	I.4, 5, 8, 10, 11 (3), 12, 13, 18 (2), 19, 20 (3), 21 (2), 22 (2), 23 (2), 24 (3), 25 (2), 26 (2), 27 (3), 28 (2), 29 (2), 30 (3), 31 (2), 33 (2), 34 (3), 35 (2), 38, 66, 110 ; II.37, 93, 104. Coxe, 1853, cols. 358-361. Now MS. Barocci 204.
[112]	**216**	II.33. Coxe, 1853, cols. 376-383. Now MS. Barocci 216.
[113]	**220**	I.84 ; II.43. Coxe, 1853, col. 387. Now MS. Barocci 220.
[114]	**224**	I.43, 134 ; II.8, 28, 58, 71, 77, 80. Coxe, 1853, cols. 390-392. Now MS. Barocci 224.
	264	I.76. Mistake in Diels. The content cited by Diels corresponds to Barocci 224. For this manuscript see [114].

2304 II.109. No Barocci manuscript has a 2304 shelfmark. The origin of this number is unclear. Item 2304 in Bernard, 1697, vol. 1, p. 119, is not a medical manuscript (according to Bernard: *Distinctiones super Psalterium. De quantitate Syllabarum tractatus Metricus & Prosaicus, 342*). The text cited by Diels here (Actuarius, *De spiritus animali libri II*) appears in [144], now MS. Roe 15.

Canonician.

[115] **1** I.40, 47, 125, 130 ; II.7. Coxe, 1854, cols. 1-4. Now MS. Canon. Gr. 1.
[116] **44** I.84, 85. Coxe, 1854, cols. 50-51. Now MS. Canon. Gr. 44.
[117] **56** II.67. Coxe, 1854, cols. 63-65. Now MS. Canon. Gr. 56.
[118] **109** II.6 ; N.43. Coxe, 1854, col. 99. Now MS. Canon. Gr. 109.

Clarkian.

[119] **16 (18378)** I.41, 113, 133. Madan, 1897, p. 302, no. 18378. Now MS. E. D. Clarke 16.

Ger. Langbainii Advers.

[120] **2** I.41. Coxe, 1853, cols. 877-878. Now MS. Langbaine 2.

Is. Casauboni Advers.

[121] **4** I.72. Coxe, 1853, cols. 824-825. Now MS. Casaubon 4.
[122] **27** II.34. Coxe, 1853, cols. 839-840. Now MS. Casaubon 27.

Laudian.

[cat. mss. Angl. n. 877] I.133. Latin ms., now MS. Laud Misc. 617.
[123] **58 (nunc 59 ; Bodl. 708)** I.128 ; II.20, 88. Now MS. Laud Gr. 59.
[124] **62 (Bodl. 747)** II.110. Now MS. Laud Gr. 62.
[1013] I.5, 13. Latin ms., now MS. Laud Misc. 237.
[1252] I.13. Latin ms., now MS. Laud Lat. 106.
[1257] I.5. Latin ms., now MS. Laud Lat. 43.
[1355] I.5, 13. Latin ms., now MS. Laud Lat. 65. Same as **Bibl. Bodleiana [cat. Mss. Angl. 1355]**.
[125] **C 54 (nunc 56 ; Bodl. 706)** I.92. Now MS. Laud Gr. 56.
[126] **C 55 (nunc 57 ; Bodl. 707)** I.87, 88 (2), 89. Now MS. Laud Gr. 57.
[127] **C 57 (nunc 58, Bodl. 709)** I.63, 64, 65, 83-84, 85, 89, 91, 115. Now MS. Laud Gr. 58.
[128] **C 60 (Bodl. 749)** II.6. Now MS. Laud Gr. 60.

Miscell.

[129] - II.28. Corresponds to current MS. Rawl. G. 94.

[130] **20** I.70, 131 ; II.21, 40. Coxe, 1853, cols. 630-631. Now MS. Auct. E. 1. 6.
[131] **69** II.67. Coxe, 1853, col. 655. Now MS. Auct. E. 5. 4.
[132] **130** I.26, 77-78 ; II.99. Coxe, 1853, col. 696. Now MS. Auct. F. inf. 2. 1.
132 I.5, 13, 18 (2), 77. Same as [97]. Coxe, 1853, col. 697.
[133] **162** II.67. Coxe, 1853, cols. 714-715. Now MS. Rawl. G. 122.
[134] **189** II.6. Coxe, 1853, cols. 742-752. Now MS. Auct. T. 1. 11.
210 I.38. Same as [98]. Coxe, 1853, col. 767.
[135] **211** II.36. See also below **211 (Auct. T II 11)**. Coxe, 1853, cols. 767-770. Now MS. Auct. T. 2. 11.
211 (Auct. T II 11) N.50. Same as [135].
[136] **212** II.36. See also below **212 (Auct. T II 12)**. Coxe, 1853, col. 770. Now MS. Auct. T. 2. 12.
212 (Auct. T II 12) N.50. Same as [136].
[137] **241** II.79. See also below **241. Auct. T IV 3**. Coxe, 1853, cols. 788-789. Now MS. Auct. T. 4. 3.
241. Auct. T IV 3 II.109. Same as [137].
[138] **278** II.49, 68. Coxe, 1853, cols. 818-819. Now MS. Auct. T. 5. 16.

Orvillian.

[139] **X 1. 1. 3** I.101, 110, 111 ; II.37, 71. Now MS. D'Orville 3.
[140] **X 1. 4. 3** II.67. Now MS. D'Orville 105.
[141] **X 1. 4. 29** I.49. Now MS. D'Orville 131.
[142] **X 2. 6. 2 (= 432)** II.67. Now MS. D'Orville 432.

Roe.

[143] **14** II.6, 38. See also below **14 (260)**, **14 (Bodl. 260)**, and **XIV (260)**. Coxe, 1853, cols. 466-467. Now MS. Roe 14.
14 (260) I.41. Same as [143].
14 (Bodl. 260) II.63, 104. Same as [143].
[144] **15 (Bodl. 261)** I.125 ; II.10, 63, 102 (2), 109 (2), 110. See also below **15 (Bodl. 260 [261 *bei* Ackermann])**. Coxe, 1853, cols. 468-469. Now MS. Roe 15 see [114].
15 (Bodl. 260 [261 *bei* Ackermann]) I.128. Same as [144].
XIV (260) I.13, 34-35. Same as [143].

Bodleian Library

Auctarium

E. 1. 6 See [130].
E. 5. 4 See [131].
F. inf. 2. 1 See [132].

	T. 1. 11	See [134].
	T. 2. 10	See [98].
	T. 2. 11	See [135].
	T. 2. 12	See [136].
	T. 4. 3	See [137].
	T. 5. 16	See [138].
[145]	T. 5. 18	*Index Graeco-Latinus in Hippocratis opera*. Coxe, 1853, col. 819, Misc. 280.

Barocci

See **Bibl. Bodleiana, Baroccian.**, and also :

[146]	70	(ff. 379-381) Petosiris, *Prognosticon sive epistula ad Nechepsum*. Coxe, 1853, cols. 111-113.
[147]	84	(f. 174) *Remedium magicum contra morsum animalis rabidi*. Coxe, 1853, cols. 143-144.
[148]	87	(f. 33v) Portrait of the physician Ioannes Argyropoulos. Coxe, 1853, cols. 151-152.
[149]	108	(ff. 104-113) Gregorius Nyssenus, *De fabrica corporis humani*. Coxe, 1853, cols. 176-178.
[150]	144	(ff. 98v-174) Gregorius Nyssenus, *De opificio hominis*. Coxe, 1853, col. 247.
[151]	164	*Varia medica*. Coxe, 1853, col. 278.
[152]	228	(ff. 65-118) Gregorius Nyssenus, *De opificio hominis*. Coxe, 1853, cols. 393-394.

Canon. Gr.

See **Bibl. Bodleiana, Canonician.**

Casaubon

See **Bibl. Bodleiana, Is. Casauboni Advers.**

E. D. Clarke

See **Bibl. Bodleiana, Clarkian.**

Holkham

	Gr. 92	See [26]. Barbour, 1960, p. 609.
	Gr. 106	See [29]. Barbour, 1960, p. 611.
[153]	Gr. 107	Nemesius, *De natura hominis* (*partim*). Barbour, 1960, p. 612.
	Gr. 108	See [27]. Barbour, 1960, p. 612.
	Gr. 112	See [28]. Barbour, 1960, pp. 612-613.

Langbaine

See **Bibl. Bodleiana, Ger. Langbainii Advers.**

Laud Gr.

	56	See [125]. Coxe, 1853, col. 538.
	57	See [126]. Coxe, 1853, cols. 538-539.
	58	See [127]. Coxe, 1853, col. 539.
	59	See [123]. Coxe, 1853, cols. 539-541.
	60	See [128]. Coxe, 1853, col. 541.
[154]	61	(ff. 52-89) Psellus, *De cibariorum facultate, utilitate et noxia*. Coxe, 1853, cols. 541-542.
	62	See [124]. Coxe, 1853, col. 542.

Marshall

	72	See [97].

D'Orville

	3	See [139], and also **[Amsterdam], Universitäts-Bibliothek, [Amstelodam. ?]**. Madan, 1897, p. 38, no. 16881.
	34	See above **Bibl. Bodleiana – (Puschm. I p. 90)**. Same as [95]. Madan, 1897, pp. 45-46, no. 16912.
	105	See [140]. Madan, 1897, p. 62, no. 16983.
[155]	110	*Kuranis*. Madan, 1897, pp. 63-64, no. 16988.
	131	See [141]. Madan, 1897, pp. 68-69, no. 17009.
	432	See [142]. Madan, 1897, p. 121, no. 17310.

Rawlinson

[156]	G. 91	Nicandri, *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*. Coxe, 1853, col. 711, Miscell. 152.
	G. 94	See [129]. Coxe, 1853, col. 712, Miscell. 155.
	G. 122	See [133]. Coxe, 1853, cols. 714-715, Miscell. 162.

Roe

	14	See [143].
	15	See [144].

Selden

[157]	Selden Supra 15	(ff. 69v-75) Petrus Zyphomust, *Narratio physiologica*. Coxe, 1853, col. 592, no. 14.

Christ Church Library

See **Bibl. Aedis Christi.**

Christ Church MS. gr. 34 See [93].
Christ Church MS. gr. 81 See [94].

[Coll. Merton.]

[685] I.63, 91. Latin ms., now Merton College Library, 218.
[687] I.5, 13. Latin ms., now Merton College Library, 220.
[688] I.5, 13. Latin ms., now Merton College Library, 221.
[689] I.5, 13. Latin ms., now Merton College Library, 222.
[722] I.13. Latin ms., now Merton College Library, 255.
[729] I.49. Latin ms., now Merton College Library, 262.

[Coll. Novi]

[1130] I.13. Latin ms., now New College Library, MS166.
[1134] I.13. Latin ms., now New College Library, MS170.

[Eccl. Wigorn.]

These mss. are not in Oxford, but in Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library.
[745] I.97-98. Probably Latin ms., Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.96.
[768] I.13. Probably Latin ms., Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, F.85.
[1760] I.5. Probably Latin ms., Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, F.85.

Provo, UT (USA)
Brigham Young University
Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections
Vault 091 G13 1475 See [23] a). Kraus, 1978, no. 16.

Indices

The column on the left provides the current location, library, and shelfmark of manuscripts. The column on the right provides the identification of the manuscripts according to Diels' catalogue.

Arabic manuscripts

Oxford
Bodleian Library
Marsh
158 [Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [1218].
379 [Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [1709].

English manuscript

London
British Library
Harley
1734 London, British Museum, Regius, [1734, 4].

Latin manuscripts

Cambridge
Gonville and Caius College Library
59/153 Cambridge, Caius Coll., [954].
95/47 Cambridge, Caius Coll., [959].
345/620 Cambridge, Caius Coll., [962].
Pembroke College Library
228 Cambridge, [Pembroch.], [2055].
Peterhouse Library
14 Cambridge, [St. Petri], [1866].
University Library
Ii. 2. 5 Cantabrig., [2329].
Dublin
Trinity College Library Dublin
403 [Dublin], [Bibl. Narcissi], [cod. Brit. 502].
[Dublin], [Coll. Trinit.], [502].
London
British Library
Royal
12 F iii London, British Museum, Regius 12 F III.
Gresham College
no number [Norfolk], [nr. 3189].
Westminster Abbey
no number [London], [Bibl. eccl. Westmonast.], [1100].

Oxford
Bodleian Library
Ashmole
1285 Cambridge, [Ashmol.], [7751].
1471 Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [Ashmol.], [mss. Angl. 7638].
Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [Ashmol.], [mss. Angl. 7787].
Auct.
F. 5. 30 Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [2753].
e Mus.
19 Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [bibl. Brit. n. 3500].

Bodl.	
483	Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [Cat. mss. Angl.· n. 2062].
Laud Lat.	
43	Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, Laudian., [1257].
65	Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [cat. mss. Angl. 1355]. Oxford, Laudian., [1355].
106	Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, Laudian. [1252].
Laud Misc.	
125	Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, [cat. mss. Angl. 1552].
237	Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, Laudian., [1013].
617	Oxfod, Bibl. Bodleiana, Laudian., [cat. mss. Angl. n. 877].
Merton College Library	
218	Oxford, [Coll. Merton.], [685].
220	Oxford, [Coll. Merton.], [687].
221	Oxford, [Coll. Merton.], [688].
222	Oxford, [Coll. Merton.], [689].
255	Oxford, [Coll. Merton.], [722].
262	Oxford, [Coll. Merton.], [729].
New College Library	
166	Oxford, [Coll. Novi], [1130].
170	Oxford, [Coll. Novi], [1134].
Worcester	
Worcester Cathedral Library	
F.85	Oxford, [Eccl. Wigorn.], [768]. Oxford, [Eccl. Wigorn.], [1760
Q.96	Oxford, [Eccl. Wigorn.], [745].

Manuscripts destroyed at Diels' time (identification according to Diels' catalogue)

Cambridge, Caius Coll., 1134
[London], [Bibl. eccl. Westmonast.], [1100].

Manuscripts destroyed after Diels' publication (identification according to Diels on the left and to the library system at the moment of destruction on the right)

Cambridge, [Cath. Metens.], [226]	Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 174

Manuscripts not identified (identification according to Diels)

[London], [Bibl. eccl. Westmonast.], [1100].
[Norfolk], [nr. 3189].

Texts newly introduced

(reference to the sequential number in the checklist)

Anatomy [30]
Astrology [39]
De hominis natura [33]
Bestiary [92]
Glossaries [30]
Hippiatrica [43]
Indices [8], [37], [145]
Kuranis [155]
Lexicography [36]
Medicine (general) [30], [35], [88], [151]
Myrrh [38]
Oneirocritica [32], [40]
Petosiris [146]
Petrus Zyphomust [157]
Philes, Manuel [34]
Plant representations [7], [87], [89]
Plants [39]
Portrait of a physician (Argyropoulos) [148]
Prescriptions and remedies [30], [42], [91], [147]
Principia medicinae [44]
Psellus [91], [154]
Synesius [41]
Theophanes Nonnos (Chrysobalantes) [91]
Variae lectiones [16]

List of libraries owning Greek medical manuscripts

(alphabetical order of city names)

National Library of Medicine
8600 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20894
United States

The Library
Gonville and Caius College
Trinity Street
Cambridge CB2 1TA
United Kingdom

The Library
St John's College
St John's Street
Cambridge CB2 1TP
United Kingdom

Trinity College Library
Trinity Street
Cambridge CB2 1TQ
United Kingdom

University Library
West Road
Cambridge CB3 9DR
United Kingdom

Special Collections Department
University of Glasgow Library
Hillhead Street
Glasgow G12 8QE
Scotland, United Kingdom

Manuscript Collections
The British Library
96 Euston Road
London NW1 2DB
United Kingdom

Wellcome Library
The Wellcome Trust
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE
United Kingdom

Library and Archives
Natural History Museum
Cromwell Road
London SW7 5BD
United Kingdom

The J. Paul Getty Museum
1200 Getty Center Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90049-1687
United States

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Yale University
121 Wall Street
New Haven, CT 06511
United States

Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library
Sterling Hall of Medicine
Yale University
333 Cedar Street
New Haven, CT 06520
United States

The Morgan Library and Museum
225 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016
United States

Department of Special Collections
& Western Manuscripts
Bodleian Library
Broad Street
Oxford OX1 3BG
United Kingdom

Christ Church Library
Oxford OX1 1DP
United Kingdom

L. Tom Perry Special Collections
Harold B. Lee Library
Brigham Young University
Provo, UT 84602-6800
United States

Part 4. Bibliography

Key to the bibliographical abbreviations used in the notes:

ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*
BNP	See H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.)
BNP-Cl.Trad.	See M. Landfester (ed.)
DBF	*Dictionnaire de biographie française*
DBI	*Dizionario biografico italiano*
DMA	See J. R. Strayer (ed.)
DSB	See C. G. Gillispie (ed.)
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*
NDSB	See N. Koertge (ed.)
ODB	See A. P. Kazhdan *et al.* (eds.)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

J. C. G. Ackermann, *Institutiones Historiae Medicinae*, Norimbergae, in Bibliopolio Bauero-Manniano, 1792.

F. Adams, *The Medical Works of Paulus Aegineta, the Greek Physician, translated into English; with a Copious Commentary, Containing a Comprehensive View of the Knowledge Possessed by the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, on All Subjects Connected with Medicine and Surgery*, vol. 1, London, J. Welsch, Treuttel, Würts, 1834.

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SUMMARY

Greek manuscripts containing medical texts were inventoried at the beginning of the 20th century by a team of philologists under the direction of Hermann Diels. The resulting catalogue, however useful it was when new and still is today, needs to be updated not only because some manuscripts have been destroyed, certain collections and single items have changed location, new shelfmark systems have been sometimes adopted and cataloguing has made substantial progress, but also because in Diels' time the concept of ancient medicine was limited, the method used in compiling data was not standardized and, in a time of manual recording and handling of information, mistakes could not be avoided. The present article is an introduction to a new catalogue of Greek medical manuscripts. In the first part, it surveys the history of the heuristic and cataloguing of Greek medical manuscripts from the 16th century forward ; in the second part, it highlights the problems in Diels' catalogue and describes the genesis and methods of the new catalogue, together with the plan for its completion ; and, in the third part, it provides a sample of such new catalogue, with a list of the Greek medical manuscripts in the libraries of the United Kingdom and Ireland.

COMPTES RENDUS

Valentina Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord. Lists, Mysticism, and Magic*, Chicago (IL) et Londres, The University of Chicago Press, 2008, xi + 238 pages. ISBN 978-0-226-38870-0.

The present book looks into the phenomenon of the making, meaning and purpose of Christian lists of divine names. In her introduction (pp. 1-14), Valentina Izmirlieva defines her goal thusly (p. 2) : 'When I claim that I am concerned with the Christian practice of listing God's names, I mean not so much the way these lists are put together as the way they are put to use. What do lists do in Christian praxis ? What is their locus in life, their intentional justification, their enduring appeal for Christian communities ? How does their performance change in shifting contexts ? What do they accomplish for the people involved in their production and exchange ? These and similar questions define the telos of this book'. The following part of the introduction engages into a brief presentation of the topic from a tropological point of view, stressing the need for a correct terminology. The principle of order, of great importance for the present undertaking, is theoretically questioned and discussed. The order that characterizes erotapocritical treatment of divine names has a symbolic bearing that should not be ignored. The introduction concludes with a presentation of the materials of both case studies that make out the core of the book. This opening is useful, since it not only provides interesting insights but hints at the author's focal points as well : order and symbolism. One small suggestion for improving the introduction's argumentation could be the following one : in the process of reaching three key-words (order, lists and names), Izmirlieva discusses verbal rhetoric in Christianity (pp. 4-14). The number one source, however, not only for Christianity but for Judaism as well, is overlooked : the Bible. Although its first verses may be one of the best known examples of order and it enhances a manifold of onomastical lists, biblical evidence goes by unnoticed. That is a shame, since one can figure that it is that evidence that spawned Christian concern for lists of divine names and for other related topics, such as the important status of 'the name' (השם) in Jewish and rabbinic thought.

The methodological introduction is followed by the first of two case studies, which uses a *theological* perspective, treating Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite's

treatise *The Divine Names*. The second one approaches the topic of Christian list making practices from a *magical* point of view, taking a closer look at a Slavonic amulet. Izmirlieva explains the choice of these two texts as follows (p. 12) : 'The unlikely pairing of one of the most visible texts in Christian theology with an amulet of obscure, heterodox origin and rather provincial fame proves to illuminate a common concern at the heart of Christian culture. The two texts represent – from their respective positions of authority in the Christian field – two alternative models for listing the names of God that coexist, more or less unproblematically, in Christian practice : the open-ended list, and the closed, numerical catalogue that defines the limit of expansion by a particular number'. Although presenting its set-up in the way described above, the book cannot hide that both individual subjects, Ps.-Dionysius and the Slavonic codex, do not receive the same attention. The present reviewer has the impression that Izmirlieva, herself an associate professor in the Slavic Department at Columbia University, is more interested in the second topic than in the first one. This is not only indicated by secondary elements as the book's title, the introduction and the mere length of both case studies, but by their contents as well.

Izmirlieva summarizes the results of her investigations into Ps.-Dionysius (pp. 17-66) by stating that '[his] treatise *The Divine Names* is a creative synthesis of preexisting and often conflicting Christian theories and concomitant rhetorical practices of naming God' (p. 23). Her opting for this particular work could best be explained by the highly important status it received in subsequent tradition – a status which Izmirlieva refers to more than once. Claims that its authority was second only to that of the Bible itself (p. 10), however, seem rather unwarranted, especially since she fails to provide any concrete examples of this reception history. In general, realia concerning this work and its author are rather rare. Most references to the work in question can be found in the endnotes only and they are rarely adduced as primary material. A minor suggestion may be that those pages (30-36) that are directed towards the Christian reception of pagan (mostly Neoplatonic) conceptions of the Λόγος (*c.q.* ὄνομα) could have benefited from the briefest of digressions on Philo of Alexandria, who, although himself Jewish, has proven to be quite important for the embracing of Neoplatonic thoughts by monotheistic ones, Jewish *and* Christian.

The second case study (pp. 69-149) looks into ms Slav *Jerusalem* 22 (1498), a section of which 'seems to represent a mixed or transitional form of the erotapocritical summary that features the 72 names of the Lord and the 72 names of the Theotokos in the form of lists' (p. 97). As said before, this second and last study is developed more thoroughly than the first one. Without a doubt this fascinating topic is treated with care and genuine interest. Firstly (pp. 69-96), Izmirlieva engages into a discussion of the significance of the use of the number 72 in various lists, adducing evidence from other occurrences of that number in lists of the apostles, languages after Babel, Septuagint translators etc. The treatment of this topic is quite enlightening, but it could have benefited from a clearer distinction between the actual evidence for making the point (72 as the ideal quorum) on the one hand and mere illustrations on the other. The way in which now e.g. Old-Egyptian evidence, Jewish apocrypha, Dante and Wolfram von Eschenbach are mentioned in one and the same breath (pp. 82-85) is confusing and ignorant of chronological discrepancies. The aphoristically put reference to 'the well-attested affection of Luke for the Septuagint text' (p. 91) is to be ignored. The centre part of the second case study focuses on the origins of the codex's contents. This encompasses not only a brief but interesting drawing of the chronological, geographical and cultural realia of the Balkan area (pp. 97-103) but an extensive overview of the religious origins as well. These pages (104-131) are the most fascinating ones of the entire book, at least in the present reviewer's opinion. In answering the question of the origins of the codex's lists, which in the past have been linked to Kabbalah, Izmirlieva not only provides persuasive answers but advances the discussion on a broader level as well. She looks into the Christian reception of Kabbalistic elements and combines these insights with a treatment of the characteristics of Christian magic and amulets. The fluent style in which Izmirlieva presents this difficult topic articulates a sincere enthusiasm. She concludes this case study with a description of the amulet's afterlife (pp. 132-149).

The epilogue (pp. 151-158) does not provide a clear-cut answer to the questions asked in the book's opening pages. Without a doubt this observation is linked to the rather independent status of both case studies : cross-references between both are rare, nor does the second one really build on the first one's conclusions. Some definitions of terms as 'amulet', 'magic' etc. may have proven useful.

All in all, this book provides interesting studies, especially that of the Jerusalem codex, which undoubtedly advances knowledge of a difficult and rather unknown and interdisciplinary subject.

R. Ceulemans.

C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East. Rough Tolerance*, Philadelphie (PA), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, viii + 272 pages. ISBN 0-8122-4050-2.

The First Crusade's impact on local Christian communities constitutes a topic rather popular in present-day scholarship. One of the books that articulates this renewed interest is C. MacEvitt's. The author's main goal, as voiced in the introduction, is to 'argue for a mode of social interaction between local Christians and the Franks in twelfth-century Syria and Palestine that I call "rough tolerance," which encompassed conflict and oppression, yet allowed multiple religious communities to coexist in a religiously charged land' (pp. 2-3). Showing that the Frankish Levant's religious and social climate allowed

identities to be flexible and that violence and tolerance did not exclude one another (cf. p. 14), MacEvitt introduces the model of rough tolerance.

The introduction (pp. 1-26) opens with a brief overview of the various Christian groups one could encounter in the 11th-century Middle East. Three of these groups – Melkites, Jacobites and Armenians – will be focused upon in the book's subsequent chapters (p. 12). Furthermore, MacEvitt surveys the state of the research on the social and political developments having taken place in the respective chronological and geographical areas. Evident focus lies on their genesis and function in the Crusade's aftermath. This overview is brief but to the point. MacEvitt emphasizes the point of view stimulated by the French school as well as the so-called segregationalist view – perspectives that he aims to replace with his suggested model of rough tolerance. The author's specific approach is illustrated by seemingly casual remarks on e.g. the necessity of differentiating between the terms 'crusaders' and 'Franks' and the pitfalls of writing the history of the Frankish east prior to the crusades as well as of the crusades themselves at the same time (pp. 18-19). To be sure, the following pages will mention the Franks as well as the Crusade's aftermath far more often than the crusade(r)s themselves : the book is mainly a study of these events' impact and consequences, not of their goals, methods and justifications.

This is exemplified by the highly succinct and rather superficial way in which MacEvitt surveys Urban II's goals in summoning the Crusade (pp. 47-49). These pages close the first chapter ('Satan Unleashed : The Christian Levant in the Eleventh Century' ; pp. 27-49), which refreshes the social and political state of Armenians, Jacobites, Melkites in the 11th-century Middle East. Their relations with Byzantine rule is highlighted briefly. The battle of Mantzikert and especially the achievements of the Armenian Philaretos are lingered over somewhat longer, for they can serve MacEvitt to compare the Crusade's impact with. The chapter's second half deals with the manner in which these Eastern Christian groups perceived their Western brethren and vice versa. Although contacts between both parties did occur prior to the dramatic 11th-century events, (Armenian) Levantine Christians exhibited little to no interest in Frankish Christians, who occur but seldom in contemporary Armenian literature. Expressed interest does occur the other way around : Western Christians did articulate an interest into the eastern world. However, this awareness was limited to this world's historical events and geographical characteristics, not to its Christian inhabitants. Rare interest in Eastern Christians, if any, did not transcend general notions of Greek Byzantine Christianity. MacEvitt's focus on this mutual ignorance in order to introduce the delicate equilibrium that both parties tried to reach when being confronted one with another, is well-chosen and to the point.

The second ('Close Encounters of the Ambiguous Kind : When Crusaders and Locals Meet' ; pp. 50-73) and third chapter ('Images of Authority in Edessa, 1100–1150' ; pp. 74-99) enter into the specifically military events having occurred in 11th-century Syria, with emphasis on the city of Edessa. This geographical demarcation of the Levant to Syria as a case in point does not bother, for this region offers more than enough material to confront MacEvitt's theory of rough tolerance with. Therefore his claim that such study is only *possible* with respect to Syria (and *a fortiori* impossible for other areas, e.g. Jerusalem) is unnecessary and not entirely convincing (cf. pp. 50 and 97). On the basis of a series of well-chosen historical events, taking place under the reign of Baldwin I, Baldwin II and Joscelin I, MacEvitt illustrates the gap between local Christians on the one hand and the Byzantine and Frankish understanding of that Christian world on the other. By appreciating a number of meaningful events, as for example Armenian warlords' responses to particular Frankish conquests, he convincingly proves the existence of regular alliances between Franks and local Christians (and between Christians, both Eastern and Western, and Muslims). The observation that such cooperation was the result of different (or even opposite) objectives, argues for the sense of the rough tolerance model. That this model of interaction takes place despite, rather than because of the guiding hand of the contemporary Frankish ruler is demonstrated by the occurrence of similar events during the reign of both Basil I and II, in which historical circumstances differed to a large extent. That this differently motivated, though undeniable, cooperation led to mutual influencing, is persuasively argued in the second half of the third chapter. In that sense, MacEvitt's adherence to the rather polemical comparison to the ancient Romanization of Mediterranean society is defendable (pp. 53-54).

After having treated military interaction, MacEvitt tackles ecclesiastical and social and legal relations in the fourth ('Rough Tolerance and Ecclesiastical Ignorance' ; pp. 100-135) and fifth chapter ('The Legal and Social Status of Local Inhabitants in the Frankish Levant' ; pp. 136-156) respectively. He shows that despite their ignorance of the precise religious status and matching rituals and beliefs of their Levantine fellow believers, Frankish Christians maintained close relations not only with Melkites, but with Jacobites and Armenians as well. Each of both parties (Western and Eastern) participated in the other's liturgy. Even more, MacEvitt clearly states that, although theoretically separated by belief and practice, 'the Franks deliberately linked their regime to the Byzantine and local Christian past of Syria and Palestine' (even as regularly as on a daily basis), as a 'deliberate and explicit message signaling Frankish participation in a shared Christianity' (p. 130 ; cf. p. 135). The fifth chapter argues against the view that, regarding all matters legal and social, Frankish did all but replace Muslim domination with a new and Western one.

The sixth and last chapter ('The Price of Unity : Ecumenical Negotiations and the End of Rough Tolerance' ; pp. 157-179) describes how the period of rough tolerance reached its end. MacEvitt argues that the main reason for this model of interaction to have ended were the ecumenical politics of Manuel I Komnenos. The emperor's attempts to reach ecumenical agreement with Armenian and Jacobite groups were quite unsuccessful, one even more disastrous than the other. Although not really touched upon by MacEvitt, the highly unstable and generally very negative relationships between the Frankish stay-behinds of the Second Crusade and Byzantium also constituted an undeniable factor that influenced the political, military and religious situation.

As depicted in the previous summary, MacEvitt's argumentation is quite convincing. On the whole, one is certainly willing to accept the proposed model of rough tolerance as an appropriate approach to this fascinating and continuously changing period of time. The least one can say, is that it certainly offers a point of view that should not be ignored by subsequent scholarship. MacEvitt's perspective relies upon a sound interpretation of the evidence at hand and constitutes a useful alternative for traditional views. It is the author's merit that he puts forward his theory, not by refuting those of his predecessors, but by interpreting the facts in a new light. The argumentation is a positive one, i.e. it takes the actual evidence as its starting point rather than traditional views thereof : this is certainly one of the book's attractions. This being said, it should be noted that the fifth chapter somewhat departs from this strategy. These pages do not take their starting point in the historical facts, but mainly refute the segregationalist view by pointing out its consistencies. MacEvitt argues that serfdom and other phenomena were not introduced by Franks in the First Crusade's aftermath. His main argument says that sources that claim this turn of events are in fact anachronistic, since most of them originated in the 13th century. Unfortunately, there are not too many sources that provide positive evidence for his theory, which is mainly based upon arguments against previous ones. It should not surprise that these pages make out the single less convincing part of the book.

A second point of criticism that one could articulate, would be the treatment of literary sources. It encompasses two observations. Firstly, a short introduction to some of the authors that occur regularly in the book, would have been useful, as not all readers are able to immediately identify authors such as Matthew of Edessa, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres. Since the written sources adduced as fundamental evidence include Armenian, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic literature, few readers will be familiar with all of them. Moreover, some considerations as to the social consequences of language differences would have proven useful. Secondly, literature's subjective character requires prudence. Although MacEvitt is certainly aware of the literary sources' one-sided and often propagandistic nature, he sometimes ignores the possible difference between the historical reality and the literary perception thereof (e.g. pp. 57 and 134 : *argumenta e silentio* should be treated with care !). As a case in point one can refer to pp. 106-110, which treats the Frankish involvement in the Jacobite religious community. Although literary sources tend to be mute concerning any of such cooperation, MacEvitt persuasively argues that 'contrary to the ignorance displayed in Latin texts, it is clear that the Jacobite church was an institution of keen interest to the counts [i.e., of Edessa]. (...) The silence of Latin sources was not a result of a lack of knowledge or interest on the part of the Frankish leaders, but a deliberate silence that allowed continued Frankish domination of local clergy' (p. 109). Proved as this Frankish involvement with the Jacobite community may be, the so-called deliberateness of the Latin sources' silence, is not.

Thirdly and lastly, it is a shame that the book's Greek quotations, scarce as they may be, are not only typographically very clumsy but even wrong (pp. 91 and 119).

These points of critique notwithstanding, MacEvitt's book, exponent of the present-day interest in the First Crusade, offers a fascinating and fresh perspective.

R. Ceulemans.

Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, *L'embryon et son âme dans les sources grecques (vi^e siècle av. J.-C. - v^e siècle apr. J.-C.)* (Collège de France, CNRS. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. *Monographies*, 26), Paris, Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007, 355 pages. ISBN 978-2-916716-14-5.

Le sujet de ce livre est très précisément exprimé dès le titre : il s'agit de l'embryon et de son âme tels qu'ils apparaissent dans les sources grecques entre le vi^e s. av. J.-C. et le v^e s. apr. J.-C. Si le cadre chronologique est presque toujours respecté, l'A. n'est pas aussi stricte en ce qui concerne les sources 'grecques', et heureusement : les sources rabbiniques et talmudiques ont aussi une place importante, ainsi que certains auteurs latins comme Jérôme, Augustin et Tertullien. Le but de l'ensemble est aussi très net : 'comprendre ce que les auteurs chrétiens de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge pensaient de l'embryon' ; or, pour parvenir à cette fin, 'on ne peut faire l'économie' d'une 'vision d'ensemble' qui embrassera 'Aristote, Hermès, Valentin, le Talmud, Mani, Galien ou Grégoire de Nysse' ; il fallait trouver 'dans les écrits de tous ces corpus ce qui est susceptible d'éclairer la façon dont fut envisagé l'embryon dans les premiers siècles du christianisme' ; si les différentes écoles de pensée constituent chacune 'un monde avec ses lois propres, il ne faut pas méconnaître que tous ces mondes s'interpénétraient beaucoup plus que nous ne sommes enclinés à le croire' (p. 7). En effet, c'est l'interpénétration des différentes écoles qui préoccupe tout particulièrement l'A., et c'est elle qui explique probablement les détours parfois trop longs qui encombrent ce livre, comme on le verra. De plus, l'intelligence de cette interpénétration est rendue souvent très difficile à cause de l'absence absolue de renvois avec numéro de page à ce qui précède ou ce qui suit (il y a seulement parfois de vagues renvois du genre 'nous avons déjà évoqué'). Cette absence de renvois est quelque peu palliée par l'index des sources ; mais outre le fait que cet index ne saurait pas toujours remplacer les renvois, il n'est pas toujours complet. L'absence d'un index des auteurs et des concepts-clés est aussi très regrettable, et rend d'autant plus difficile la recherche des endroits parallèles.

Cet ouvrage se divise en trois livres : le premier (pp. 37-130), qui pourra sembler à d'aucuns démesurément étendu, s'occupe des doctrines de l'âme préexistante ; le deuxième (pp. 131-175), de l'âme conçue comme inséparable du corps ; le troisième enfin de 'comment l'âme vient à l'embryon', mais cela seulement dans sa deuxième moitié (pp. 251-322), car ses deux premières sections s'occupent respectivement de l'embryon (pp. 182-239) et des âmes (pp. 240-251).

Livre un. *L'épopée de l'âme : la nébuleuse préexistentialiste.* Ce titre poétique porte sur les auteurs et les doctrines postulant la préexistence de l'âme. L'A., partant des présocratiques, arrive jusqu'aux auteurs qui ont eu quelque rôle dans la crise origéniste, en passant par Platon, les gnostiques, les manichéens, les 'variations du judaïsme hellénique'. La partie de ce premier livre qui concerne le plus les byzantinistes s'occupe de 'la tentation préexistentialiste dans la grande Église' ; celui à cause de qui 'l'épopée de l'âme (...) est entrée dans la grande Église' (p. 108), et qui a ici la place d'honneur, est évidemment Origène, auteur qui selon l'A. ne tire directement son hypothèse de la préexistence de l'âme 'ni de la Bible ni de la philosophie platonicienne ou néoplatonicienne (...). Elle apparaît chez lui comme le fruit de sa réflexion sur Dieu, de sa controverse avec les hérétiques et les philosophes, et d'une certaine façon alexandrine de lire la Bible' (p. 108). Signalons enfin que, dans ce livre et plus loin encore, l'A. utilise pour le *De natura hominis* de Némésios d'Émèse le texte d'Einarson enregistré dans le *TLG*, et pas l'édition critique de M. Morani (Leipzig, Teubner, 1987).

Livre deux. *Les irréductibles de l'âme non séparable.* Ce livre s'occupe des auteurs et des écoles de pensée qui considèrent l'âme comme étant inséparable du corps. Le point de départ sont encore une fois les présocratiques, suivis par Aristote qui conçoit l'âme, dans une définition célèbre, comme 'l'entéléchie (ἐντελέχεια) première d'un corps naturel organisé' (p. 140, citant Aristote, *De anima* 412b), même si ailleurs il distingue trois âmes, végétative, sensitive et intellective ou pensante (p. 139), dont les deux premières ne sont pas séparables, la troisième oui (p. 140). Plus loin, l'A. s'occupe de l'âme non séparable chez les médecins, ensuite du monisme sémitique ('l'anthropologie biblique, foncièrement moniste, semble à première vue incompatible avec le dualisme grec' qui seul permet la transmigration des âmes, avait-elle signalé dans le livre précédent, p. 55) et finalement des 'chrétiens contre l'épopée de l'âme'.

Livre trois. *Comment l'âme vient à l'embryon.* Avant d'aborder la question du titre, l'A. passe en revue les différentes doctrines sur les embryons, commençant encore une fois par les présocratiques dans le chapitre I, 'Un corps pour l'âme'. Le chapitre II, 'Des questions universelles', s'occupe des âmes, comme les deux premiers livres. C'est seulement dans la dernière partie de ce chapitre, et surtout au chapitre suivant (III. 'L'embryon, corps et âme'), que l'A., après s'être occupée séparément des âmes et des embryons, aborde le sujet crucial de leur union, à laquelle elle avait fait auparavant, bien entendu, des références sporadiques. 'Après un long détour, nécessaire pour éclairer le contexte', écrit l'A. à la p. 255, 'nous voici rendu au cœur de notre sujet : la rencontre de l'embryon et de son âme, ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler "l'animation de l'embryon"'. Le 'détour' était vraiment nécessaire ; mais fallait-il qu'il soit aussi long (plus de 200 pages dans un livre de moins de 300 pages de texte) ? Cette tendance encyclopédique, louable en soi parce qu'elle cherche à aller un peu plus loin et à élargir toujours les horizons, peut mener à perdre de vue le sujet véritable de l'ouvrage – celui qui d'ailleurs va intéresser le plus les lecteurs, et où réside le principal apport de l'A. : l'union de l'âme et de l'embryon.

Ici, la première question porte sur l'âme qui s'adjoint à l'embryon : d'où vient-elle ? Si c'est 'de l'extérieur', il y a plusieurs possibilités. Celle qui a séduit le plus les chrétiens orientaux, c'est le créatianisme, selon lequel les âmes sont créées à chaque instant et viennent ensuite s'adjoindre aux embryons. Sa popularité en Orient (dès le IVe s.) s'explique par le fait qu'il permettait de combattre la préexistence des âmes (p. 267). Parmi les Occidentaux, Augustin trouve problématique le créatianisme parce qu'il lui semble difficile de le concilier avec la doctrine du péché originel ; en effet, si les âmes sont créées toutes neuves chaque fois, comment pourrait-on leur imputer le péché d'un autre ? Augustin, lui, 'incline vers le traducianisme, sans enthousiasme mais avec persévérance' (p. 270), car ce n'est pas l'origine des âmes qui le préoccupe le plus, mais 'la compatibilité de l'opinion choisie avec le péché originel et la nécessité du baptême' : 'la transmission des âmes et leur création sont des opinions également admissibles', écrit-il contre Vincentius Victor, 'à condition de fournir des preuves tirées soit de l'Écriture soit du raisonnement' (p. 272). Le traducianisme, d'après lequel 'une âme préexistante (...) se manifeste en même temps que la conception du corps : celle d'Adam transmise à tous ses descendants' est condamné par le pape Anastase II à la fin du Ve s. (p. 273). Cette dernière notion apparaît, curieusement, dans la section concernant le créatianisme et pas le traducianisme, conséquence malheureuse d'une division analytique quelque peu aprioriste qui ne respecte pas toujours l'unité des sujets. La discussion sur le traducianisme ne commence explicitement que plus tard, à la p. 281.

Suit une discussion sur le statut de l'embryon : est-ce un végétal (compris évidemment comme ayant une âme végétative telle que la conçoit par exemple Aristote), ou encore moins qu'un végétal ? Est-ce un ζῷον (question qui d'ailleurs apparaissait déjà dans l'introduction du livre trois) ? Est-ce un être doué de raison ?

Puis on examine le moment où l'âme arrive dans le corps. À la naissance, comme le pensaient les platoniciens et les néoplatoniciens ? À la formation, comme semble l'indiquer la Bible dans la traduction des *LXX*, qui dans cet endroit diffère du texte massorétique (*Ex.* 21, 22-23 ; la discussion de ce passage, très nuancée, est une des plus belles du livre) ? Ou enfin à la conception, comme semblent le penser la plupart des auteurs chrétiens ?

Ceci nous amène à un des sujets qui brille par son absence dans l'ouvrage de Congourdeau : l'avortement. 'Nous avons délibérément laissé de côté, excepté en ce qui concerne le canon de Basile et l'exégèse de l'Exode, la question de l'avortement' (p. 336). Quelle en est la raison ? L'A. ne la donne pas. Mais quand elle s'occupe du sujet en passant, elle ne semble pas trop nuancer : 'en christianisme, l'opposition à l'avortement a été dès l'origine générale et absolue' (p. 327). (Remarquons en passant que le canon de Basile cité ci-dessus est le seul texte un peu long qui soit cité en grec ; d'habitude on ne lit que des traductions, sauf que certains mots importants sont parfois donnés en grec ou en latin).

Pour donner une vision concrète de la méthode de l'A., on prendra comme échantillon le début du troisième livre, en le mettant en rapport avec l'ensemble de l'ouvrage. La première section de ce chapitre, 'Un corps pour l'âme', s'intitule 'D'où vient le corps : la question de la semence'. La première division est 'A) Une ou deux semence(s) ?', la première sous-division '*Une semence*'. Suit une analyse plus ou moins chronologique : ce sont d'abord les Égyptiens qui ont soutenu la doctrine de 'l'unique semence paternelle' (p. 183) ; puis la littérature tragique (ici [p. 183], il y a une faute de traduction : l'Oreste d'Euripide ne dit pas 'Mon père m'a planté, toi [ma mère] tu m'as mis au monde comme un enfant', mais 'Mon père m'a planté [ou 'm'a engendré'], *ta fille* m'a mis au monde' : πατὴρ μὲν ἐφύτευσέν με, σὴ δ' ἔτικτε παῖς, *Orestes* 552), les présocratiques, notamment Anaxagore, Platon, Aristote, ensuite les stoïciens, finalement les médecins, dont il semble que seuls Athénée et Soranos aient défendu l'hypothèse de l'unique semence ; après, l'A. analyse la Bible, puis Philon, enfin quelques auteurs chrétiens. Il n'y a pas toujours de vraie synthèse, mais souvent une doctrine est présentée, puis une autre, sans que les ressemblances et les différences soient soulignées. Une indication typographique du changement d'auteur ou de sujet aurait rendu beaucoup plus facile la lecture et la relecture de ces pages, surtout que – on s'en souvient – il n'y a pas d'index d'auteurs.

La méthode générale du livre consiste donc à ranger thématiquement les différents auteurs et écoles. À l'intérieur de chaque section s'occupant d'un sujet particulier, par exemple de la doctrine de l'unique semence masculine, le critère est plus ou moins chronologique, comme on vient de le voir : la doctrine d'un auteur est expliquée, puis celle d'un second, et ainsi de suite. Avec une telle méthode, la monotonie devient inévitable. De plus, ce qui est unitaire est artificiellement morcelé, ou ce qui aurait été mieux expliqué ensemble est analysé à des endroits différents (on a vu le cas du traducianisme et du créatianisme).

Un autre problème engendré par cette méthode est la superposition d'explications, ainsi que la répétition de fragments ou d'idées qui sont pertinents en différentes sections. Un bon système de renvois aurait réduit l'impact de ces répétitions souvent très lourdes, et de plus aurait fait ressortir l'unité intime des différents sujets, qui peuvent à première vue sembler décousus. La structure de l'ouvrage n'aide guère, dans ce sens. À titre d'exemple, le chapitre II. 2. A. du troisième livre s'intitule 'D'où vient-elle [l'âme] ?' ; et quatre pages après, dans le chapitre III. 1., on rencontre de nouveau (bien que la perspective ne soit pas tout à fait pareille) la même question : 'D'où vient l'âme ?' De même dans le chapitre I. 1. A., déjà décrit, du même livre, 'Une ou deux semence(s) ?' divisé à son tour dans les sections '*une semence*' et '*deux semences*', face aux chapitres I. 2. A. ('Une seule semence') et I. 2. B. ('Deux semences'). La pertinence analytique est assurée, vu que dans le premier cas il s'agit de l'origine ou de la nature de la semence, dans le deuxième de la semence dans le 'mécanisme de la conception' ; néanmoins, une question s'impose : était-il utile de séparer analytiquement la question des une ou deux semence(s) en des chapitres différents, vu que cela mène à des redites et à une perte de vue de l'ensemble ?

De même, les répétitions d'extraits semblent parfois excessives : il y en a beaucoup qui apparaissent deux ou même trois fois identiquement (voir par exemple celui du corpus hermétique répété aux pp. 192 et 215, sans, ni la première ni la seconde fois, une véritable élaboration interprétative) ; un renvoi aurait pu permettre d'en éliminer un des deux, et en même temps aurait mis en relief les liens trop souvent implicites entre les différentes parties de l'ouvrage.

En outre, certaines parties semblent ne pas avoir trouvé leur place exacte dans l'ensemble : 'l'hypothèse de B. Pouderon' est présentée très succinctement à la p. 182, elle réapparaît à la p. 187 et encore aux pp. 194-195, sans jamais être développée (cette hypothèse soutient que les auteurs chrétiens ont privilégié la thèse de la semence unique 'par des préoccupations théologiques, pour minimiser l'apport de la femme dans la conception du Verbe incarné', p. 187). Remarquons enfin, plus généralement, que la littérature secondaire ne reçoit pas toujours l'attention critique qu'elle mériterait.

Le fait qu'une partie de ce compte rendu ait été critique ne devrait pas obscurcir les énormes mérites de l'ouvrage. On sait bien qu'à notre époque on préfère des sujets restreints, où tout est sûr et sur lesquels on peut être irréfutable ; l'A., en revanche, a eu le courage d'embrasser un sujet très ample en s'occupant aussi de ses aspects les moins connus, et c'est en osant cette vaste synthèse qu'elle éclaire d'une nouvelle lumière beaucoup de points obscurs. Bien que l'organisation de l'ensemble ne soit pas toujours adéquate, la superbe érudition de l'A., qui semble connaître par cœur toutes les sources primaires – car elle cite aux endroits justes non seulement Aristote, Grégoire de Nysse ou Origène, mais aussi le Talmud ou Shenouté –, étonnera certainement le lecteur. De même l'humour, qui pointe ça et là, par exemple : 'Pour parvenir à l'état antérieur incorporel et bienheureux, elle [l'âme, après des transmigrations dans des êtres inférieurs] devra, dans le corps où elle se trouve, dominer la

matière (ce qui ne sera pas vraiment facile pour celles qui seront descendues jusqu'à l'état de coquillage)' (p. 47) ; ou encore, en expliquant les idées des Pères apologistes orientaux en relation avec l'animation de l'embryon à la conception : 'Bien sûr, la réflexion est encore, si l'on peut dire, "embryonnaire"' (p. 315). Bref, ce livre, s'il n'est pas parfait, est un trésor d'érudition, et c'est un plaisir de le lire.

Les coquilles dans les mots grecs sont assez nombreuses. P. 49, σπινθῆρ au lieu de σπινθήρ ; p. 57, ψυχῶν ζώσων au lieu de ζωσῶν, σπίνθηρες au lieu de σπινθῆρες, et quelques accents graves où l'on attendrait des aigus ; p. 61, πνεῦματα ; p. 67, αἰωνῶν ; p. 114, note 428, les mots παραθήκη et παρακαταθήκη sont écrits convenablement, mais deux lignes plus bas l'accent se déplace : παρακαταθηκή, παραθηκή ; pp. 116-117, quatre fois νοές au lieu de νόες (à p. 143, note 553, faute analogue : Περὶ νόος au lieu de νοός) ; p. 126, χαλεπότατον au lieu de χαλεπώτατον ; p. 146, φύτον, ζῴον au lieu de φυτόν, ζῷον (φύτον *sic* se répète p. 244) ; p. 157, πρώτον au lieu de πρῶτον et εἶναι *sic* sans esprit ; p. 165, ἅπαξ ; p. 166 et 329 (dans le même texte cité à deux reprises), συντέθεν au lieu de συντεθέν ; p. 173, Πνεῦμα ἐστιν au lieu de Πνεῦμά ἐστιν ; pp. 205-206, συμπῆξις à deux reprises ; p. 214, πρωτή ; p. 225, διαρθρῶσις ; p. 242, deux fois θύμος au lieu de θυμός, et de même à p. 246 et 250 ; p. 244, ἑξις sans accent ; p. 265, γένεσθαι ; p. 266 et 271, προνοία ; p. 276, μεροί, vraisemblablement au lieu de μέρη ; p. 291, σχηματίζεταὶ *sic* ; p. 302, ἐξεικονίσμενον ; p. 315, ράνιδος *sic* au lieu de ῥανίδος ; p. 324, 'tu donneras ψυχῆς αντὶ ψυχῆς' au lieu de ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς.

T. Fernández.

Leontius van Neapolis. Leven van Johannes de barmhartige en Leven van Symeon de heilige dwaas, ingeleid en vertaald door W. J. Aerts en H. Hokwerda (*Grieks Proza*, 20), Groningue, Ta Grammata, 2006, xix + 111 pages. ISBN 90-808942-3-0 et 978-90-808942-3-5.

This publication presents the translation of two works of the sixth-century hagiographer Leontius of Neapolis, namely the life of John Eleemon and the life of Symeon (the Holy Fool) of Emesa. The translation of the former life was the result of a seminar at Groningen University supervised by W. J. Aerts in the late eighties and early nineties. The latter life was translated during a similar seminar in the mid-seventies and already published as volume 5 of *Monastieke Cahiers* (Bonheiden, 1977 and 1990²). Here it is reprinted in a revised version. Aerts and Hokwerda edited both translations to give them a greater coherence (a purpose in which they did not always succeed), and added an introduction in which the author, the lives, and their context are presented.

The aim of the book is clearly to make these early Byzantine texts accessible to a wider audience (the series *Grieks Proza* provides Dutch translations of mainly modern Greek works), but there is still a scholarly purpose, reflected in the references and explanations in the footnotes. Occasionally these two principles seem to conflict. At times, facts very familiar to the reader acquainted with Byzantine culture are somewhat redundantly explained, while at other points rather specialized remarks on Greek words are provided. Another recurring, popularizing phenomenon is the comparison (or even equation) of Byzantine ecclesiastical terminology with its western, Latin counterpart, a comparison that is not always very academic. Translating σύναξις by 'mis', for instance, is indeed a good translation for the purposes of vulgarization, but in a scholarly context the terms 'Mass' and 'Liturgy' are never used interchangeably.

In most cases the Greek text is rendered in contemporary Dutch. The Dutch translation stays close to Greek where this is possible, but diverges radically from the literal Greek construction where this is necessary to ensure a good Dutch text. Footnotes provide cultural or lexical information for the interested reader. On the whole, the text is indeed accessible for those who want to apply themselves to early Byzantine hagiography, but lack sufficient background in Greek. There are, however, some objections to make. In the next section I indicate some inaccuracies in the translation, instances in which there might be a problem with Dutch (especially regarding word choice), and footnotes that are not completely correct or accurate.

I. The life of John Eleemon.

a) Translation : (1) p. 6 : ἐπὶ (...) τὸ ἐν ἀπολαύσει γενέσθαι : 'voor mijn zaligheid' : I do not really see the reason for interpreting this in regard to John's afterlife, and not just as the 'pleasure' of visiting the sanctuary ; (2) p. 8 : ὁ προλεχθεὶς *θεοσεβέστατος* ἀνήρ : 'genoemde man' ; (3) p. 11 : 'leden *van de gemeenschap*' while Greek only has μέλη ; (4) p. 13 : ὁ θεόχαρις ἀληθῶς ἐλεήμων : 'de waarlijk barmhartige *ontvanger* van Gods genade'. I would rather interpret 'the by God's grace really merciful man' ; (5) p. 23 : ὑπέδειξεν αὐτὸν τῷ ἰδίῳ δακτύλῳ : 'wees hem *onopvallend* aan' : is pointing with the finger that inconspicuous ? (6) p. 29 : ὁ δὲ (*sc.* Πέτρος) οὐ κατεδέξατο : 'Maar meneer Petros wilde er niet van horen' : in my opinion, the ironical touch ('meneer') is not really present in Greek ; (7) p. 44 : 'Wie alles wil doorvorsen, gelooft blijkbaar niet en kan zich het woord aantrekken...' : εἰ δὲ περιεργάζῃ, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πιστεύεις, ἀλλὰ ἀκούεις καὶ σὺ... : the translation in the third person is much less direct than the address to the reader in Greek ; (8) p. 55 : the rendering 'nieuwlichter' for νεωτεριστής neglects Festugière's remark to translate as 'forcené', while the verb νεωτερίζειν as 'proclaiming new things' is not really pertinent to the story ; (9) p. 59 : φοβερόν 'vreselijk' : 'vreselijk' is not really the same (anymore) as 'vreeswekkend' ; (10) p. 63 : σχῆμα : '*groot* habijt' ; (11) p. 65 : I do not see the relevance of splitting the description of the miracles after the saint's death. By doing so, the translator obtains a separate epilogue, but splits the logic of the enumeration by putting καὶ οὐ μόνον δύο ἢ δέκα ἢ ἑκατὸν πληροφορίαι τυγχάνουσιν δι' ὧν γινώσκομεν κτλ. at the beginning of the epilogue

and translating somewhat too explicitly 'Dankzij genoemde twee bewijzen – maar er zijn er wel tien, nee, wel honderd – weten we...' In fact, after the description of two miracles, Leontius simply adds a third one.

b) Dutch word choice : (1) κατόρθωμα is consistently rendered with 'wapenfeit', which sounds rather ironic to me to designate the conduct and miracles of the saint ; (2) p. 8 : 'heilige kerk' : the building is not a holy place, but a sacred ('gewijd') one ; (3) p. 28 : 'moedernaakt' : I think this is a rather obsolete expression, or maybe one only used in Holland. I had never heard of it ; (4) p. 31 : 'hij was één en al traan' ; (5) p. 42 : 'accoord' (*sic* !) ; (6) p. 43 : 'flessentrekker' (for ἀδικῶν) sounds very unfamiliar to me, even a bit old-fashioned, and it stands in sharp contrast to 'nitwit' (*sic* in Dutch !) on the same page, which seems somewhat too trendy for hagiography ; (7) pp. 47 and 49 : 'tjonge' : I doubt whether this is really the kind of speech appropriate for a patriarch ; (8) p. 49 : 'non-valeur' : in my opinion this neologism is rather unnecessary ; (9) p. 52 : ὑπερηφανία is rendered with the rather bombastic 'verwatenheid', while we read on p. 50 'hoogmoed' and 'hoogmoedig' (ὑπερήφανος), and on p. 51 'met een arrogante houding' (ὑπερηφάνῳ σχήματι), words which are more up to date.

c) Footnotes : (1) p. 12 : perhaps a footnote regarding the olive branches could have been useful ; (2) p. 14 : in the footnote in which the story of a ship saved by the patriarch is linked to Saint Brendan's travel the similarities are not very clear (an abbot and his monks on a ship vs. a patriarch who saves a ship while he is not there physically). Moreover Saint Brendan is a very 'western' phenomenon ; (3) p. 23 : for post-conciliar readers, the note explaining that communion was apparently received in the hand and not on the tongue contains nothing remarkable ; (4) p. 34 n. 1 on θεοφανία : mentioning the three (western !) kings seems to be beside the point, while stating that Christmas was the last 'addition' to Epiphany is in fact turning things upside down since, in the East, Epiphany was the first celebration of the appearance of Christ on earth ; (5) p. 52 n. 3 draws a parallel with a text by Manasses, but on the basis of the quoted part of his text I hardly see the similarities between pirates and the creatures which the soul encounters on its way to paradise ; (6) pp. 54-55 : perhaps a footnote could explain that there was a parallel monophysite hierarchy (in a story about the warning against monophysite sacraments) ; (7) p. 55 : in the same story the wordplay Ποία γὰρ κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος (2 Cor. 6, 14) in connection with the βασιλικὴ vs. αἱρετικὴ κοινωνία is not explained, while this repetition in Greek can hardly be a coincidence. Occasionally the translators did add remarks on similar nuances that were hard to translate ; (8) p. 56 n. 4 refers to one very general book on abandoned children, which as such does not seem to be directly useful or illuminating for this specific passage ; (9) p. 63 n. 1 (also in Symeon's life, p. 79 n. 3), at the appearance of an angel described as a eunuch, only states that angels are often identified by eunuchs, without mentioning the parallel depiction of both the imperial and the heavenly court.

II. The life of Symeon.

a) Translation : (1) p. 69 : τὸ μέγα σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς : 'dat machtig instrument dat *Ik* gekozen heb' is indeed the translation of the *Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling*, but the first person does not really fit in the context ; (2) p. 75 : 'Dienstbaar zijn aan je ouders op deze wereld' is too short for *καλοὶ* μὲν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῶν γονεῖς *καὶ καλὸν* τὸ τούτοις δουλεῦσαι, which expresses two different things : parents are good and serving them is good ; (3) p. 75 : 'Natuurlijk !' (in the address to John) is an unnecessary addition ; (4) p. 77 : μετὰ οὖν τὸ κουρευθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σύναξιν ἐπιτελέσαι is not necessarily to be understood as a hendiadys ('Na de gewijde plechtigheid van de kruinschering'), as σύναξις seems to mean a liturgy (of Eucharist) and the ceremony of the tonsure is rather a 'minor' rite.

b) Dutch word choice : (1) p. 73 : '*Algemene* kerk' is a bit strange for καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, commonly rendered by 'universeel', universal ; (2) p. 73 : 'de Oude' (for ὁ γέρων) does not sound very respectful, even when written with a capital ; (3) p. 75 : 'Een goed ding' does not sound very good ; (4) p. 81 : 'Psalmzinging' is not correct Dutch ; (5) p. 82 : 'door toedoen van den boze' is rather outdated ; (6) p. 86 : 'verheugde zich met grote vreugde' is a very loyal rendering, but not really acceptable as a Dutch expression ; (7) p. 90 : 'preekstoel' could be defended as a vulgarizing translation, but is, in my opinion, still too much of an anachronism ; (8) p. 97 : 'de communie vieren' seems to be a contamination for 'eucharistie vieren' (celebrating Eucharist/liturgy) and 'te communie gaan' (going to Communion).

c) Footnotes : (1) p. 72 n. 5 points at another passage on the wealth of John and Symeon in which they interpret the drawing of lots in a Pythagorean sense, but apparently the wrong page is indicated and I cannot find it in the text. As I understand it, the Pythagorean interpretation is only uttered by the commentators (p. 73 n. 3) ; (2) p. 85 n. 1 on a prayer of Symeon connects the prayer with the anaphora in the Liturgy of Saint Basil (but does not specify in which part of it), and moreover refers to a prayer in the Roman Canon of the Mass, indicated with the first Latin words. I do not think that this is very helpful (anymore) for the average contemporary reader, nor very relevant for this Greek hagiography, while a precise reference to the text of the Greek Liturgy could have been much more illuminating ; (3) p. 93 n. 3 refers to an explanation by Rydèn, but does not indicate the exact reference ; (4) p. 109 : the reference in n. 2 to a poem by Kavafis (without even mentioning the Greek title) is a little strange.

Overall, the translation of the life of John feels more like a patchwork of different translators with, on occasion, a great diversity in its word choice (e.g. very old-fashioned words next to very trendy ones) while the translation of the life of Symeon is more balanced, displays a greater unity of style, and is slightly more 'solemn', which is more appropriate for a hagiographical work.

First of all the importance of popularizing books like this, which distribute this popular Byzantine literature on a wider scale, needs to be stressed. These translations are indeed very accessible as they are written in correct contemporary Dutch, and are completed with an introduction and notes. However, there are more academic aspirations evident in this work as well and they are not always fulfilled in view of the more vulgarizing translations and notes (cf. supra), and a few rather doubtful notes.

The problem might be that the present work, at some points, is too specialized for the non-specialist reader, while at other times it might well give the impression of being too popularizing for readers with a greater background in Byzantine literature.

S. Neirynck.

R. Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, 6/2. Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria)* (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 60), Berlin et New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2006, xii + 512 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-018134-0.

Avec quelque optimisme, R. Volk écrivait en 1993-1994 (*Urtext und Modifikationen des griechischen Barlaam-Romans. Prolegomena zur Neuausgabe*, dans *BZ*, 86-87, p. 442) que le roman de *Barlaam et Joasaph* dans la grande collection des œuvres de Jean Damascène fournie par Bonifatius Kotter était prévue pour 1996. En définitive, il aura fallu dix ans pour que paraisse enfin le texte si attendu. Certes, ce dernier est loin d'être inconnu dans sa version grecque : on la lit depuis longtemps dans l'édition *princeps* de J. Fr. Boissonade (*Anecdota Graeca* IV, Paris, 1832, pp. 1-362 et 474-479). La plupart des autres (*PG* 96, col. 857-1246 ; G. R. Woodward et H. Mattingly, Londres-Cambridge, 1914, Loeb Classical Library ; P. S. Papaevangelu, Thessalonique, 1991) en sont directement tributaires. Une collation attentive des manuscrits a permis de faire le procès d'un travail hâtif et approximatif (Volk, *o.l.*, pp. 442-445). Voilà qui justifiait amplement l'entreprise. De son vivant, B. Kotter († 7 janvier 1987) avait déjà mis la main à la pâte en collationnant d'importantes parties de six manuscrits. Parmi eux, le fameux *Hieros. s. Cruc.* 42 (O′) du 11e s. mutilé, dont les folios initiaux du 13e s. contiennent l'allusion la plus ancienne à une rédaction du roman par Jean Damascène. Depuis longtemps, les spécialistes souhaitaient avoir accès au plus ancien manuscrit daté (1021), le *Kiev.* V 3692 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences d'Ukraine. Il a permis l'identification d'une famille de manuscrits *a*, conservés tous, à trois près, en Grèce. Ils se distinguent en particulier par la haute qualité du texte transmis, mais aussi de trois autres groupes (*b*, *c*, *d*), déjà constitués au 11e s.

La question de l'auteur restait posée. Le débat opposait les partisans de Jean Damascène et du Géorgien Euthyme l'Hagiorite († 1028). Le premier a pour champion notamment *BHL* 979, qui se rattache à un manuscrit de la famille *b*, tandis que l'autre trouve des partisans dans les familles *a*, *b* et *c*. Même sous sa forme chrétienne, l'histoire de Barlaam et Joasaph offre d'évidentes accointances thématiques avec les *Vies* légendaires de Bouddha et charrie aussi des motifs d'origine manichéenne. Toutefois, la composition de l'œuvre serait inexplicable sans le *Balavariani* géorgien, connu depuis les années 20 du siècle précédent, mais publié et traduit seulement beaucoup plus tard (1957 ; trad. russe en 1962, anglaise en 1966), qu'il faut mettre en relation notamment avec le *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būḏāsf*, production de la secte islamique des Ismaélites au 9e s. Surtout des rapprochements textuels frappants permettent de découvrir un *terminus ante quem* pour la rédaction. Syméon Métaphraste († ca. 987) cite le roman ; Théodore Daphnopatès († 963) avait compilé des extraits de Jean Chrysostome qui y ont passé. Enfin, la *Vie de Théodore d'Édesse* (*BHG* 1744) contient de longs passages semblables. Or, celle-ci est la seconde œuvre grecque d'Euthyme. Il existe donc maintes raisons d'ordre textuel pour refuser la paternité de l'œuvre à Jean Damascène. Reste une bonne question que pose Volk : comment, âgé d'à peine vingt-cinq ans, Euthyme, s'il est bien l'auteur de la version grecque la plus ancienne, a-t-il pu composer un livre appelé à un retentissement universel ?

Mis à part ceux qui renferment l'œuvre entière dans la tradition grecque, nombreux sont les témoins offrant soit des *Épitomés* soit l'un ou l'autre des récits édifiants ou fables dont foisonne le roman. Volk a ainsi exhumé dix d'entre eux, totalement inédits. Par la même occasion, il réussit aussi à enrichir les répertoires usuels de la *BHG*. L'objectif est d'identifier à quelle branche de la tradition ils se rattachent. Les n° I-IV donnent des *Épitomés* de longueur et d'importance variables. Ainsi, I couvre à peine six lignes. II (= *BHG* 224 b) est tiré d'un synaxaire, et l'édition se fonde sur deux manuscrits ; III (= *BHG* a et *BHG* n 224 c), qui s'intitule λόγος διδασκαλικός, n'a joué aucun rôle dans le service divin ; IV donne au roi Abenner le nom de Pythagore. Le copiste d'un manuscrit, le *Marcianus Gr.* II, 85, un petit palimpseste du 14e s., a réuni une véritable collection de passages édifiants (V *De tubis mortis et de duabus cistis* = *Barl.*, 6, 98-157 ; VI *De viro et ave* = *Barl.*, 10, 29-61 ; VII *De viro in puteo seu de unicorne* = *Barl.*, 12, 220-256 ; IX *De tribus amicis* = *Barl.*, 13, 5-75 ; X *De rege unius diei* = *Barl.*, 14, 7-57). VIII *Homilia de viro cum tribus amicis ex historia sancti Barlaam* (= *BHG* 1318 i) est une *narratio animae utilis*, qui a évidemment fourni la matière de IX. L'édition de cette dernière œuvre repose sur la collation de deux manuscrits.

La quantité de matière interdisait d'inclure dans le présent volume l'introduction indispensable, qui occupera tout le tome VI/1. On l'attend évidemment avec impatience, d'autant que toute bibliographie fait défaut. Inévitablement, la disposition des pages est assez touffue. L'éditeur utilise quelque trente manuscrits, répartis en 6 familles (dont une de textes contaminés, et l'autre, *e*, correspondant à une version abrégée). La concision obligeait à recourir à un apparat de type négatif. Pourtant, la clarté n'y perd pas : la liste des manuscrits utilisés, sans compter la seule édition grecque utilisable, celle de S. Kechagioglu (Athènes, 1884), qui se fonde sur des manuscrits de la famille *d* (14e s.), est rappelée à chaque page, avant l'étage de l'apparat critique. Toutefois, l'utilisateur a l'impression que celui-ci aurait pu gagner en sobriété. Par exemple, dans le *Prologue* (17, p. 7) où on lit τῶν πρὸς αὐτὴν παρακαλούντων ἡμᾶς. À quoi bon écrire 17 αὐτὴν] ἀρετὴν Kech. αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν W_1 ? αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν W_1 ἀρετὴν Kech. eût été au moins aussi explicite. On pourrait facilement multiplier les exemples du même genre. En outre, le recours aux sigles désignant les familles eût permis un réel allègement de l'appareil critique. Les deux autres niveaux de la page sont occupés respectivement par la liste des *Testimonia* et des utilisateurs. Les index permettent aisément d'en faire l'inventaire. L'index analytique rendra aussi de distingués services. La somme d'érudition mise en œuvre est stupéfiante : le lecteur sera comblé par tous les apports de l'édition de Volk, la seule qu'il convient d'utiliser désormais.

J. Schamp.

A. Pippidi, *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains. Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales* (*Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 19), Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2006, 380 pages. ISBN 2-7453-1293-6.

Dans une formule éditoriale heureuse, ce volume rassemble deux études inédites et quatorze articles que l'A. a publiés, dans diverses revues, pendant les vingt dernières années et qui concernent, à travers des approches différentes mais complémentaires, le profil changeant de l'espace sud-est européen vu par le prisme révélateur de la société roumaine dans son développement depuis le bas Moyen Âge jusqu'à la fin des Lumières. Héritage byzantin et influences occidentales se croisent et se recomposent pendant plus de quatre siècles dans un territoire que l'Occident a pourtant plus ou moins constamment ignoré ou rejeté avant le xixe s.

Le livre célèbre de N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (1935), sert bien sûr de référence, mais il s'agit d'une référence qu'il a fallu avant tout décanter des lectures simplificatrices auxquelles il a été souvent soumis. On a surtout retenu le traitement réservé à la survivance de l'idée impériale byzantine chez les princes roumains, au détriment d'un ensemble qui concernait également l'émigration ayant suivi la conquête ottomane, le patriarcat œcuménique, les autonomies locales ou les archontes de Constantinople, autant de directions de recherche qui 'n'ont pas été, toutes, reprises méthodiquement depuis et qui tracent les limites d'un espace beaucoup plus vaste que le territoire roumain' (p. 96). L'A. y a déjà beaucoup contribué dans deux livres publiés respectivement en 1980 (*Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne*, Bucarest-Paris) et 1983 (*Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române*, Bucarest) et par de nombreux articles. Le présent recueil ne saurait donc être conçu autrement que comme une suite à ces recherches.

Il n'est guère question ici de l'"idée impériale' : 'l'ambition des princes roumains, plus modeste que celle qu'on a voulu leur attribuer, fut de protéger l'identité spirituelle, culturelle et ethnique des peuples orthodoxes par l'accueil d'une nombreuse émigration balkanique par le financement d'un réseau de fondations religieuses qui s'étendait jusqu'en Asie Mineure, en Palestine et en Syrie' (p. 98). On imitait ainsi un modèle de gouvernement et un type autocratique de pouvoir d'origine byzantine. Cette idée, défendue ailleurs par l'A., est reprise ici (ch. V) à l'appui d'un témoignage méconnu : le manuscrit grec R 100 de la bibliothèque romaine Vallicelliana, manuscrit ayant appartenu vers 1650 à Léon Allatius, et contenant le 'testament spirituel' de Basile III adressé à son fils, Ivan IV le Terrible, et qui n'est, en fait, autre chose qu'un déguisement fort superficiel, opéré à la cour moscovite, de la version grecque des *Enseignements* de Neagoe Basarab, prince de Valachie (1512-1521), destinés à son fils, Théodose. Tradition byzantine des exhortations morales adressées par l'empereur à ses sujets (Léon VI, Basile Ier), mais tradition roumaine aussi, car les *Enseignements* inspirent encore ses descendants, dont le prince Étienne Cantacuzène (1714-1715) – qui se revendique de Neagoe par sa grand-mère paternelle – qui prononce, lors de sa dernière apparition publique après avoir été déposé par le sultan, une homélie qui fait ici l'objet d'une étude circonstanciée (ch. XIII).

Outre la tradition politique, Byzance a influencé également la sensibilité des Roumains et, à une échelle plus large, des peuples sud-est européens. D'une part, les textes juridiques et moralisateurs byzantins représentent, au moins jusqu'au début du XVIIe s., la norme d'une affectivité difficile à cerner faute de documents. L'"hédonisme' de la Renaissance pénétra vaguement ce milieu pour laisser place à la sublimation de l'érotisme dans le Baroque et le Romantisme, une pression sociale sur les mouvements affectifs qui s'exerçait encore dans la première moitié du XXe s. (ch. X et XI). D'autre part, la théologie et les apocryphes byzantins dominent la sensibilité de l'ancienne société roumaine à l'égard de la mort et de l'au-delà (ch. IV). On serait tenté d'ajouter l'influence d'un texte apocalyptique byzantin comme la *Vision du moine Cosmas* dont la traduction roumaine a joui d'une importante diffusion manuscrite au XVIIIe s. (voir A. Timotin, *Circulația manuscrisă a traducerii românești a* Vedeniei monahului Cosma, dans *Floarea darurilor. In Memoriam Ion Gheție*, éd. Violeta Barbu et A. Mareș, Bucarest, 2006, pp. 177-188), ou de son pendant post-byzantin, la *Vision de Sophiani*. Ces trois chapitres s'éclairent heureusement par celui consacré à l'impact de la Révolution française dans les pays roumains (ch. XV) : l'évolution des idées est étudiée par rapport à l'évolution des mœurs, en prêtant attention à la définition diachronique du milieu, forcément restreint, où ces changements ont pu avoir lieu.

L'étude des représentations que les Roumains se faisaient de leur pays a mené l'A. à mettre en évidence (ch. I) le processus complexe et stratifié d'une sacralisation du territoire où l'on peut reconnaître, à la rigueur, des éléments de l'orthodoxie politique byzantine : l'idéologie de la guerre sainte (implicite dans la bénédiction des combattants par l'Église) ; la translation politique des reliques (s. Jean-le-Nouveau et s. Parascève, en Moldavie) ; l'édification des monastères avant ou suite à des campagnes militaires (le règne d'Étienne le Grand) ; l'intolérance à l'égard des minorités religieuses (les persécutions des Arméniens au XVIe s.). Au XVIe s. roumain, comme à Byzance, 'l'unité de foi est indispensable à la cohérence d'un État' (p. 56), argument avancé un peu partout en Europe à cette époque pour justifier et appuyer la pression que l'État exerce sur les minorités religieuses (ch. III). Les écrits théologiques de polémique antilatine qui circulent en Moldavie au XVe s. et la peinture murale contemporaine témoignent de ce climat d'intolérance accrue. Les Catholiques et les Juifs sont tour à tour suspectés de s'être rangés du côté de l'ennemi dans le cadre d'une politique xénophobe que l'Église partage et approuve. Deux siècles plus tard, des attitudes pro- et antiprotestantes, pro- et anticatholiques, se succèdent en Moldavie en relation notamment avec les projets manqués d'organisation d'une croisade anti-ottomane.

On rêvait à cette époque, à l'est comme à l'ouest de l'Europe, de la chute de l'empire ottoman, les anciennes prophéties byzantines étant employées, à cette fin, à côté des autorités de l'Antiquité. L'A. retrace l'histoire de cette idée de la Renaissance aux Lumières (ch. XVI) à laquelle il a consacré d'ailleurs une thèse de doctorat encore inédite (*Ideea de creștere și descreștere a Imperiului Otoman în istoriografia occidentală din sec. XVI-XVII*, Université de Cluj, 1981). C'est également l'époque de l'essor des descriptions de l'empire ottoman. L'auteur d'une telle description, publiée à Londres en 1784, est identifié ici en la personne de ce bizarre aventurier que fut Alexandre Ghika, caché sous le pseudonyme d'Elias Habesci (ch. XIV).

Là où les projets de croisade ont échoué, 'les campagnes pour l'indépendance des Balkans' engagées, vers 1600, par les Serbes, les Bulgares, les Grecs, les Albanais et les Roumains dans une série de révoltes nationales contre la domination ottomane ont eu, pour peu de temps, gain de cause. Après les guerres de Michel-le-Brave (mort en 1601), l'idéal de l'indépendance a survécu pourtant, entretenu par 'les membres de cette conspiration orientale, en marche à travers toute l'Europe de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle' formant 'une société secrète aux multiples antennes, dont Constantinople est le centre'. La continuité de ces aspirations fait l'objet du ch. VI.

La fin du XVIIe s. s'achève en Valachie par le règne de Constantin Brancovan (1688-1714) qui coïncide avec une époque de stabilité économique et d'essor culturel : construction sans précédent de monuments, palais et églises et développement du savoir (multiplication des écoles et des imprimeries, traductions en roumain de livres religieux, rédaction de chroniques, etc.). L'A. montre le rôle que la nouvelle bourgeoisie, formée en grande partie de marchands et d'officiers, a eu dans cette 'révolution culturelle' (ch. XII). Une bureaucratie d'origine grecque, levantine ou balkanique, créée par le pouvoir princier, affiche ainsi son goût et étale son pouvoir par la construction ou la réfection de monuments et s'implique de manière active dans le développement des arts. Sa connaissance a progressé beaucoup ces dernières années grâce aux études de R. G. Păun, *Les Gréco-Levantins dans les Pays Roumains : voies de pénétration, étapes et stratégies de maintien*, dans *Byzance, les Balkans, l'Europe. Études en honneur du Prof. Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova*, Sofia, 2006, pp. 304-316, et *Les grands officiers d'origine gréco-levantine en Moldavie au XVII*e *siècle. Offices, carrières et stratégies de pouvoir*, dans *RESEE*, 45 (2007), pp. 153-195. Cette bourgeoisie grécophone apparaît comme l'agent principal du projet princier de modernisation rapide du pays selon un modèle occidental pour l'imposition duquel, comme dans la Russie contemporaine de Pierre le Grand, on eut recours aux compétences des étrangers (Grecs et Italiens en Valachie). C'est à la sensibilité de cette nouvelle classe sociale qui s'installe dans les villes roumaines au XVII[e] s. que l'on doit, par exemple, les deux éditions d'une pièce littéraire grecque comme l'*Histoire de la Juive Marcada* imprimées à Venise en 1668 et 1683 (ch. IX).

Un monde nouveau se dévoile ainsi entre Bucarest, Jassy, Constantinople et Venise, avec ses parentèles, ses ambitions, ses goûts et ses idéaux. La lumière jetée sur les destins obscurs de quelques-unes de ses figures n'est sûrement pas la moindre originalité de cet ouvrage riche et fécond, à la fois attentif aux détails biographiques et à l'histoire des idées et des comportements. Un index de noms propres permet de retrouver aisément les nombreuses figures qui apparaissent au long de ses pages.

Il est sans doute difficile de rendre justice, dans les limites d'un compte rendu, à un livre dont la richesse défie toute tentative de le résumer en quelques pages. Tout au plus avons-nous essayé de suivre l'enchaînement de ses analyses et de saisir quelques-uns de leurs points de convergence.

A. Timotin.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

A Social History of Byzantium, éd. par J. Haldon, Oxford et Malden (MA), Willey-Blackwell, 2009, XXVII + 300 pages. ISBN 978-1-4051-3241-1.

Comme tous les travaux collectifs, celui-ci aussi contient des articles de qualité variable. S'il faut toutefois porter un jugement, il s'agit de travaux bien documentés, mais dont les conclusions sont souvent banales : à Byzance ce qui comptait c'était la richesse, la noblesse, le pouvoir. C'est une conclusion valable, mais maintes fois répétée. Les conclusions sur le rôle social de l'Église et du monachisme sont aussi valables, mais non moins banales, puisqu'elles sont aussi maintes fois répétées. La riche bibliographie de toutes les études, un vrai trésor de documentation, rendra un service appréciable aux chercheurs.

J. Haldon, *Towards a Social History of Byzantium* (pp. 1-30), qui signe le premier article, fait un large état de la question et signale qu'une histoire de la société implique l'étude du système politique, de la stratification sociale, du système économique, des institutions, du rôle du pouvoir, de la transmission de la richesse, de la formation des grandes familles. Au passage il se réfère aux études significatives ayant pour objet l'histoire sociale byzantine. Liz James, *Men, Women, Eunuchs : Gender, Sex, and Power* (pp. 31-50), étudie le rôle du sexe dans la société byzantine, dont le caractère patriarcal ne fait pas de doute. Elle note que l'histoire traditionnelle a beaucoup mis l'accent sur les personnages isolés, tels les impératrices. Or, l'historiographie moderne qui envisage l'étude de la réalité sociale donne l'image d'une société où les femmes ne jouaient pas un rôle notable, à part de mettre au monde des enfants. La femme était le symbole du 'mal', l'image de l'Ève. Dans cette société dominée par les hommes, les eunuques représentaient le 'troisième sexe', au côté féminin desquels étaient attribués les mauvais traits de leur caractère. Angeliki Laïou, *Family Structure and the Transmission of Property* (pp. 51-75), étudie la question des dispositions législatives qui géraient la transmission des biens immobiliers, surtout entre personnes d'une même famille. Cela l'oblige à faire une notice sur la notion de la famille byzantine et son statut juridique. Il est alors évident que la loi s'appliquait presque exclusivement aux familles riches qui avaient en abondance des biens à transmettre. La question de la détention des biens immobiliers préoccupe aussi P. Sarris, *Social Relations and the Land : The Early Period* (pp. 92-111), et P. Frankopan, *Land and Power in the Middle and Later Period* (pp. 112-142). Pour le premier les structures romaines sont repérables aussi durant la Haute époque byzantine : des grands domaines, surtout dans la partie méridionale de l'empire, gérés depuis la capitale par des personnes appartenant à l'aristocratie. Certes la petite propriété libre n'a pas disparu, mais elle ne joue pas un rôle social et économique notable. La situation a changé vers le VIII^e^ s. essentiellement pour des raisons militaires. Le second constate que vers 800, après une courte période d'essor de la petite propriété, les grandes propriétés appartenant aux familles puissantes de la capitale prirent le dessus. Commence ainsi la période de féodalisation qui aboutira au démembrement de l'empire et sa fin. Relative à la production rurale mais aussi à la production industrielle est l'étude de M. Kaplan, *The Producing Population* (pp. 143-167), pour qui la production agricole était assurée par les personnes libres ou des parèques, ainsi que la production artisanale dans la province. Dans les villes, la production artisanale et industrielle était assurée par les corporations des artisans, mais aussi en partie par les esclaves. Un autre centre d'intérêt de ce volume est celui du rôle social de la législation. C'est le sujet de B. Stolte, *The Social Function of the Law* (pp. 76-91), mais qui s'intéresse beaucoup plus à la situation qui régnait en Occident. La législation médiévale est en réalité un prolongement de la législation romaine. Le Moyen Âge était attiré par la codification de la loi, raison pour laquelle il n'y avait pas un vrai renouvellement du droit. J. Haldon, *Social Elites, Wealth, and Power* (pp. 168-211), tente un peu l'impossible : faire une histoire des milieux élevés byzantins. Il décrit le passage de l'aristocratie sénatoriale d'origine romaine à l'aristocratie purement byzantine, gérée en réalité par les mêmes règles sociales. Le paramètre en commun restait la richesse et la détention du pouvoir. Les puissants en tout cas, comme le signale P. Magdalino, *Court Society and Aristocracy* (pp. 212-232), avaient des emprises dans le Palais. Rien d'étonnant si un aristocrate byzantin portait des titres honorifiques, accordés par l'empereur, jouait un rôle dans l'administration centrale ou provinciale tandis qu'il était propriétaire des terres qui lui assuraient des revenus importants. Cour et aristocratie à Byzance constituaient deux facettes de la même réalité. Les deux dernières études concernent l'influence du christianisme sur le tissu social. M. Angold, *Church and Society : Iconoclasm and After* (pp. 233-256), décrit les relations entre le pouvoir civil et l'Église ; cette dernière était soumise à l'État. C'est durant l'iconoclasme que prit naissance l'idée de l'Orthodoxie qui a contribué à l'affermissement du pouvoir ecclésiastique. À partir du XII^e^ s. et l'opposition entre l'Église orthodoxe et celle romaine, l'idée de l'Orthodoxie prendra aussi un contenu politique, celui de la résistance contre les influences venant de l'ouest. Alice-Mary Talbot, *A Monastic World* (pp. 257-278), étudie le rôle du monachisme dans la société byzantine. Le monastère n'était pas seulement un lieu de retraite, mais aussi un refuge pour les plus démunis, au moins dans un premier temps. Car, ensuite et surtout après l'iconoclasme, le monastère devient un centre d'attraction pour les milieux élevés, pour finalement s'institutionnaliser. Durant cette phase, les monastères deviennent aussi grands propriétaires des terres et jouent un grand rôle économique qui fatalement conduira à une nouvelle situation : le monastère porteur d'un pouvoir politique.

P. Yannopoulos.

M. Berger et A. Jacob, *La chiesa di S. Stefano a Soleto. Tradizioni bizantine e cultura tardogotica* (*Terra d'Otranto Bizantina*, 1), Lecce, Argo, 2007, 150 pages ; illustré. ISBN 978-88-8234-399-6.

Cet ouvrage précis et précieux présente la petite église Saint-Étienne de Soleto (Italie), une église remarquable datant du XIV^e^ s., pourvue d'un cycle de fresques complet et bien conservé, exécuté dans la tradition byzantine (on se trouve dans une ancienne communauté grecque de la Grecía Salentina, province de Lecce), mais également profondément influencé par l'art gothique tardif.

Beaucoup de publications partielles sur cet édifice sont déjà parues, mais l'objectif de M. Berger (spécialiste de l'art byzantin d'Italie) et A. Jacob (spécialisé dans la liturgie et les témoignages écrits de la culture italo-grecque) était de rassembler toutes ces recherches dans une monographie qui traite de l'église dans son ensemble, avec toutes ses fresques et une discussion sur leurs styles et leurs influences, leurs éventuelles sources littéraires, et les différentes mains d'artistes avec leurs propres styles et provenances.

Traitant d'aspects variés, amplement illustré et pourvu de plans de l'église et d'une bibliographie exhaustive, l'ouvrage procure une vision fascinante sur l'édifice et toute son histoire. On peut dire que l'objectif d'origine est largement atteint : beaucoup plus qu'un aperçu, les auteurs ont fourni une étude de cas très complète qui contribue à l'histoire de l'Italie byzantine tardive.

S. Neirynck.

Marie-Hélène Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1475). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin* (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 20), Paris, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 2008, 539 pages. ISBN 2-901049-21-4.

Cet impressionnant volume constitue une biographie très détaillée de Georges-Gennadios Scholarios, patriarche de Constantinople entre 1454 et 1456. L'A., pour étudier la personnalité de Scholarios, se base essentiellement sur ses écrits autobiographiques et sur sa correspondance. L'étude se fait en deux parties, précédées d'un préambule historiographique, qui lui aussi est précédé d'une large *Introduction*, consacrée aux sources. Le préambule, quant à lui, expose la polémique qui s'était développée parmi les orthodoxes (et qui d'une certaine manière continue jusqu'à nos jours) autour de la personnalité, les idées et les positions de Scholarios. Puis, la première partie est consacrée à Scholarios comme patriarche. Natif de la capitale, Scholarios appartenait à cette génération des intellectuels de la dernière phase de la période paléologienne. Il a vécu les tentatives des derniers empereurs de sauver l'empire contre la soumission de l'Église constantinopolitaine à celle de Rome, comme il a vécu l'événement majeur du XV^e s. : la chute de Constantinople. Emprisonné et ensuite libéré par le sultan, il a été choisi par ce dernier comme patriarche de Constantinople. En collaboration avec lui, le sultan a défini la place des chrétiens au sein de son empire, le statut du patriarcat et du clergé. En outre il a demandé et obtenu du patriarche un traité l'informant sur le christianisme. Scholarios durant les deux années de son patriarcat essaya de sauver ce qui pouvait encore être sauvé de l'orthodoxie en prenant des mesures qui avaient pour objectif de consoler les fidèles mais aussi de les préserver de l'islamisation, de la latinisation ou du néopaganisme de Pléthon, tout en prêchant la souplesse pastorale. Rien n'est certain quant aux raisons qui ont primé à la démission de Scholarios. D'ailleurs il est fort controversé s'il s'agit d'une démission volontaire ou forcée. Car il est certain que Scholarios fut la cible des ultra-orthodoxes qui l'accusaient d'être un pro-latin. Une telle position n'était pas du goût du sultan qui craignait une alliance occidentale génératrice d'une croisade. La question est de savoir si l'accusation était fondée. Cela fait partie de la seconde partie du livre, intitulée *Scholarios et l'Union*. L'A. fait un long détour en analysant comment Rome et Constantinople imaginaient l'Union. Scholarios a joué un rôle de protagoniste dans le rapprochement des positions très éloignées des deux parties, efforts qui ont abouti au concile de Ferrare-Florence. Or, durant le synode, Scholarios constate que Rome n'assouplissait pas ses positions et quitta le camp des unionistes, sans toutefois passer au camp des ultra-orthodoxes. Il prend toutefois la tête des antiunionistes modérés. Cette modération ne lui fut jamais pardonnée par des fanatiques qui le considéraient toujours comme un pro-romain.

Signalons que le volume est assorti d'une série d'annexes, très utiles pour la bonne compréhension de certains détails, et d'index, ainsi que d'une bibliographie plus que complète. Un livre incontournable pour l'étude du XV^e s. byzantin et post-byzantin.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, 3^e série, 3 (2006), 356 pages. ISSN 0005-3787.

The main part of this *Bollettino* (12 contributions) is dedicated to the acts of the Byzantine musical studies conference of 2006, with several papers looking to the future of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (MMB). Six regular articles deal with various topics (the full table of contents can be consulted at : http://www.abbaziagreca.it/editoria/bollettino.asp.). Being no musicologist, I apologize for my limited comments on purely musicological contributions.

I. *The Current State of Byzantine Musical Studies after 75 Years of Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae (MMB). Acts of the International Conference Held at the Carlsberg Academy, Copenhagen, 16-17 June 2006.*

The opening address in which J. BERGSAGEL recalls some memories on the history of the series is followed by a paper in which Maria ALEXANDRU discusses the evolution of the music-historical thinking in the research on Byzantine music, and provides the materials for a possible future database and an all-encompassing history of Byzantine music. The paper by A. BRUGGE draws a sketch of the lives of Cyril and Methodius. F. D'AIUTO presents a project (since 2006 at Messina University, Tor Vergata and La Sapienza) that seeks to provide a corpus of the *Codices hymnographici Byzantini antiquiores* with detailed descriptions of the manuscripts. He offers a brief outline of the project's chronology and its objective of paying attention to musical notation and discovering hymns unknown so far. Gudrun ENGBERG deals with the triple-lection theory, i.e. the theory that originally during Divine Liturgy a third, Old Testament lesson was read. After a comprehensive overview of previous arguments and presumed sources in favour of a Eucharistic Old Testament reading, the author concludes that there is no real evidence for such a reading, and that the *Prophetologion* (containing the Old Testament readings for Lent weekdays and some vigils) seems to be quite old. This might indicate that the Old Testament reading system was not created simultaneously with the New Testament lectionaries. In the next paper G. GAROFALO presents his editorial project on father Di Salvo's collection of Sicilian-Albanian chant. After an introduction on the Albanians (Arbëresh) in Sicily and a short history of the transcriptions and research on the repertoire he turns to the collection to be edited and its sources. A few extracts of the collection are presented in the appendix. Š. MARINČÁK discusses the importance of the *MMB* for the study of early Byzantine-Slavic Music in Central-Europe, and I. PAPATHANASIOU stresses the series' importance for research on the heirmological tradition. B. SCHARTAU gives an outline of the work required for a definitive edition of the Hagiopolites, now only available in the provisional edition of Raasted, whose death in 1995 prevented him from realizing a more complete edition. In his paper N. SCHIDLOVSKY treats the Slavic neumation, which is very different from its Byzantine counterpart, as a possible bearer of an own musical identity in early medieval Russia. Ch. TROELSGÅRD discusses the 'problems, possibilities and formats' of the transcription of Byzantine chant. In the last paper of the conference Gerda WOLFRAM illustrates how the authors of music-theoretic treatises tried to base their works on both patristic and ancient Greek theory, adopting thus a very 'Byzantine' practice.

II. *Articoli*

Diletta CHERRA discusses the phenomenon of European collectors of Byzantine art and manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. P. O. FOLGERØ interprets a portrayal of the Ascension and the vision of Daniel in connection with the portrayal of the fourth *oikos* of the Akathistos Hymn. In his article on Isidorus of Kiev P. SCHREINER provides some biographical elements on Isidorus, and focuses on his visit to Lviv (Lemberg). In an appendix a note by

Isidorus himself on the belongings he left in Lviv is printed with transcription, translation and comments. Maria Stelladoro provides hagiographical notes on both Elia of Enna and Elia of Reggio (the so-called σπηλαιώτης). The article by S. Venezia focuses on the history of one particular Greek monastery in Sicily (Troina) from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, providing thus a case study of the rise and decline of Greek monasticism in Sicily. Gabriele Winkler presents the early Armenian creeds as witnesses of the Armenian translation techniques of Greek texts following Syrian models, and as signs of the Antiochene background of these creeds. A bibliography of Vittorio Peri († 1 January 2006) concludes this *Bollettino*.

S. Neirynck.

I. Dimitroukas, *Λέοντος Στ΄, Μαυρικίου, Συριανού Μαγίστρου, Βασιλείου Πατρικίου, Νικηφόρου Ουρανού: Ναυμαχικά, Εισαγωγή, Μετάφραση, Σχόλια*, Athènes, Εκδόσεις Κανάκη, 2005, 306 pages. ISBN 960-7420-87-X.

L'*Ambrosianus* 139 (B-119-sup.), qui remonte à 963, contient le *Corpus nauticum*, une collection de cinq traités concernant la marine de guerre byzantine, la tactique et la stratégie à appliquer lors des batailles en mer, mais aussi les techniques de navigation, les communications en haute mer, l'approvisionnement des bateaux, les prévisions météorologiques. La plus récente édition critique de cette collection est celle d'A. Dain, datant de 1943. L'A. utilise cette édition, dont il corrige (pp. 17-22) certaines leçons erronées, pour faire, à côté du texte original, une traduction en grec moderne assortie d'une introduction historique et des scolies pour chacun de ces traités. En outre, il faut faire une mention particulière à l'*Introduction générale* du livre, faite par le Prof. T. Kolias, un spécialiste en la matière, et qui concerne les manuels militaires byzantins.

Les traités ne sont pas étudiés dans un ordre chronologique, mais dans l'ordre dans lequel ils sont copiés dans le manuscrit les transmettant. Pour chaque traité sont d'abord mentionnées les éditions, ensuite la transmission du texte, les sources et la date de la rédaction, et le contenu. Les scolies sont incorporés dans les notes qui se trouvent à la fin du livre (pp. 251-288). Un index de noms et des lieux permet au lecteur un accès facile aux textes.

L'utilité du livre pour les Grecs réside, entre autres, aussi dans la traduction néogrecque, pour les non hellénophones, aux corrections apportées à l'édition d'A. Dain, aux *Introductions* et aux scolies, vu la compétence de l'A., un spécialiste des questions maritimes non seulement dans le monde byzantin, mais aussi dans le monde arabe. Cela étant dit, l'utilité du livre est évidente.

P. Yannopoulos.

Renata Gentile Messina, *Basilio Achrideno, Epitafio per l'imperatrice alamanna. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (*Publicazioni del Centro di Studi sull' Antico Cristianesimo*, 3), Catania, Università di Catania, 2008, xxii + 195 pages. ISBN 978-88-903522-2-5.

L'édition critique de l'Épitaphe composé par Basile d'Ohrid en l'honneur de l'impératrice Irène, épouse de Manuel II, est précédée par une longue et très intéressante introduction qui comporte deux parties. La première est une biographie de Bertha de Sulzbach, devenue l'impératrice Irène après son mariage avec Manuel, célébré à Constantinople en 1146. Elle est morte durant le printemps de 1160, loin de la capitale, accompagnant son époux dans une expédition contre les Turcs. Elle a laissé une mémoire assez vive, à cause de sa bonté et sa clémence, surtout parmi les unionistes. La deuxième introduction concerne l'auteur de la pièce, Basile d'Ohrid, au sujet duquel les informations n'abondent pas. Il fut secrétaire du patriarche Michel II (1143-1146) et en tenant compte de son qualificatif 'd'Ohrid', il était peut-être originaire de cette ville. Son *Épitaphe* mis à part, il est l'auteur de quelques autres écrits théologiques. Quant à la date de l'*Épitaphe*, elle se situe entre le 25 décembre 1161 (date du second mariage de Manuel II auquel le texte fait allusion) et la fin de 1162. Ce texte est un éloge typique ; il était sans doute destiné aux personnages du monde occidental, y compris le pape Alexandre III. Le texte est transmis par deux manuscrits, l'*Escorialensis Gr.* 265 et le *Petropolitanus Gr.* 454. Il est en outre attesté par le *Barberinianus Gr.* 240, mais dont les pages le transmettant sont perdues ; il a connu deux éditions. L'édition du texte est assortie d'une traduction en italien. Les nombreux commentaires philologiques et historiques complètent l'édition et permettent au lecteur d'avoir une idée très claire sur les points traités.

L'auteur et éditeur est bien connu pour ne pas avoir besoin de nous référer à ses qualités de philologue et d'historien. Notons seulement que les chercheurs qui s'occupent du xiie s. byzantin peuvent puiser dans cette nouvelle édition des informations sûres et fiables.

P. Yannopoulos.

Maria Gerolymatou, *Αγορές, Έμποροι και εμπόριο στο Βυζάντιο (9ος-12ος αι.)* (*Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Μονογραφίες*, 9), Athènes, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 2008, 304 pages + une carte hors texte. ISBN 978-960-371-046-2.

Disons dès la première ligne que ce volume est un travail de très grande qualité, une recherche très minutieuse qui exploite le moindre indice des sources ayant une relation avec les marchés, les marchands et le commerce dans l'empire byzantin entre le ixe et le xiie s., c'est-à-dire durant la période de l'essor de l'empire. Le commerce byzantin, après quelques tentatives maladroites au début du ixe s., arrive lui aussi à son essor depuis le règne de Théophile et cela jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés en 1204. Il est impossible de résumer une telle étude, dont chaque ligne contient une information et une référence aux sources. C'est pourquoi nous donnons simplement le plan du travail, qui est divisé en quatre parties portant successivement les titres : i) *Le* *commerce et l'espace : les marchés*, ii) *Le commerce et l'État*, iii) *Le commerce et les hommes*, iv) *L'organisation du commerce*. Dans la première partie l'étude porté d'abord sur Constantinople, qui, vu son importance, constituait à elle seule un marché à part avec ses propres règles. Y sont analysés successivement le commerce de détails, les questions relatives à l'approvisionnement de la capitale et la place de Constantinople dans le cadre du commerce international. Ensuite l'analyse porte sur le commerce provincial où sont passés en revue l'Asie Mineure, l'île de Crète, les Balkans et la région de la Cherson. Dans la deuxième partie, l'A. envisage d'abord le commerce comme une arme diplomatique, avant d'étudier les interventions de l'État dans le fonctionnement du commerce, terme plutôt tendre pour indiquer les multiples taxes imposées par l'État aux marchandises et aux commerçants. La troisième partie, consacrée à l'aspect social du commerce, concerne la production et la commercialisation des produits, la place des commerçants dans la société byzantine ainsi que celle des commerçants étrangers, mais aussi les problèmes relatifs aux capitaux nécessaires pour pratiquer le commerce et aux difficultés à les réunir. La dernière partie est en relation avec les institutions et les pratiques de base pour l'activité commerciale, telles que les espaces disponibles pour organiser les marchés et leurs infrastructures. Un index très fourni rend la consultation du livre très aisée. Signalons que l'A. ajoute, en guise de conclusion, un *Épilogue*, qui toutefois est une vraie conclusion. Or, cette conclusion est très timide comparée à la richesse remarquable du livre. Il est certain que nous manquons des données chiffrées qui pouvaient rendre plus tangibles les données théoriques des sources littéraires, mais cela ne met nullement en doute le fait qu'après cette étude nos connaissances au sujet du commerce byzantin soient beaucoup plus complètes.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Cecily HENNESSY, *Images of Children in Byzantium*, Farnham et Burlington (VT), Ashgate Publishing, 2008, XVIII + 263 pages + 8 planches en couleurs hors texte. ISBN 978-0-7546-5631-9.

Un bon travail consacré à l'iconographie de l'enfant dans l'art byzantin. L'A. traite son sujet en sept unités (elles ne sont qualifiées ni comme chapitres ni comme parties), qui sont successivement : i) l'environnement, ii) l'enfance, iii) la famille, iv) la sainteté, v) le pouvoir, vi) Jésus et Marie, vii) conclusions. La première de ces unités est une vraie diatribe sur l'âge enfantin au sein d'une société prémoderne, telle que la société byzantine, et cela sous l'angle législatif, social et biologique. Pour la loi, une personne devenait adulte et indépendante à l'âge de 25 ans. Mais dans la réalité une fille à Byzance pouvait se marier à l'âge de 12 ans et un garçon à l'âge de 14 ans. Donc il n'y avait pas un âge de la puberté ; les enfants passaient à l'âge adulte, même s'ils n'étaient pas mûrs du point de vue psychologique ou biologique. En outre dans cette unité

sont passées en revue des questions relatives à l'éducation, à l'influence du christianisme sur les structures sociales, à la mortalité enfantine, à la castration, aux princes porphyrogénètes et j'en passe. La deuxième unité est consacrée à l'âge enfantin, les jeux d'enfants, l'habillement, etc. Les images de la Haute époque présentent souvent les enfants pratiquant les jeux de l'hippodrome ; ensuite les représentations sont en relation avec des scènes évangéliques. Des scènes représentant des enfants dans le cadre de la famille dans un premier temps sont tirées de l'Ancien Testament. En outre, les enfants sont représentés dans les portraits des familles où ils suggèrent le lien biologique entre les époux. En général, de telles représentations sont rares quand les sources sont d'origine monastique. L'enfant, symbole de la sainteté, est mis en valeur par l'illustration des personnages vétérotestamentaires à un âge enfantin. En outre les saints de l'Église sont souvent représentés comme enfants, pour indiquer que la sainteté se manifeste dès l'enfance. L'enfant et le pouvoir est un thème qui concerne les princes. Les représentations conservées sont habituellement des portraits des familles impériales sur lesquels les jeunes princes et princesses sont bénis par le Christ. Certes, le sujet le plus courant dans l'art byzantin est celui de Jésus et de la Vierge Marie. Plusieurs scènes illustrent l'enfance de la Vierge, tandis que le nombre des représentations de la Vierge à l'enfant dépasse toute imagination. Cela donne l'occasion à l'A. de faire une étude typologique de cette représentation et d'analyser les différents types, mais dont la standardisation ne permet pas une conclusion quelconque concernant l'âge enfantin à Byzance.

Un livre remarquable, malgré certains passages méritant une documentation plus ample.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Y. HIRSCHFELD, *Roman, Byzantine, and Muslim Tiberias : A Handbook of Primary Sources*, Tibériade, The Tiberias Excavation, 2005, 40 pages en anglais, 20 pages en hébreux.

L'A. de ce petit volume bilingue se met pour objectif de réunir les sources de toute nature qui concernent la ville de Tibériade depuis sa fondation par Hérode Antipas (tétrarque de Galilée entre 4 a. J. Chr. et 39 après J. Chr.), jusqu'à la fin du VIIe s. Il faut toutefois signaler que la période byzantine est sous-représentée : quelques trouvailles archéologiques, dont certaines ne cadrent même pas avec la période envisagée, comme par ex. cette monnaie de bronze de la période macédonienne. En outre, les sources hagiographiques, qui donnent des informations sur la région, ne sont pas exploitées.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Excavations. Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966-1978, Mayence, Verlag

Philipp von Zabern, 2007, x + 387 pages + 102 figures et 26 planches. ISBN 978-3-8053-3818-9.

Ce livre est le second et dernier volume consacré à l'examen archéologique et aux travaux de restauration menés entre 1966 et 1978 à la Kalenderhane Camii d'Istanbul. Cette entreprise est le résultat d'une collaboration entre l'Université d'Harvard et l'Université Technique d'Istanbul, institutions dont sont d'ailleurs issus les co-éditeurs de l'ouvrage. Le premier volume, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings, their History, Architecture and Decoration*, publié en 1997, avait permis d'analyser plusieurs textes significatifs relatifs à l'histoire de cet édifice, de présenter ses différentes phases architecturales et d'étudier son décor. Le présent volume est complémentaire au premier puisqu'il contient les résultats des fouilles archéologiques menées dans la zone occupée par la Kalenderhane Camii. Celles-ci ont permis de distinguer huit phases d'occupation du site du IV^e^ au XVIII^e^ s. qui sont clairement présentées dans ce volume à l'aide d'un plan et de 32 tableaux/diagrammes stratigraphiques comportant les références au matériel céramique et numismatique exhumé. Les trouvailles effectuées dans les différents secteurs ont été publiées sous forme de catalogues. Le premier de ceux-ci, établi par J. Herrin, A. Toydemir et G. Şişmanoğlu, concerne la céramique et le verre d'époques romaine, byzantine, latine et ottomane. Les monnaies et les sceaux appartenant à ces mêmes époques ont aussi été étudiés par M. F. Hendy, J. W. Nesbitt et I. Artuk (†). U. Peschlow s'est chargé de dresser le catalogue des sculptures architecturales et de celui des briques timbrées d'époque byzantine. Les ossements humains ont été étudiés par L. Angel (†) et S. C. Bisel (†), leur catalogue ayant été finalisé par P. Selinsky. La majorité des pièces des catalogues est très bien illustrée par nombre de tableaux, des dessins et des photographies en noir et blanc de très bonne qualité. Comme l'explique C. L. Striker dans son introduction, de multiples aléas ont retardé cette importante publication qui, en fin de compte, a mis près d'un quart de siècle à voir le jour. On saluera d'autant plus la persévérance des éditeurs dont le travail livre un matériel précieux aux byzantinistes.

Catherine Vanderheyde.

B. Kindt, Véronique Somers et Cental, *Thesaurus Nicephori Constantinopolitani, Breviarium historicum* (*Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum*), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2007, xxxv + 74 pages + 4 microfiches. ISBN 978-2-503-52465-8.

La série des auteurs byzantins, dont une œuvre a fait l'objet d'un dictionnaire lemmatisé est enrichie par la lemmatisation de l'*Histoire brève* du patriarche Nicéphore de Constantinople. L'*Avant-propos* du volume constitue une notice biographique de Nicéphore assortie d'une brève présentation de l'œuvre lemmatisée, des questions relatives à la transmission du texte ainsi que celles relatives à la lemmatisation. L'*Introduction* a beaucoup plus un caractère technique puisqu'elle traite des questions concernant le texte de référence (qui est celui de l'édition de C. Mango en 1990), le système de lemmatisation, les quelques corrections apportées à l'édition et les instruments de travail. Après la liste bibliographique très fournie et avant le lexique lemmatisé se place l'*Index* des lemmes particuliers, sans doute le chapitre le plus fouillé du volume, malgré le fait que certains de ces lemmes ne méritent pas le titre de 'particulier'. Vient ensuite le lexique qui, comme dans le passé, donne la forme absolue du lemme suivie des formes données dans le texte.

L'utilité de cet instrument de travail n'est pas à démontrer ; d'ailleurs d'autres volumes de la série ont été présentés dans les pages de *Byzantion*. Une seule remarque : Nicéphore fut un auteur très productif. Son *Histoire* n'est certainement pas son œuvre le plus représentative. Pour avoir une image de sa richesse linguistique il faut lemmatiser le reste de sa production. À cette occasion il faut faire aussi une présentation aussi complète que possible de la personnalité de Nicéphore et traiter les questions (qui sont très nombreuses) relatives à l'authenticité de certaines œuvres qui lui sont attribuées.

P. Yannopoulos.

J. Lamoureux et N. Aujoulat, *Synésios de Cyrène.* V. *Opuscules.* II (*Collection des Universités de France*), Paris, Les belles lettres, 2008, XII + 155 pages en partie doubles. ISBN 978-2-251-00547-8 ; ISSN 0184-7155.

J. Lamoureux et N. Aujoulat, *Synésios de Cyrène.* VI. *Opuscules.* III (*Collection des Universités de France*), Paris, Les belles lettres, 2008, x + 358 pages en partie doubles. ISBN 978-2-251-00549-2 ; ISSN 0184-7155.

Avec ces deux livres s'achève la publication des œuvres de Synésios dans la collection *Budé*. Après les *Hymnes* (tome I, par C. Lacombrade, 1978) et les *Lettres* (tomes II et III, par A. Garzya et D. Roques, 2000), trois volumes ont été dédiés aux *Opuscules*. Le tome IV, préparé par les mêmes savants que les derniers tomes, date de 2004 et comprend l'*Éloge de la Calvitie*, le *Dion* et le *Traité sur les songes*, ainsi qu'une introduction générale consistant d'une présentation globale des *Opuscules* et d'une description de la tradition manuscrite et des principes de l'édition. Le tome V est réservé à un seul ouvrage, qui – tout comme le *Dion* et le *Traité* d'ailleurs – ne mérite guère le titre dépréciatif d'*opuscule*. Il s'agit du *Discours sur la Royauté*, ou *Εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα περὶ βασιλείας* (communément appelé *De regno*), prononcé – s'il fut prononcé réellement – lors d'une ambassade de la Pentapole à Constantinople et adressé à Arkadios. Les éditeurs acceptent la datation proposée par Denis Roques : janvier 400. La longue 'Notice' qui précède le texte commence par une introduction historique (pp. 1-26 et 35-48), aborde la question du genre (pp. 26-35), et offre une analyse du discours : abrégé du contenu et discussion de la notion de 'roi idéal' selon Synésios, qui s'inscrit dans une longue tradition en insistant sur le fait que le roi doit se soumettre à la philosophie (pp. 49-82). Le texte du discours même occupe 58 pages ; le volume est complété par des notes complémentaires (pp. 143-154).

Le dernier tome est plus volumineux. C'est que celui-ci aussi commence par un texte qui vaut bien le titre d'*opus*, puisqu'il occupe à lui seul l'équivalent du tome V : *Les Récits Égyptiens ou Sur la Providence*, *Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ περὶ προνοίας*, un texte mystérieux qui, sous le voile d'un mythe égyptien sur Osiris et Typhôs, expose des événements qui se sont déroulés à Constantinople en l'an 400. Une fois de plus, Synésios y allie la rhétorique à la philosophie, ici dans le cadre du panégyrique et de l'invective – mais il est impossible de trancher en définitive la question des personnalités réelles cachées derrière les frères égyptiens qui représentent le bien et le mal. La 'Notice' (pp. 1-91) traite de sujets historiques, littéraires et philosophiques – le *De providentia* s'avère influencé par l'émanatisme néo-platonicien, par le dualisme, par le platonisme et par le stoïcisme. Le texte comprend une προθεωρία captivante et deux λόγοι, au total 70 pages. Suivent quelques vrais *opuscules* : le *Discours à Paionios (De dono)*, texte adressé à un personnage inconnu à qui l'auteur offre un instrument astronomique tout aussi mystérieux, fruit d'une collaboration avec la fameuse Hypatie (pp. 163-184) ; deux *Homélies* datant de la période après l'élection de Synésios à l'épiscopat, l'une très brève (deux pages), l'autre fragmentaire (pp. 185-191) ; enfin deux *Catastases*, dans la définition de Bernard Schouler 'des récits façonnés selon les besoins de la cause'. Elles ont toutes deux été prononcées à Ptolémaïs en 411, et sont liées aux événements mouvementés de l'époque (pp. 193-212). Les notes complémentaires de ce tome sont suivies de trois index qui couvrent l'ensemble des *Opuscules* : un *index nominum*, un *index verborum* sélectif et un index thématique très riche. On saura gré aux éditeurs et à la collection d'avoir mis à la disposition des chercheurs l'œuvre complète d'un auteur qui fascine toujours.

K. Demoen.

R.-J. Lilie, *Einführung in die byzantinische Geschichte*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 2007, 358 pages. ISBN 978-3-17-018840-2.

Ce livre se caractérise par un exposé toujours clair et serré, la précision dans les détails, l'ampleur de sa vision d'ensemble, et enfin par sa rigueur méthodologique, qui permet à l'A. d'organiser admirablement une information très abondante. Cette rigueur méthodologique imprègne le tout. Ainsi, avant de présenter la périodisation qu'il suit, l'A. met le lecteur en garde : cette périodisation, comme toutes, a beaucoup d'arbitraire ; avant de mettre en relation l'institution ecclésiastique de Byzance et celle de certains pays modernes, l'A. combat efficacement toute accusation d'anachronisme qu'on pourrait soulever contre son argumentation ; dans les notes, extrêmement utiles par leurs renvois commentés à d'autres ouvrages plus spécifiques (trop souvent, il est vrai, en langue allemande), on rencontre aussi cette préoccupation méthodologique

constante (par exemple, à la p. 282 l'A. émet ses doutes sur un livre qui est 'auch methodisch fragwürdig'). L'A. essaie de donner sur tout son propre jugement, de ne rien accepter sans le soumettre à une critique stricte. Son sens commun, qui à vrai dire n'a rien de commun, donne à l'ensemble une force très particulière, même aux endroits où l'on ne sera pas forcément d'accord avec lui.

En plus de la bibliographie et d'un index très complet, il y a un glossaire, des cartes géographiques et des tables chronologiques qui s'avèrent très utiles. L'A. déclare que ce livre s'adresse à des étudiants ou à des lecteurs intéressés en histoire ; mais aussi le spécialiste le consultera avec beaucoup de profit, car, en 358 pages d'une typographie serrée, il constitue un extraordinaire manuel de référence.

T. Fernández.

A. Markopoulos, *Τέσσερα κείμενα για την ποίηση του Συμεών του Νέου Θεολόγου*, Athènes, Εκδόσεις Κανάκη, 2008, xv + 159 pages. ISBN 978-960-6736-05-6.

Ce livre rassemble quatre contributions présentées lors d'un séminaire qui s'est tenu à Athènes en 2007 autour des œuvres poétiques de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, le mystique byzantin du tournant des x^{e} et xi^{e} s.

La première contribution de J. Koder, intitulée 'Ο Συμεών ο Νέος Θεολόγος και οι Ύμνοι του' (pp. 1-35), a pour sujet la signification des œuvres poétiques de Syméon dans sa biographie et son projet mystique. L'A. fait ressortir que ces œuvres sont l'expression immédiate des expériences mystiques de Syméon et constituent par conséquent un témoignage personnel. Les bouleversements de sa vie réelle et terrestre ont exercé une influence manifeste sur son œuvre et ses choix de genres. L'A. soutient que la transition de la prose à la poésie dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Syméon témoigne d'un engagement plus personnel et plus intense dans la spiritualité mystique, et il aborde la question des motivations qui se trouvent derrière l'usage du vers politique et d'autres vers rythmiques. Enfin, l'A. fait remarquer l'élément purement 'lyrique' de certains hymnes de Syméon.

La contribution de A. Alexakis (pp. 37-60), portant le titre 'Μορφολογικές παρατηρήσεις στην "Εὐχὴ μυστική, δι' ἧς ἐπικαλεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ὁ αὐτὸ προορῶν" του Συμεών του Νέου Θεολόγου' ('Remarques morphologiques sur "Prière mystique : invocation au Saint-Esprit par celui qui déjà le voit" de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien'), examine l'affinité de l'hymne n° 1 avec le genre ancien de l'hymne. L'A. remarque que la structure tripartite de ce texte, c'est-à-dire invocation, narration et prière propre, correspond à la structure de base des hymnes et prières anciens. Toutefois, plutôt qu'un rapprochement conscient avec les modèles anciens, ces correspondances sont le produit d'une affinité avec les prières de Grégoire de Nazianze et avec la pratique hymnographique byzantine.

Le troisième exposé, de la plume d'A. Markopoulos (pp. 61-87), est intitulé 'Θέωση και σωτηρία. Απόπειρα ανάγνωσης του ύμνου αρ. 13 του Συμεών του Νέου Θεολόγου' ('Déification et rédemption. Essai de lecture de l'hymne n° 13 de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien'). L'A. observe que cet hymne, qui montre les marques d'une cérémonie liturgique, est composé d'une telle manière structurelle et stylistique qu'il aide le lecteur dans la voie qui le mène vers une unification mystique de la chair et de l'esprit. La position très particulière des hymnes dans l'histoire littéraire byzantine est soulignée : en dépit des courants plus intellectuels de son époque, Syméon reste fidèle à sa mission personnelle.

La contribution finale de S. Ramphos (pp. 89-135), intitulée 'Αίσθησις οξύμωρος. Θεογνωσία ποιητική στον τρίτο ύμνο του αγίου Συμεών τουπίκλην Νέου Θεολόγου' ('Sentiment contradictoire. Connaissance poétique de Dieu dans le troisième hymne du Saint Syméon dit le Nouveau Théologien'), offre une lecture d'un hymne de Syméon qui met en lumière ses nuances proprement mystiques. Cet hymne, qui confronte sujet humain introspectif avec objet divin transcendant, peut seulement être compris comme un témoignage d'un sentiment spirituel et exclusivement personnel.

En somme, ce recueil, conclu par des index et une riche bibliographie, est tout entier caractérisé par un engagement profond avec l'œuvre poétique de Syméon, et marque un pas en avant dans notre compréhension de la production littéraire de ce mystique byzantin.

F. Bernard.

Mehmed II the Conqueror and the Fall of the Franco-Byzantine Levant to the Ottoman Turks : Some Western Views and Testimonies, éd. par M. Philippides, Tempe (AZ), Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University, 2007, 430 pages. ISBN 978-0-86698-346-4.

Lorsqu'on enseigne l'histoire byzantine, la fin est toujours déprimante : après avoir suivi les gloires et les triomphes de l'empire romain d'Orient, on assiste à son lent déclin, à la progression inexorable des Turcs Ottomans, à l'inertie de l'Europe occidentale, jusqu'à l'héroïque défense de la Ville, les vains efforts de son dernier empereur Constantin Paléologue, la victoire du Sultan Mehmed II et le saccage de la Ville. Pourtant c'est une époque passionnante, tant du point de vue historique que culturel – *an exciting time*, comme le dit l'A. au commencement de son premier chapitre. La progression des Turcs dans les Balkans, la prise des îles italiennes de la mer Égée, les événements militaires qui se passaient dans le Levant inquiétaient le monde occidental et attiraient l'attention des humanistes qui cherchaient à en savoir un peu plus sur les Turcs. On ne savait trop s'il fallait s'opposer au sultan, ou composer avec lui : par opportunisme, par nécessité ou par intérêt commercial, on cherchait à capter ses bonnes grâces et entrer à son service – rappelons ici l'exemple de Georges de Trébizonde qui chercha en vain à offrir au sultan son *Introduction à l'Almageste* (inédit ; conservé dans le *Monacensis Gr.* 537) au prix d'une dédicace d'une incroyable flagornerie ! Il fallait, de toute manière, connaître son ennemi, savoir d'où il venait, quelles étaient ses dispositions. Certains historiens humanistes approchaient les événements en s'inspirant d'une tradition classique : on voyait dans les Turcs les descendants des Troyens (*Teucri* selon le terme employé par Virgile) et certains humanistes voyaient dans la prise de Constantinople la vengeance des Troyens pour le sac de Troie et le massacre de Priam et de sa famille ! L'époque est complexe et les esprits sont troublés par les événements. Le but de cet ouvrage n'est pas de brosser un tableau d'ensemble de cette époque, mais bien de rassembler un certain nombre de témoignages provenant d'humanistes de la première génération sur les Turcs, la chute de Constantinople et des événements du Levant.

On trouve ainsi l'édition, avec traduction anglaise, des textes suivants – tous les textes sont écrits en latin, à l'exception de celui du ch. VI, écrit en italien : *Épitomé sur la famille des Ottomans pour Aeneas, Évêque de Sienne*, par Nicolas Segundinos (ch. II) ; *Bref traité sur la prise de Constantinople*, par le Pape Pie II (ch. III) ; *La Chute et le sac de la Ville de Constantinople par les Turcs dans l'année 1453*, par Maître Henry de Soemmern (ch. IV) ; *Traité sur la Chute de Constantinople*, de Tetaldi (ch. V) ; *Le Siège et la destruction de Négroponte*, par Giacomo Rizzardo, Secrétaire du Révérend Seigneur Lorenzo Contarini, Commandant d'une galère des Flandres (ch. VI) ; *Description du siège de Rhodes*, par Guillaume Caoursin, Vice-chancelier (des Chevaliers) de Rhodes (ch. VIII) ; *Lettres au Pape et aux Hospitaliers* (ch. IX) (deux lettres envoyées en 1480).

Dans les appendices, on trouve en outre : (a) Appendix I : une version française de Tetaldi ; (b) Appendix II : une garantie accordée aux Gênois au nom de Mehmed II (en grec et en italien) ; (c) Appendix III : des extraits de Pietro Giustiniani, *Histoire de Venise depuis sa fondation jusqu'à l'année 1575*.

Chacun des auteurs est présenté dans l'introduction, ainsi que le contexte dans lequel a été écrit l'opuscule édité et traduit ; de même la tradition manuscrite et imprimée est brièvement présentée, avec abondance de notes pour ceux qui souhaitent plus d'informations. Une abondante bibliographie, des illustrations (les photos sont malheureusement un peu ternes), et des index viennent compléter un ouvrage fort utile. Il rend accessibles des textes difficiles à trouver, en présente pour la première fois une traduction anglaise, les commente par de nombreuses notes. On lira avec intérêt la revue critique de l'histoire de la chute de Constantinople depuis le XIXe s., qui prend place à la fin de l'introduction, pp. 49-54. L'A. plaide pour une nouvelle approche de cette période, et sur la nécessité d'établir une prosopographie complète de tous les personnages qui d'une façon ou d'une autre ont participé aux derniers jours de Constantinople. On ne peut que l'approuver sur ce point et le remercier d'avoir mis ces documents sous une forme aisée et agréable à lire à la disposition des chercheurs et des étudiants.

Anne Tihon.

Galit Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs. An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, xvi + 186 pages + 98 illustrations hors texte. ISBN 978-0-19-921774-8.

Une étude iconologique et archéologique. L'A. étudie 16 châsses reliquaires en argent décorées de scènes religieuses ; elles datent de la fin du IVe au début du VIIe s. Il faut toutefois signaler que seules quatre de ces châsses sont étudiées à fond, à savoir celle de Néa Héracleia d'origine romaine et datant de c. 380, la Capsella Brivio, provenant de l'Italie du Nord ou de Gaule, construite durant les premières années du Ve s., la Capsella Africana, créée en Campanie durant le deuxième quart du Ve s. et celle de Grado, faite peut-être d'Aquila vers 500. Les deux premières sont décorées des scènes bibliques à contenu eschatologique, tandis que les deux autres de scènes renvoyant aux martyrs locaux. En général ces objets proviennent de l'Occident chrétien et éventuellement de centres de pèlerinage où florissait le culte des saints locaux.

L'étude est assortie d'un catalogue des châsses en argent du Bas-Empire et surtout d'une illustration plus qu'abondante qui met en évidence même les détails iconographiques. En outre la bibliographie très fournie donne une idée assez complète des recherches dans ce domaine. Un livre très utile, mais qui concerne beaucoup plus le monde occidental.

P. Yannopoulos.

Hélène Papastavrou, *Recherche iconographique dans l'art byzantin et occidental du XIe au XVe siècle. L'Annonciation (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Hellénique d'Études Byzantines et Post-byzantines de Venise*, 25), Venise, Institut Hellénique d'Études Byzantines et Post-byzantines, 2007, 524 pages. ISBN 978-960-7743-39-8.

Le thème de l'Annonciation compte parmi les plus anciens de l'iconographie chrétienne, puisqu'il prend ses sources dans le Nouveau Testament (Luc, I, 13-55). En outre, et en dépit de différences stylistiques, du point de vue iconographique, le thème n'a pas connu une évolution spectaculaire, ni en Orient ni en Occident. Une étude contrastive est donc possible, c'est que l'A. entreprend. Il faut toutefois noter que la comparaison se limite essentiellement à l'iconographie byzantine, avec des rares références à l'iconographie russe, et l'iconographie italienne, et plus spécialement vénitienne, avec des rares références au reste de l'iconographie occidentale. La raison en est que Byzance et l'Italie n'ont jamais rompu leurs liens et que des influences artistiques réciproques ont toujours existé entre les deux. Or, jusqu'au Xe s. ce thème iconographique était identique tant en Orient qu'en Occident. Cela oblige l'A. de commencer sa recherche à partir du XIe s.

Pour venir au bout d'une documentation débordante, l'A. a divisé sa matière en trois parties, chacune subdivisée en paragraphes. La première est une étude typologique de la scène de l'Annonciation où sont passées en revue d'abord la typologie de la composition elle-même et ensuite la typologie des personnages impliqués dans la scène : la Sainte Vierge, l'archange Gabriel, le Saint-Esprit, les personnages annexes. Vient après la typologie de l'espace dans lequel la scène est placée. La deuxième partie est beaucoup plus historique car elle concerne la place de la scène de l'Annonciation dans l'art monumental du Moyen Âge, avec d'abord une notice sur la situation avant l'iconoclasme et ensuite un paragraphe sur la période après l'iconoclasme. Dans cette même partie l'A. étudie l'emplacement de la scène de l'Annonciation dans un programme iconographique et ses rapports avec les scènes voisines et cela aussi bien dans l'art byzantin, que dans l'art italien et dans l'art roman et gothique. La troisième partie est la plus longue. Elle a pour objet l'interprétation sémantique de la scène de l'Annonciation dans le contexte ecclésial. Chaque objet et chaque attitude sont analysés afin de saisir le sens profond de chaque type de représentation. Car c'est à ce niveau qu'on constate le plus de particularités qui distinguent une représentation orientale d'une occidentale. Pour le reste, des différences signalées par l'A. se limitent au détail où à l'organisation de l'espace qui dans l'art byzantin reste bidimensionnel, tandis que dans l'art italien, avec la Renaissance déjà en perspective, les représentations deviennent de plus en plus tridimensionnelles.

L'ouvrage est un exemple de bonne recherche. L'A. évite soigneusement le piège des analyses stylistiques, déjà plus abondantes en la matière. Comme cela est signalé dans la partie introductive, le sujet est iconographique et non pas artistique et l'A. reste jusqu'à la fin fidèle à son orientation. Un livre incontournable pour l'étude des relations iconographiques entre Byzance et l'Occident.

P. Yannopoulos.

Sophia Patoura-Spanou, *Η μεθόριος του Δούναβη και ο κόσμος της στην εποχή της μετανάστευσης των λαών (4ος-7ος αι.)*, cura G. Kardaras (*Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Ερευνητική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 6), Athènes, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 2008, 301 pages + une carte hors texte. ISBN 978-960-371-043-1.

Ce livre est composé de deux parties. La première est constituée par les réimpressions de 13 études de Sophia Patoura-Spanou, chercheur qualifiée de l'*Institut Byzantin de la Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique Hellénique*. Pour donner une idée du contenu, nous citons les titres de ces études : i) *Ο Δούναβης μεσίτης ή ρευστόν αντίφραγμα και τείχος, μύθοι και πραγματικότητα* ; ii) *Οι επιδρομές των βαρβάρων στο Ιλλυρικό και τη Θράκη και η πτώση του limes : ιστορικό περίγραμμα* ; iii) *Ιεραπόστολοι και ιεράρχες στις όχθες του Δούναβη (4ος αι.)* ; iv) *Η επίσημη εγκατάσταση των Γότθων στη Θράκη και οι αντιδράσεις εκπροσώπων της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας* ; v) *Οι περιπλανήσεις του Αλαρίχου στη Βαλκανική (395-401) και η απαρχή του ανταγωνισμού Ανατολής και Δύσης* ; vi) *Le rôle historique des Balkans dans le processus de la chute de l'empire romain d'occident : le cas des chefs* *goths Alaric et Théodoric* ; vii) *Ένας βυζαντινός διπλωμάτης στην αυλή του Αττίλα* ; viii) *Influences culturelles du Bas-Empire sur les peuples du Danube aux IVe-Ve siècles* ; ix) *Une remise en question de la politique de Justinien envers les peuples du Danube* ; x) *Η εικόνα του 'άλλου' : οι πρώιμοι Σλάβοι του Δούναβη στις βυζαντινές αφηγηματικές πηγές* ; xi) *Η επανάσταση του Βιταλιανού της Θράκης και οι πολιτικοί ελιγμοί του Αναστασίου* ; xii) *Εμπόριο και συναλλαγές στη δουναβική μεθόριο : η Αυτοκρατορία και οι 'βάρβαροι'* ; xiii) *Πολιτισμός και καθημερινή ζωή στις ελληνικές αποικίες της Μικράς Σκυθίας κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα*. La deuxième partie du volume comporte deux études inédites : xiv) *Οι βυζαντινοαβαρικές διενέξεις και η μεθόριος του Δούναβη, 558-626*, et xv) *Ο 'δρόμος του Δούναβη' κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα (Δ΄-ΣΤ΄ αι.)*, dues à G. Kardaras.

Il est clair que ces études ont en commun les principes du temps et de l'espace. Le temps c'est notamment la période protobyzantine ou Antiquité tardive ou encore Bas-Empire ; l'espace c'est le nord des Balkans et le Danube, ce dernier étant vu tantôt comme frontière, tantôt comme voie navigable et tantôt encore comme point de contact entre les peuples qui durant la période en question ont occupé la région. L'intérêt particulier de ces études consiste surtout dans le regard différent que les deux auteurs jettent sur les faits historiques : c'est surtout les relations pacifiques qui sont analysées que les guerres ou les conflits.

Sans doute la publication des études déjà parues n'apporte pas de nouveaux éléments à la recherche. Pourtant elles ne sont pas dépourvues d'intérêt car de telles publications mettent à la disposition de chercheurs des études d'accès difficile. Un autre service que rend ce volume sont les deux études originales de G. Kardaras.

P. Yannopoulos.

Sophia Patoura-Spanou, *Χριστιανισμός και παγκοσμιότητα στο πρώιμο Βυζάντιο. Από τη θεωρία στην πράξη* (*Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Μονογραφίες*, 10), Athènes, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 2008, 456 pages. ISBN 978-960-371-047-9.

Ce gros volume a pour objet un des sujets les plus compliqués et les plus complexes de l'histoire byzantine : la relation entre la notion de l'empire et le christianisme. Le christianisme étant la religion qui dès son apparition avait une vision universelle a trouvé dans l'impérialisme romain son cadre idéal pour devenir une religion d'État. De l'autre côté, la philosophie de l'universalité, que prônait le pouvoir byzantin, trouvait sa plénitude dans la théologie chrétienne. Durant la période protobyzantine, ces deux éléments ont été si étroitement liés que l'un est devenu synonyme de l'autre. Il est alors difficile, voir même impossible, de savoir si un empereur byzantin de la Haute époque agissait par intérêt politique ou religieux quand il décidait d'entrer en contact avec un peuple hors de la frontière de l'empire. Il est même impossible de savoir si les personnes qui étaient porteuses du pouvoir à Byzance pouvaient distinguer entre intérêt politique et mission religieuse. Ce sont ces questions qui constituent le point de départ de l'A. de ce magnifique volume, pour qui l'idéologie byzantine de la monarchie sacrée est un amalgame de la philosophie grecque, de la théorie politique romaine et de la théologie chrétienne. C'est Eusèbe de Césarée qui a formulé cette nouvelle idéologie et c'est Justinien Ier qui l'a adopté comme expression de la politique impériale.

Les campagnes de christianisation organisées par Constantinople sont étudiées en deux parties distinctes : les premières eurent lieu durant le ive et le ve s., c'est-à-dire avant l'adoption officielle par Justinien de l'idéologie théocratique ; les secondes se déroulèrent durant le vie s. et sont en relation avec la nouvelle idéologie géopolitique de Byzance. Durant la première phase les premières missions avaient pour objectif les peuples du nord. La christianisation des Goths en est le résultat. En même temps, Byzance essaya de contrôler les rives de la mer Rouge par la christianisation de l'Éthiopie et du Yémen. En outre et pour faire face à la puissance perse, Byzance favorisa les missions à l'intérieur de la Perse et organisa des missions de christianisation de tribus arabes occupant les régions contiguës de la frontière méridionale. Au sillon de cette politique il faut considérer la christianisation de l'Arménie qui toutefois est aussi à l'origine du partage de l'Arménie en sphère d'influence byzantine et en sphère d'influence perse. Durant la seconde phase, la politique byzantine de christianisation avait trois axes. Le premier visait les peuples de la mer Noire et du Caucase (Lazes, Ibères, Goths de Crimée, Huns de Bosphore, Savires, Abasgues, Tzanes, Érules). Le deuxième avait pour objectif les peuples du littoral de la mer Rouge. En réalité, la mer Rouge était déjà christianisée durant la première phase, mais le christianisme n'y était pas profondément enraciné. Byzance a dû intervenir dans la région d'un côté pour éviter les conflits entre les chrétiens yéménites et les Éthiopiens et d'autre côté pour contrarier l'immixtion perse dans les affaires arabes. Le troisième axe tournait autour de la christianisation du nord-est de l'Afrique, notamment de la Nubie, tandis que dans le même contexte il faut placer aussi la guerre vandale et le retour de l'Afrique du nord dans la sphère d'influence byzantine. L'étude est assortie d'un appendice intitulé : *Le système universaliste de Byzance et sa perception dans le monde du Haut Moyen Âge*. Il s'agit en réalité d'un résumé et en même temps d'un exposé des conclusions concernant la fixation d'une idéologie politique qui pendant dix siècles constituera la base de l'empire.

Un résumé en anglais (pp. 367-395) donne une idée assez nette du contenu. La liste bibliographique très explicite et un index, toujours utile, complètent cette étude fondamentale pour l'histoire idéologique du Bas-Empire.

P. Yannopoulos.

Présence de Byzance, éd. par J.-M. Spieser (*Collection Grèce-Rome-Byzance, Études fribourgeoises d'Histoire, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*), Gollion, Infolio Éditions, 2007, 188 pages. ISBN 978-2-88474-124-8.

Cette publication rassemble quatre conférences qui explorent la relation parfois problématique entre 'Byzance', au sens large, et 'l'Europe' (occidentale), dans un sens tout aussi large. Dans son introduction (pp. 7-29), J.-M. SPIESER présente le thème général : le contenu de ces deux termes, l'ancienne proximité entre les mondes byzantin et occidental, de même que leurs différences, et la façon dont 'Byzance' peut encore exercer une influence dans des situations contemporaines.

Dans la première contribution F. BŒSPFLUG (pp. 31-54) se penche sur la (re)découverte de l'icône chez les catholiques français, 'un phénomène peu étudié', dont il trouve les origines dans 'le premier retour de l'icône' en Russie au début du XX^e s. et la grande influence de la diaspora russe après 1917 à Paris, ainsi que dans des phénomènes proprement occidentaux comme le renouveau patristique et liturgique et la crise de l'art saint-sulpicien. Après avoir esquissé la place de l'icône dans l'église d'après Vatican II, l'A. aborde les effets du retour de l'icône dans le domaine intellectuel et dans la réflexion contemporaine sur l'art religieux pour formuler sa conclusion. L'icône est bien présente dans le monde contemporain, et bien qu'elle coure le risque d'être méconnue ou rangée comme un style comme les autres, '[e]lle *pourrait* apporter au débat [*sc.* sur l'art sacré] une relance énergique'.

R. LABRUSSE (pp. 55-89) présente la relation entre Byzance et l'art moderne dans les cercles d'avant-garde du début du XX^e s., et plus spécifiquement comment un certain image de Byzance pouvait soutenir le projet moderniste de refonte de l'art occidental. LABRUSSE examine comment l'art byzantin est apparu, d'abord en Russie, mais très vite dans les grands centres culturels de l'Europe occidentale, et montre que sa réception était assez proche de la réception de l'art islamique, en tant que représentant de l'Orient et de l'altérité. Puis il aborde les exemples de Henri Matisse et des artistes du groupe de Bloomsbury pour conclure qu'il s'agissait d'une lecture formaliste de l'art byzantin (comme étant décoratif), orientaliste et sécularisée (donc sans les spéculations mystiques que l'aspect religieux de la plupart des œuvres aurait pu susciter). Finalement LABRUSSE se tourne vers Alberto Giacometti qui, contrairement aux modernistes, entre en dialogue avec l'iconoclasme par la création de ses 'négatifs de l'icône' et montre ses doutes quant au projet moderniste d'un nouveau regard 'décoratif'.

Dans 'Une Grèce chrétienne' M. LASSITHIOTAKIS (pp. 91-112) dépeint comment, dans le désenchantement d'après la guerre d'indépendance, et aidés par le 'mishellénisme' de figures comme Fallmerayer, les intellectuels grecs délaissent le philhellénisme avec son désintérêt, voire son dédain pour Byzance, qui était propagé par Adamance Coray et beaucoup d'autres, mais que l'on ressent alors comme trop 'occidental'. En revanche, ils vont chercher la réponse à la question de l'identité grecque nationale dans le passé médiéval et même dans l'Orient, un Orient qu'il faudra cultiver dans l'esprit de la *Megalè Idea*. De même ils affirment l'importance de la culture chrétienne et byzantine qui a joué un rôle unifiant, autant que le rôle de Byzance en continuant la grécité de l'Antiquité jusqu'à présent. Un intellectuel comme Paparrigopoulos réussit même, non sans protestations bien sûr, à imposer sa vision finaliste et nationaliste de Byzance. Signes de cette nouvelle appréciation sont l'avènement des études folkloriques, de la recherche historique et philologique (qui ne va que lentement perdre son aspect idéologique) et du byzantinisme dans la littérature, ou le succès du *Digenès Akritès* récemment découvert, à son tour étroitement lié au *glossiko zètèma* : ainsi naît environ un siècle après Coray le démoticisme fondé sur la réhabilitation de Byzance.

La publication est conclue par Averil CAMERON (pp. 113-133) qui se concentre sur la manière dont les chercheurs ont perçu Byzance vis-à-vis de l'Europe, et surtout comment ils la perçoivent à présent. Elle constate que très souvent ces attitudes ressemblent à celles qui sont exprimées envers l'Islam dans le monde post-11 septembre, cataloguant Byzance comme une culture arriérée, théocratique, corrompue, immuable, prédestinée à la chute etc., bref, tout sauf occidentale. Ici CAMERON applique les idées de E. Said et de son célèbre *Orientalism* et elle montre que pour Byzance aussi ce sont les présomptions orientalisantes qui hantent notre regard tandis que l'A. plaide pour une inclusion de Byzance dans l'histoire européenne et contre une conception essentialiste. Finalement elle fait appel aux byzantinistes afin de repositionner leur objet d'étude maintenant plutôt coincé entre Orient et Occident – d'où le titre de la contribution *Byzantium between East and West*.

Bien que cette dernière contribution soit une reprise (élaborée et révisée) d'un texte déjà paru dans le recueil *Byzance en Europe* (dirigé par Marie-France Auzépy, 2003), la valeur de cet appel reste actuelle autant que la comparaison inattendue mais néanmoins assez exacte des attitudes envers Byzance et l'Islam.

Les textes de ce recueil qui introduisent le lecteur dans des domaines particuliers de la réception de différents aspects de la culture byzantine sont très attractifs, parce qu'ils présentent des points de vue assez inhabituels et parce qu'ils réussissent à montrer l'importance des études byzantines aujourd'hui. L'ensemble des cas particuliers de réception, interprétation et appropriation de Byzance est aussi très intéressant parce qu'il permet de bien entrevoir le rôle joué par l'herméneutique, la méthodologie, l'idéologie et les intérêts contemporains dans toute référence au passé et dans toute recherche historique. Excellente lecture qui peut procurer aux amateurs aussi qu'à ceux qui sont versés à fond dans la byzantinologie de nouvelles idées et la découverte de liens inattendus (construits ou pas) entre Byzance et notre monde d'aujourd'hui.

S. NEIRYNCK.

W. M. RAMSAY et Gertrude L. BELL, *The Thousand and One Churches*, Philadelphie (PA), University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008, XXXIV + 580 pages ; rééd. du livre publié par Hodder et Stoughton, New

York et Londres, 1909, avec préface nouvelle par R. G. OUSTERHOUT et M. P. C. JACKSON. ISBN 978-1-934536-05-6.

Gertrude L. BELL, who later would become rather famous for her diplomatic skills in the Middle East, wrote to her stepmother about this book : 'It will be a very dull book, you understand, but I intend it to be magnificently illustrated' (cited on p. X).

The fruit of the joint visit, in 1907, of RAMSAY and BELL to Binbirkilise (meaning literally 'thousand and one churches', a region southeast of Konya, south-central Turkey, with a considerable amount of church ruins predating 1072) is indeed not exactly a thrilling story. In this work, RAMSAY provided the geographical (ch. I) and epigraphical (ch. IV) observations, while BELL wrote the very detailed archaeological descriptions of all the buildings (ch. II) and attempted to define their typology (ch. III). Although lacking a real synthesis or conclusion, the resulting analytical work is an impressive collection of information (including many photographs) concerning buildings which are almost completely disappeared by now.

The methodologies applied by RAMSAY and BELL, very much influenced by Strzygowski's theories on the Oriental origin of Byzantine art, are, however, out of date in the contemporary scholarly debate. They have an almost exclusive interest in classifying into typologies, the architecture and purely decorative arts (mouldings, carvings), at the expense of the historical context of the remains. They also neglect to describe or photograph the traces of frescoes that were still present at the moment of their visit (as is mentioned on several occasions throughout the book).

By giving a brief but useful contextualisation of their study and dealing with the AD 2008 objections against the book, the new foreword, fortunately, addresses all the issues mentioned above. In this way, the new foreword is able to salvage the merits of this very complete study on archaeological evidence that is now disappeared.

S. NEIRYNCK.

G. SABBAH, L. ANGLIVIEL DE LA BEAUMELLE, A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE (†) et B. GRILLET, *Sozomène. Histoire ecclésiastique. Livres VII-IX. Texte grec de l'édition J. Bidez - G. C. Hansen (GCS). Introduction, annotation, traduction et index général* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 516), Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2008, 488 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-08581-6 ; ISSN 0750-1978.

Dans nos précédents numéros nous avons eu l'occasion de présenter les trois volumes des *Sources Chrétiennes* consacrés aux livres I à VI de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Sozomène (n° 306 de la collection : livres I-II ; n° 418 : livres III-IV ; n° 495 : livres V-VI). Il ne faut donc pas revenir sur les données introductives (biographie de l'auteur, transmission du texte, éditions, etc.), qui ont fait l'objet de nos notices déjà publiées. Les livres VII à IX couvrent la période entre 379 et c. 425. Manifestement, Sozomène n'a pas achevé son travail, ou au moins son *Histoire* telle que les manuscrits l'ont transmise est amputée à la fin, car selon l'auteur, ses livres formaient des dyades ; le livre IX présupposait donc un livre X. Sozomène, en dépit de l'intitulé de sa rédaction, ne se limite pas à faire une Histoire de l'Église. Étant un homme instruit et exerçant une fonction publique (il était avocat à Constantinople), il avait une notion assez large de l'évolution historique et il avait conscience des liens entre la politique de l'Église et celle de l'État. Il essaie alors une synthèse qui tient compte aussi de l'histoire politique de l'empire. En outre, il ne se limite pas, comme c'était souvent le cas, à décrire seulement les faits ayant lieu dans la capitale. Étant un oriental d'origine, il donne une vision très large des composantes du christianisme des IVe et Ve s., au sein duquel l'Orient et surtout la Palestine joue un rôle aussi déterminant que Constantinople.

Pour le reste, les *Sources Chrétiennes* n'ont pas besoin de recommandations ; leur qualité scientifique est connue. Seulement nous ne pouvons pas passer sous silence la monumentale traduction française du regretté A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE parachevée par le professeur B. GRILLET.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Thesaurus Theophylacti Simocattae. Historiae, Epistulae, Quaestiones physicae, De vitae termino (*Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum*), éd. par A. A. DE SIENA, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2007, XLVI + 216 pages + 15 microfiches. ISBN 978-2-503-51546-5.

Originaire d'Égypte, Théophylacte Simocatta, parent de l'Augustalis Petros (*Hist.*, VIII, 13, 12, p. 310 De Boor-Wirth), appartenait certainement à une famille de la haute classe administrative. En général, on le cite comme l'historien par excellence du règne de l'empereur Maurice. Il s'en faut pourtant que sa production en soit restée là. On rappelle rarement que le jeune Nicolas Copernic avait choisi, pour affiner sa connaissance du grec, de traduire en latin les lettres fictives, au nombre de 85 (morales, rustiques et érotiques). Théophylacte s'inscrivait donc dans une tradition illustrée par les noms d'Alciphron, Élien et Aristénète, celle de la rhétorique. Bien qu'elles relèvent du genre paradoxographique et soient consacrées à l'élucidation de 19 *mirabilia*, les *Quaestiones physicae* se présentent comme un dialogue platonicien. Ici encore, on constate une volonté de renouveler la forme. C'est le même désir que l'on retrouve dans le *De vitae termino*, trois dissertations, où l'objet du débat est la prédestination : les personnages fictifs prononcent leur discours comme au barreau. Dans le style, l'écrivain cherche à faire ressortir de façon originale la psychologie des orateurs. Donc, au total, des œuvres qui reflètent une connaissance approfondie de l'héritage classique, mais aussi, comme l'atteste le *De vitae termino*, des Écritures, et la conviction que l'homme n'a pas la capacité de comprendre à fond les événements qui le regardent, c'est-à-dire l'histoire. La constatation permet d'entrevoir pourquoi, à la différence de l'historiographie classique, Théophylacte n'a montré que peu d'intérêt pour la recherche causale touchant les événements qu'il relate. Ses choix littéraires expliquent maintes particularités de son *Histoire* : le Prologue où il fait dialoguer Histoire et Philosophie, la discrétion des données qu'il a laissées sur lui-même, par exemple. D'autre part, malgré son titre, l'œuvre ne roule pratiquement que sur les faits qui se déroulèrent dans la partie orientale de l'empire, sur le Danube et à la frontière perse. Elle foisonne donc de renseignements ethnographiques intéressants, ce qui ne signifie pas que l'historien, comme la plupart de ses contemporains, portait la moindre attention aux faits de langue.

La réalisation d'une concordance n'eût pas été possible sans les bonnes éditions critiques dont on dispose : G. Zanetto, *Theophylactae Simocatae Epistulae*, Leipzig, 1985 ; L. Massa Positano, *Teofilatto Simocata. Questioni Naturali*, 2e éd., Naples, 1965 ; *Teofilatto Simocatta, De vitae termino*, Naples, 1979 ; C. De Boor - P. Wirth, *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, Stuttgart, 1972. L'analyse des formes amène à corriger deux coquilles dans les éditions disponibles. Les utilisateurs des *Thesauri* trouveront les répertoires auxquels ils sont accoutumés, *Index des lemmes particuliers*, les *Données statistiques*, l'*Enumeratio lemmatum et formarum*, *Tabula frequentiarum lemmatum*, *Index formarum et lemmatum*, *Indices a tergo*, *Concordantia lemmatum et formarum*. L'*Index des lemmes particuliers* est particulièrement digne d'intérêt, car de nombreux toponymes appelaient une mise au point appropriée. Autant que l'on puisse voir, M. De Siena convoque pour la circonstance toute la littérature disponible en discutant les problèmes. C'est là un apport de premier ordre qui lui vaudra la gratitude autant des historiens de la période que des spécialistes en matière de géographie historique. On ne ménagera donc pas les éloges au maître d'œuvre, parfaitement secondé par les services du Cental.

J. Schamp.

S. N. Troïanos, *Οι Νεαρές Λέοντος Στ´ του Σοφού. Προλεγόμενα, κείμενο, απόδοση στη νεοελληνική, ευρετήρια και επίμετρο*, Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 2007, 594 pages. ISBN 978-960-8256-54-5.

Ce volumineux travail est en réalité composé de deux parties bien distinctes : une première contenant, outre l'avant-propos et l'introduction, le texte des *Novelles* de Léon VI, leur traduction en grec moderne et les index, et une seconde, intitulée annexe (*επίμετρο*) qui reproduit onze études de l'A., parues dans de diverses publications, ayant pour objet la législation de Léon VI. Un long et substantiel résumé en allemand rend le travail accessible à un public autre que les hellénophones.

Léon VI est sans doute le plus notable législateur de l'empire byzantin après Justinien Ier. Or, la langue et le style, plus que recherchés, de la législation de Léon VI, la rendent de plus en plus incompréhensible ; une traduction en grec moderne s'imposait pour les futurs et actuels juristes hellènes, mais aussi pour les chercheurs du monde byzantin. L'A., sans doute le plus éminent historien grec du droit byzantin, répond donc à une vraie demande.

La collection des 113 *Novelles* conservées de Léon VI sont transmises par cinq manuscrits, mais quatre sont des copies du *Marcianus Gr.* 179, du début du XIIIe s., qui de ce fait est en réalité un 'codex unicus'. L'A. ne fait pas une nouvelle édition au vrai sens du terme. Il utilise l'édition par P. Noailles et A. Dain de 1953, qu'il corrige à partir de l'édition de K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal de 1857. Toutefois, il consulte aussi le *Marcianus Gr.* 179, et dans certains cas il propose une leçon autre que celle des deux éditions ; dans ce sens il fait une nouvelle édition.

Les *Novelles* de Léon VI sont génératrices d'une énorme bibliographie qui concerne la date de leur rédaction, la relation entre elles et la codification des Basiliques, la nature de problèmes qu'elles traitent. Toutes ces questions ainsi que l'histoire de la transmission du texte sont exposées et analysées dans l'*Introduction*, juste avant la publication du texte et de la traduction néogrecque. Un long index de noms permet l'accès facile au texte. Il faut toutefois s'attarder un peu sur la traduction néogrecque, tenant compte qu'une traduction du grec byzantin au grec moderne dissimule un grand nombre de pièges. Car la structure et le vocabulaire courant du grec byzantin restent essentiellement les mêmes pour le grec moderne. Ce qui rend les *Novelles* de Léon VI difficilement accessibles aux Grecs d'aujourd'hui, c'est le style compliqué et la terminologie juridique du Xe s. Il faut reconnaître que l'A. s'en sort de manière magistrale ; sa traduction néogrecque est une vraie réussite qui, à elle seule, justifie amplement la publication du livre.

La seconde partie du livre, comme cela est dit, reproduit onze études de l'A. ayant pour objet la législation de Léon VI, dont une en collaboration avec Elefteria Papayanni. Parmi ces études cinq concernent les *Novelles* que l'A. qualifie 'ecclésiastiques', c'est-à-dire qui traitent de questions juridiques en relation avec l'Église ou la vie religieuse (étude III : *Οι 'εκκλησιαστικές' Νεαρές του Λέοντος Στ´ και οι πηγές τους* ; étude IV : *Οι κανόνες της συνόδου 'εν Τρούλλω' (Πενθέκτης) στις Νεαρές του Λέοντος Στ´ του Σοφού* ; étude V : *Η Νεαρά 17 Λέοντος του Σοφού και μία επιτομή της* ; étude VI : *Η Νεαρά 54 Λέοντος του Σοφού για την αργία της Κυριακής* ; étude XI : *Το διαζύγιο λόγω ψυχικής νόσου στο βυζαντινό δίκαιο. Οι Νεαρές 111 και 112 Λέοντος του Σοφού*). Deux autres études (les n° II : *Η ισχύς των Νεαρών του Λέοντος Στ´ κατά τον 14ο αιώνα*, et X : *Οι Νεαρές Λέοντος του Σοφού περί των 'εποχών' και η επιβίωσή τους μετά τον 10ο αιώνα*) sont en relation avec la persistance du droit macédonien, et les autres traitent des questions particulières (les n° VII : *Τα ναυάγια, η Νεαρά 64 Λέοντος του Σοφού και το κείμενο των* Βασιλικών, VIII : *Παρατηρήσεις στη Νεαρά 92 του Λέοντος Στ´*, et IX : *Καταλογισμός και ελαφρυντικές περιστάσεις στη νομοθεσία Λέοντος του Σοφού : η Νεαρά 96 κατά των τυμβωρύχων*), tandis qu'une seule (la n° I : *Λέων Στ´ ο Σοφός : νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση*) a un caractère plus général et envisage la question de la personnalité de Léon VI.

Ce livre connaîtra le succès qu'il mérite non seulement dans son pays mais aussi parmi les spécialistes du droit byzantin.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History, éd. par Ph. DE SOUZA et J. FRANCE, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, XII + 247 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-81703-5.

The aim of this book is to give an overview of war and diplomacy in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, focusing especially on treaties and truces. Earlier versions of many of its chapters were presented at the *68th Anglo-American Conference of Historians* on the theme of 'War and Peace', held in London in July 2000. These chapters, roughly arranged in chronological order, range from the 5th c. BC to the 12th c. AD, and cover the whole of the Western world and some of its eastern neighbours.

The table of content is as follows: 1. *Introduction*, by Ph. DE SOUZA and J. FRANCE ; 2. *Making and breaking treaties in the Greek world*, by P. J. RHODES ; 3. *War, peace and diplomacy in Graeco-Persian relations from the sixth to the fourth century BC*, by E. RUNG ; 4. *Treaties, allies and the Roman conquest of Italy*, by J. W. RICH ; 5. *Parta victoriis pax : Roman emperors as peacemakers*, by Ph. DE SOUZA ; 6. *Treaty-making in Late Antiquity*, by A. D. LEE ; 7. *Byzantine diplomacy : good faith, trust and co-operation in international relations in Late Antiquity*, by M. WHITBY ; 8. *Treaties between Byzantium and the Islamic world*, by Catherine HOLMES ; 9. *Siege conventions in Western Europe and the Latin East*, by J. FRANCE ; 10. *Paying the Danegeld : Anglo-Saxon peacemaking with vikings*, by R. ABELS ; 11. *Peace among equals : twelfth-century European treaties*, by Esther PASCUA.

Some sections necessarily overlap : for example, both LEE's short and brilliant contribution and WHITBY's chapter lay great stress on the relation between the Roman empire and the Persians in the 6th c. AD. On the other hand, as is inevitable for a book with such a broad scope, not every period or aspect of a period is equally well represented. This is not really a shortcoming, however, since it would have been otherwise impossible to collect such a great variety of material dealing with a very specific subject. This allows the reader to have a broad picture of the evolution (or at least of the successive, sometimes apparently unrelated changes) in the way foreign relations were handled in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The continuity or even similarity of course becomes more blurred in articles such as the one by R. ABELS about Anglo-Saxon peacemaking with vikings, but even here the facts, largely unknown to the average classicist and byzantinist, will certainly raise interest.

Professor RHODES states that he hopes his chapter 'will interest both specialists and non-specialists'. While this may not be true of every individual essay, it certainly applies to the volume as a whole, for, despite not being as comprehensive as its title may suggest, it offers a wide range of material on well-known and lesser-known aspects of warfare and diplomacy that no specialist can possibly boast to master. Furthermore, the material beauty of the volume, together with the very careful editing, will make the very act of reading it a pleasure.

T. FERNÁNDEZ.

T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Forging Unity. The South Slavs between East and West : 550-1150*, Belgrade, The Institute of History, 2007, XXXIV + 350 pages. ISBN 978-86-7556-573-2.

Ce livre n'est pas une simple réimpression des travaux plus anciens. Comme son auteur l'explique dans la Préface, il a publié ces travaux en serbe, en bulgare ou en grec, langues d'une diffusion réduite. Il a donc repris ces travaux, il les a rafraîchis du point de vue bibliographique avant de les traduire en anglais. À l'occasion il a parfois réécrit certains passages à la lumière des recherches plus récentes.

Le livre est composé de 18 études, rangées dans un ordre chronologique, et il est assorti d'un index. Voici les titres de ces études : i) *On the Chronology of the Avars-Slav Relations between 559 and 578* ; ii) *Relation between the Avars and Danube Basin Slavs 570-626* ; iii) *Ethnic Identity and Stereotypes about Southern Slavs during the Early Middle Ages* ; iv) *On Tribal Organisation and the Military Power of the Danube Basin Slavs in the 6th and 7th Centuries* ; v) *The Strategos Paul and the Archontes of the Westerners* ; vi) *On the Date of the Creation of the Theme of Peloponnesus* ; vii) *Uspenskij's Taktikon and the Theme of Dalmatia* ; viii) *The Earliest Cults of Saints in Ragusa* ; ix) *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors before 1611* ; x) *On the Foundation of Ragusa : The Tradition vs. Facts* ; xi) *A New Reading of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Statement on the Numbers of Croat Horsemen, Foot Soldiers and Sailors in the Early 10th Century* ; xii) *The Legend of Pavlimir Belo* ; xiii) *The Campaign of Emperor Samuel against Dalmatia* ; xiv) *On the Northern Borders of Serbia in the Early Middle Ages* ; xv) *Rama in the Royal Title of the Hungarian Kings* ; xvi) *Two Questions from the Time of King Bodin's Reign* ; xvii) *Dioclea between Rascia and Byzantium in the First Half of the 12th Century* ; xviii) *Zavida's Sons*.

L'énumération de ces titres est révélatrice de l'orientation générale du livre : les Slaves du Sud, malgré la diversité des tribus dont ils étaient membres, avaient au départ conscience d'appartenir à la même nation. L'évolution historique d'un côté a forgé l'idée de l'unité culturelle slave, mais d'un autre côté elle a contribué au maintien des clivages raciaux qui finalement eurent le dessus et ont conduit à la diversité des nationalités slaves d'aujourd'hui.

La grande qualité de ce livre consiste dans l'exploitation de la très riche bibliographie en langues slaves, généralement peu utilisée par les scientifiques occidentaux, mais aussi l'accès aux sources en vieux slave, aussi peu exploitées par les occidentaux. Un livre extrêmement utile pour toute recherche ayant comme sujet les Balkans et les Slaves du Sud.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

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